PAUSANIAS'S
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TRANSLATED WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

J. G. FRAZER

M.A., LL.D. GLASGOW ; FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE ; OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW

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CORRIGENDUM

Page 65, *line* 16 *from foot.* *For* three silver wine-jugs *read* two silver wine-jugs.

BOOK SIXTH

ELIS (*Continued*)

1. 1. statues —— whether athletes or not. Among the men who, without being athletes, had statues at Olympia, were the soothsayer Thrasybulus (vi. 2. 4); Lysander (vi. 3. 14); the philosopher Aristotle (vi. 4. 8); Archidamus, King of Sparta (vi. 4. 9); Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great, Seleucus, and Antigonus (vi. 11. 1; vi. 16. 2); Areus, King of Sparta, and Aratus (vi. 12. 5); Pyrrhus, King of Epirus (vi. 14. 9); Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse (vi. 15. 6); Demetrius Poliorcetes and his son Antigonus (vi. 15. 7); Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (vi. 17. 3); the rhetorician Gorgias (vi. 17. 7), and the historian Anaximenes (vi. 18. 1).

1. 1. There are not statues set up of all the Olympic victors. Pliny on the other hand asserts that at Olympia it was the custom to set up statues of all who had won prizes in the games (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 16). The truth seems to have been that every victorious althlete received permission from the Eleans to set up a statue of himself (cp. Paus. vi. 3. 6, vi. 13. 9); but that, as all the expense and trouble of making, transporting, and setting up the statue had to be borne by the athlete or his friends (cp. Paus. vi. 8. 3, vi. 14. 6), many athletes were prevented by poverty, death, or other cause from availing themselves of the permission. See Dittenberger and Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 235 *sq.* Pliny further tells us (*l.c.*) that only those athletes who had won three victories were allowed to set up portrait-statues of themselves. If he is right, the statues of the others would seem to have been made after a general pattern or a few such patterns, without any individual likeness to the men in whose honour they were set up. But to the rule laid down by Pliny there seems to have been occasionally at least an exception, since we hear of a competitor (Xenombrotus by name) who had a portrait-statue of himself set up at Olympia after a single victory in the horse-race (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 170; see note on vi. 14. 12). No statue of a victor might be larger than life (Lucian, *Pro imaginibus*, 11), but this rule would seem not to have been rigidly enforced (see note on vi. 6. 1 'Callias of Athens'). Cp. Chr. Scherer, *De Olympionicarum statuis* (Göttingen, 1885), p. 9 *sqq.*

For lists of the Olympic victors, so far as they can be made out from ancient writers and inscriptions, see J. H. Krause, *Olympia* (Wien, 1838), p. 236 *sqq.*; G. H. Förster, *Die Sieger in den olympischen Spielen* (two parts, Zwickau, 1891-1892).

1. 2. **many have won the wild olive by the accident of the lot.** In the competitions in which the athletes contended in pairs (as in boxing, wrestling, and the pancratium) lots were drawn to decide who should contend with whom. If the number of competitors was uneven, one man had to be left out of the first heat; and in the second heat he naturally enjoyed a great advantage, since he was fresh, while his antagonist was tired. Hence it was possible for an inferior athlete, who had the good luck to draw a bye (as we should say), to win the prize over a better man "by the accident of the lot," as Pausanias says. See Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 40, where the mode of drawing lots at the Olympic games is described. Lots of the size of beans, inscribed with the letters of the alphabet, were thrown into a silver urn. Two of the lots bore the letter A; two more the letter B; and so on. The competitors who drew the two A's contended together, and so with the rest. If the number of competitors was uneven, one letter was inscribed on a single lot only, and the man who drew it (the *ephedros* as the Greeks called him) stood out of the first heat. See J. H. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 109 *sqq.*

1. 3. **Alypus —— a pupil of Naucydes.** As to Alypus see vi. 8. 5; x. 9. 10. He is known only from Pausanias. As to Naucydes, see note on ii. 22. 7.

1. 4. **from his own stud.** Cleogenes meant that the horse was bred from one of his own mares by one of his own stallions. So the Spartan Damonon, in mentioning a victory which he had won in a chariot-race, says of the horses that they were ἐκ τᾶν αὐτῶ ἵππων κἠκ τῶ αὐ[τ]ῶ [ἵππω]: *i.e.* got by his own stallion out of one of his own mares (Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 79). See note on vi. 2. 1.

1. 4. **another of Troilus.** This statue, as Pausanias tells us in the next section, was by Lysippus. The inscribed bronze plate, which was fastened to the base of the statue, was found in the northern part of the Prytaneum at Olympia, 6th June 1879. On the under side of the plate there are two clamps to attach it to the pedestal. The inscription runs thus:

> Ἑλλήνων ἦρχον τότε Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ἡνίκα μοι Ζεὺς
> δῶκεν νικῆσαι πρῶτον Ὀλυμπιάδα
> ἵπποις ἀθλοφόροις, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον αὖτις ἐφεξῆς
> ἵπποις. υἱὸς δ' ἦν Τρωΐλος Ἀλκινόου.

"I was the first man in Greece" (literally "I ruled the Greeks") "that day at Olympia, when first Zeus allowed me to win an Olympic victory with prize-winning steeds; the next time <I won the victory> with horses again" (*i.e.* a chariot and horses). "And I Troilus was the son of Alcinous." The sculptor Lysippus probably carved his name on the stone pedestal which has not been found. The victory (presumably the first victory) of Troilus was won Ol. 102 (372 B.C.).

but from the character of the inscription it is judged that the statue was not made till some time afterwards. This statue is supposed to have been one of the earliest works of Lysippus. It must have been in bronze, as Lysippus worked in metal exclusively.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 166; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 145 *sq.*, No. 288; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 94; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graec.* No. 382; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 358 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 140.

1. 5. **Cleon, a Sicyonian.** See note on v. 21. 3.

1. 6. **the lineage and Olympic victories of Cynisca.** See iii. 8. 1.

1. 6. **on this basement there is —— a statue of Cynisca.** A piece of what seems to have been the pedestal which supported this statue was found (not in its original position) in the northern part of the Prytaneum at Olympia, 11th June 1879. The pedestal, of which only about a third is preserved, is of black limestone and round; it appears to have been about 3 feet in diameter. It bears two inscriptions, namely an epigram on Cynisca on the round top, and the sculptor's name on the vertical side. The epigram, to which Pausanias has already referred (iii. 8. 2), is preserved also in the Greek Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* xiii. 16), from which we can restore the mutilated inscription on the pedestal as follows:

> Σπάρτας μὲν [βασιλῆες ἐμοὶ] πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί·
> [ἅρματι δ' ὠκυπόδων ἵππων] νικῶσα Κυνίσκα
> εἰκόνα τάνδ' ἔ[στασα·] μόναν δέ με φαμὶ γυναικῶν
> Ἑλλάδος ἐκ πάσας τό[ν]δε λαβεῖν στέφανον.

"My fathers and brothers were kings of Sparta. I, Cynisca, conquering with a chariot of fleet-footed steeds, set up this statue. And I say that I am the only woman of all Greece that ever won this crown."

The inscription on the vertical side of the base is this: Ἀπελλέας Καλλικλέους ἐπόησε, "Apelleas, son of Callicles, made (it)." Behind the epigram, on the top of the pedestal, there is the trace of a footprint. Probably the pedestal supported only the statue of Cynisca, not the chariot and horses; for the expression used by Pausanias (λίθου κρηπίς, 'a basement of stone') is more applicable to a long pedestal than a round one; he would probably have called a pedestal of the latter sort a κίων or a στήλη. Or our pedestal may have formed a semicircular projection from the long pedestal which supported the chariot.

From the forms of the letters the inscription is judged to date from the first third of the fourth century B.C. This agrees with the date of Cynisca, whose brother Agesilaus lived about 442-361 B.C. The sculptor Apellas (or Apelleas, as his name should be spelt) is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 86), who says that the sculptor represented women in the act of praying (*adorantes*, not *adornantes* is the reading of the MSS.) Perhaps Cynisca was so represented by him. See the following note.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 160; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 151 *sq.*, No. 301; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 99; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graec.* No. 381; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 287; *id.*, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philos.-philolog. Cl., 1880, p. 484.

1. 7. **He is represented praying to the god.** Cp. v. 25. 5 note. Mr. Chr. Scherer argues that many of the victorious athletes were thus represented (*De Olympionicarum statuis*, p. 31 *sqq.*)

2. 1. **Stratus.** In 1892 Mr. Joubin excavated an ancient Greek temple at Stratus in Acarnania. The temple is peripteral and of the Doric order; it measures 34 metres by 18.20. The whole of the pavement, with the lower portions of most of the columns, is preserved. A large altar was discovered to the east of the temple. See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1892, p. 39.

2. 1. **the Lacedaemonians were keener breeders of horses** etc. The Lacedaemonian passion for horse-breeding and horse-racing is well illustrated by a long inscription found at *Mistra*, near Sparta. It records the victories won by Damonon in chariot-races and horse-races. See Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 79; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 264.

2. 2. **Lycinus brought foals to Olympia** etc. The race between chariots drawn by foals was not introduced till Ol. 99 (384 B.C.) (see v. 8. 10), and the great sculptor Myron flourished in Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 49). It seems impossible, therefore, that Myron can have made the statues of Lycinus. H. Brunn proposed to get over the difficulty by an alteration of the text (see Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 588). If we accept his emendation, the statues were made by Myron, not for Lycinus, but for Arcesilaus, who must have been a contemporary of Myron's, since his son Lichas was alive in 420 B.C. (see next note). Another solution would be to suppose that there was another and later sculptor of the name of Myron; and in fact there is other evidence which might be held to point in this direction. See note on vi. 8. 5, 'Philip, an Azanian.'

2. 2. **entered his chariot in the name of the Theban people** etc. This was in Ol. 90 (420 B.C.) Lichas was an old man at the time. See Thucydides, v. 50. 4; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 21.

2. 3. **the Lacedaemonians —— marched against the Eleans** etc. See iii. 8. 3-5; v. 20. 4 *sq.*; v. 27. 11 note.

2. 4. **the Iamids.** On this family of diviners, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 2. p. 63 *sqq.* A scholiast on Pindar (*Olymp.* vi. 111) gives some details as to their mode of divining. He says: "There was an oracle at Olympia, of which the founder was Iamus, who divined by means of burnt offerings, which manner of divination is still employed by the Iamids. For taking up the skins of the victims they place them on the fire and so they divine. But some say that they divined by cutting the skins; for they took and rent the hides of the victims, and they divined by observing whether the rents were straight or not." For the latter statement, the authority cited is "Heraclides in his book *On Oracles*."

2. 4. **about which I shall have more to say** etc. See viii. 10. 5 *sqq.*

2. 4. **a spotted lizard is creeping toward his right shoulder** etc. This kind of lizard (called by the Greeks the *galeotes*, said to be the gecko) appears to have been especially observed by diviners; for in Sicily there was a race of diviners called Galeots (Γαλεῶται or Γαλεοί), who may have derived their name from the reptile. They claimed to be descended from Galeus, a son of Apollo; but *galeus* (*galeos*) is only another form of *galeotes*, 'a spotted lizard'; and that the lizard stood in some close mythical relation to Apollo seems proved by the statue of Apollo the Lizard-Killer (*Sauroktonos*). See Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Γαλεῶται; Hesychius, *s.v.* Γαλεοί; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xii. 46; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 20. 39; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 2. p. 74 *sq.* Cp. Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 1. p. 406 *sqq.* The lizard is especially observed in divination by the Polynesians and Malays. See Meyners d'Estrey, in *L'Anthropologie*, 3 (1892), pp. 711-719. Prof. Haddon tells me that the lizard is also used in divination by the natives of Torres Strait. For another possible derivation of the name Galeots, see note on v. 23. 6. The two derivations might be reconciled by supposing that the ancient barbarian inhabitants of Little Hybla had the lizard for their totem, in other words, that they called themselves Lizards, and regarded lizards as sacred or as their kinsfolk. Similarly a tribe in Libya called their towns or kraals as well as themselves after apes, and apes lived in the houses, being regarded as gods by the people (Diodorus, xx. 58). There were various families or tribes in antiquity who called themselves Snake-born (*ophiogenes*), and treated snakes as their kinsfolk (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxviii. 30 *sq.*; Varro, in Priscian, x. 32, vol. 1. p. 524, ed. Keil; Strabo, xiii. 1. 14; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xii. 39). Cp. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 22.

2. 4. **a dog —— cut in two with its liver exposed.** On divination by inspection of the liver of animals, see Schol. on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 831; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 13. 32; Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* ii. 69; Hesychius, *s.v.* ῥυτά; Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haeres.* iv. 40; Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Divination*, 1. p. 171 *sq.* This mode of divination is sometimes depicted on Greek vases; the hero, about to go forth to battle, is consulting a liver which is presented to him by a naked youth. As to these and other representations of the subject on ancient monuments, see Fr. Lenormant, in *Gazette Archéologique*, 6 (1880), pp. 203-215. Lenormant published (*op. cit.* plate 34) a Greek bronze statuette representing a young man holding a laurel branch in his right hand and what Lenormant took to be the liver of a young lamb or kid in his left. The figure, according to Lenormant, is that of a diviner presenting to the god the liver after ascertaining from an inspection of it that the omens were favourable. This presentation was what the Greeks called καλλιερεῖν, and the Latins *litare*. Divination by means of the liver has been practised by other peoples, as by the Chaldaeans and Assyrians (Fr. Lenormant, *La divination chez les Chaldéens*, p. 55 *sqq.*) When Col. Dalton visited a village of the Abors in Eastern India, a pig's liver was brought to him on a tray, and he was asked what he thought of it. He said he thought it was a good, healthy-

looking liver. "Ah," they answered, "but what does it reveal in regard to your intentions in visiting us?" And when the colonel suggested that they should try to find that out from his words and looks, they stated that the words and looks of men are ever fallacious, but that pig's liver never deceived them (Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 25). The Toumbuluh tribe of Minahasa (northern Celebes) divine by means of a fowl's liver (J. G. F. Riedel, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, 8 (1895), pp. 95, 97, 99). As to the sacrifice of dogs, see note on iv. 14. 9.

2. 5. **Pindar —— says that he was a son of Apollo** etc. See Pindar, *Ol.* vi. 58 *sqq.*

2. 7. **Eutychides, a Sicyonian.** According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51) this sculptor flourished in the 121st Olympiad (296-293 B.C.), a date which agrees with the statement of Pausanias that Eutychides was a pupil of Lysippus. Another sculptor of the same name, who flourished about the end of the first century B.C., is known to us from the inscribed bases of statues by him which have been found at Delos (Th. Homolle, in *Monuments Grecs*, No. 8 (1879), pp. 38-43; *id.*, in *Bulletin de. Corr. Hellénique*, 18 (1894), p. 336 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 244-249).

2. 7. **an image of Fortune for the Syrians on the Orontes.** This is probably the statue of which the Byzantine historian John Malala has given a description (*Chronogr.* xi. p. 276, ed. Dindorf). It was of gilded bronze and represented the Fortune of the city of Antioch seated above the river Orontes and in the act of being crowned by Seleucus and Antiochus. It was placed in the theatre of Antioch by the emperor Trajan. The statue is believed to be figured on coins of Antioch, and there is a marble statue in the Vatican which is undoubtedly a copy of the same statue which appears on the coins. It is probably, therefore, a copy of the one which Eutychides made for Antioch. The Fortune of the city is represented as a draped woman seated on a rock. Her head is adorned with a mural crown; her left hand rests on the rock, her right holds a bunch of ears of corn. At her feet the river Orontes, represented as a youthful male figure, is rising from the waves. The statue is graceful and pleasing, but lacks the austere dignity which sculptors of the best Greek period imparted to their images of the gods.

See K. O. Müller, 'De antiquitatibus Antiochenis,' in his *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 5. p. 36 *sqq.*; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. taf. xlix. Nos. 220, b c d e f; Michaelis, in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 23 (1866), pp. 255-257; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 412 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 172 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 354 *sq.*; W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, p. 285; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek coins*, p. 197, with pl. xv. 32; *id.*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), pp. 75-77; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 519, fig. 560. Cp. note on iv. 30. 6.

2. 8. **Timon.** This victor in the chariot-race is mentioned again by Pausanias (vi. 12. 6); from the latter passage we learn that his father's name was Aegyptus. He is to be distinguished from Timon the pentathlete (v. 2. 5; vi. 16. 2). Cp. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 390 *sqq.*

2. 8. **Daedalus, a Sicyonian.** The statement of Pausanias that Daedalus made the trophy to commemorate the victory of the Eleans



FIG. 1.—THE FORTUNE OF ANTIOCH (MARBLE STATUE IN THE VATICAN).

over the Lacedaemonians fixes the date of the sculptor to about Ol. 95 (401-399 B.C.), the date of the war (see note on v. 27. 11). His date is further determined by the fact that he made statues of Eupole-

mus and Aristodemus, Olympic victors in the years 396 B.C. and 388 B.C. respectively (Paus. vi. 3. 4 and 7, with the notes). He seems to have been at work as late as 369 B.C. (Paus. x. 9. 5 *sq.* with the notes). Two or more probably three inscriptions of statues by him have been found, one at Ephesus, and one or rather two at Olympia. They confirm the statement of Pausanias (vi. 3. 4) that the sculptor's father was named Patrocles. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 161, 635; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 45 *sq.*, No. 221; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 88, 89; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 987-994; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 278 *sq.*; and the note on vi. 6. 1, 'Narycidas.'

2. 10. **at the Olympic festival, which was held in the year after the foundation of Messene** etc. Messene was founded in Ol. 102. 3 or 4 (369 B.C.) (Diodorus, xv. 66); hence the victory of the Messenian boy Damiscus must have fallen in Ol. 103 (368 B.C.)

3. 1. **Ptolemy calls himself a Macedonian** etc. Cp. x. 7. 8. So in an inscription found at Delos the Syrian King Antiochus the Great (223-187 B.C.) calls himself a Macedonian (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 205). No doubt the descendants of the Macedonian conquerors long despised the subject races among whom they lived and disclaimed any blood relationship with them, much as the Normans looked down on the conquered Saxons.

3. 1. **Asterion, son of Aeschylus.** Nothing more is known of this sculptor.

3. 2. **a Messenian boy, Sophius.** A fragment of the pedestal of his statue was found at Olympia in the bed of the Cladeus in 1885, after the close of the German excavations. It is of grey limestone, and bears a mutilated inscription which, as restored by Messrs. Dittenberger and G. H. Förster, runs thus:—

[Σό]φιος . . . .
[Με]σσάνιος
[Τοῦδε κλέ]ω νίκημ Μεσσ[ηνίου ὅς ποτε Πίσῃ]
[πρῶτος ἐκη]ρύχθη παῖς στ[άδιον Σόφιος].

"Sophius, a Messenian. I celebrate the victory of the Messenian Sophius, who was proclaimed first in the boys' foot-race." The inscription apparently belongs to the second half of the fourth century B.C. It certainly cannot be earlier than Ol. 104 (364 B.C.), since the victor in the boys' foot-race in the preceding Olympiad was the Messenian Damiscus, before whom no Messenian, with the exception of Leontiscus and Symmachus, had gained an Olympic victory for centuries (Paus. vi. 2. 10 *sq.*) See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 172; G. H. Förster, *Die olympischen Sieger*, Teil 1. p. 30.

3. 4. **a wrestler, Aristodemus —— of Elis.** His victory in wrestling at Olympia was won in Ol. 98 (388 B.C.) (Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. Schöne, vol. 1. p. 206).

3. 5. **Damocritus, a Sicyonian.** An inscription with the name of this sculptor was copied by Spon at Rome; it was from the pedestal of a portrait-statue by him (Loewy, *Inschrift. griech. Bildhauer*, No. 484).

The dates of the various artists here mentioned by Pausanias are given as follows by H. Brunn :—Critias, Ol. 75 (480 B.C.) ; Ptolichus, about Ol. 82 (452 B.C.) ; Amphion, about Ol. 88 (428 B.C.) ; Pison, Ol. 93. 4 (405 B.C.) ; Damocritus, about Ol. 100 (380 B.C.) See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 105. As to Critias (or Critius, as he should be called) see note on I. 8. 5. As to Amphion, cp. x. 15. 6. As to Pison, cp. x. 9. 8.

3. 6. **Cantharus, a Sicyonian.** As a pupil of Eutychides (see note on vi. 2. 7) this sculptor probably flourished in the first half of the third century B.C. He is mentioned again by Pausanias (vi. 17. 7) and by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 85).

An inscription from the pedestal of a statue by this sculptor is built into a staircase at the church of St. Theodore at *Hagii Theodori*, a suburb of Thebes (*C. I. G. G. S.* I. No. 2471).

3. 7. **Eupolemus was victor at Olympia** etc. His victory was won in Ol. 96 (396 B.C.) (Paus. viii. 45. 4 ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* ed. Schöne, vol. 1. p. 204).

3. 7. **the Olympic Council.** Wherever great festivals and games were celebrated, there seems to have been a sacred Council, whose business it was to see that the ceremonies were properly performed, and the rules of the games duly observed. The Olympic Council is often mentioned in inscriptions (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 355, 356, 357, etc.) We hear of similar Councils at Actium (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 280), and Eleusis (*C. I. A.* iii. No. 702 ; cp. vol. 2. p. 511).

3. 7. **to fine both the judges who had decided in favour of Eupolemus.** The judges, being Eleans (see v. 9. 4-6 note), were perhaps prejudiced in favour of the Elean Eupolemus and against his Ambraciot adversary Leon. The impartiality of the umpires at Olympia was not above suspicion (Plutarch, *Quaest. Platon.* 2 ; Diodorus, i. 95). It has been observed that the proportion of Elean victors in the games was suspiciously large (Krause, *Olympia*, p. 131). On the other hand it is to be remembered that Elis would naturally contribute a larger proportion of competitors than the remoter districts of Greece.

3. 8. **Oebotas.** See vii. 17. 6 *sq.*

3. 9. **Nicodamus.** See note on vi. 6. 3.

3. 9. **the same dread of the Isthmian games that the Eleans themselves have.** See v. 2. 2 ; vi. 16. 2.

3. 10. **ancient leaping-weights.** See v. 26. 3 note.

3. 11. **Pantias, who came of the school of Aristocles.** See note on vi. 9. 1, 'Theognetus —— Ptolichus.'

3. 12. **it befell Caulonia to be laid utterly waste.** Cp. Strabo, vi. p. 261.

3. 13. **Olympus.** An otherwise unknown sculptor.

3. 13. **Pyrilampes.** Cp. vi. 15. 1 ; vi. 16. 5. The inscribed base of a statue by "Pyrilampus (*sic*), a Messenian, son of Agias," has been found at Olympia (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 400 ; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 194, No. 105 ; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 274). This Pyrilampus is probably either the same

Pyrilampes mentioned by Pausanias or at all events a member of the same family.

3. 15. **painted both walls.** This proverb is mentioned by Suidas (*s.v.* δύο τοίχους ἀλείφεις), and it is employed by Curius in a letter to Cicero (*Epist. ad familiares*, vii. 29. 2, *duo parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare*). In regard to the charge of time-serving here brought by Pausanias against the Samians, Prof. Percy Gardner remarks that "Panofka with justice replies that the dedications, although all by Samians, were by no means by the same persons, but by the members of factions bitterly opposed one to the other. The history of Samos, like that of nearly all Greek cities, is a continuous record of faction-fights between aristocratic and democratic parties, and of the alternate victories of each. Thus, while the popular faction poured adulation on Alcibiades and Conon, the wealthy faction heaped honours on Lysander" (P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian coins*, p. 41).

4. 1. **the statue of an Ephesian boxer, Athenaeus.** The base of this statue was found at the extreme south-west corner of the excavated area at Olympia, 13th December 1879. It is a longish rectangular block of black limestone. On the upper edge of the short front side is the following inscription:—

Ἀθήναιος Ἁρπαλέου Ἐφέσιος.

"Athenaeus, an Ephesian, son of Harpaleus." From the style of the letters the inscription seems to belong to the fourth century B.C., which gives us approximately the date of Athenaeus. The footprints on the top of the base show that the statue was life size, and that the boxer was represented in the act of lunging out at his adversary. As Pausanias tells us more about Athenaeus than can be gathered from the inscription, it is clear, as Prof. G. Treu observes, that he must have had other sources of information, perhaps the official register of the victors. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 168; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 206 *sq.*, No. 326.

4. 1. **a Sicyonian, Sostratus.** Upon a base of black stone found by the French at Delphi there is engraved a metrical inscription which records the many victories of this athlete exactly as Pausanias here enumerates them. The inscription, as restored by Mr. B. Haussoullier, runs thus:—

πλ]είστοις δὴ Σικυῶνα πάτραν, [Σω]σιστράτου υἱέ,
Σώστρατε, καλλίστοις τ' ἠγλαΐσας στεφάνοις·
ν]ικῶ[ν] πανκράτιον τρὶς Ὀλύμπια, δὶς δ' ἐνὶ Πυθοῖ,
δώδεκα δ' ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ [καὶ Νεμ]έας στεφάνους·
τ]οὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄπο[ρον στεφά]νους [ἐπι]δεῖξαι ἀριθμόν,
πα]ύσας δ' ἀντι[πάλους πάν]τα [ἐ]κράτεις ἀμαχεί.

"Sostratus, son of Sosistratus, thou didst glorify thy native Sicyon by very many and very glorious crowns, being victorious in the pancratium thrice at Olympia, and twice at Pytho, and (carrying off) twelve crowns from the Isthmus and Nemea. But to enumerate the other crowns is impossible. Thou didst put down thy adversaries and conquer every one without a combat." Probably, as Mr. Haussoullier

conjectures, a similar inscription was engraved on the statue of Sostratus at Olympia, and Pausanias may have derived his information in part from the inscription. But that Pausanias had access to other sources is shown by his mention of Sostratus's surname of Acrochersites and his mode of fighting. See *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, 6 (1882), pp. 446-448, No. 76; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graec.* No. 383.

4. 1. **Acrochersites.** On the mode of wrestling here described by Pausanias (*ἀκροχειρίζεσθαι*) see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1867, p. 12 *sq.* Two bronze statues of wrestlers in this attitude were found at Herculaneum, and are now in the Museum at Naples.

4. 2. **the hundred and fourth Olympiad —— is not recorded by the Eleans.** The celebration of the 104th Olympiad fell in 364 B.C. See v. 9. 5 *sq.*; vi. 8. 3; vi. 22. 2 *sq.*; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 4. 28-32; Diodorus, xv. 78. The latter historian records that the battle for the presidency of the games was upon this occasion fought in presence of the multitude of spectators who had gathered to witness the games, and who, in their festal robes with wreaths of flowers on their heads, watched the combat at their leisure, impartially applauding the doughty deeds done on both sides.

4. 4. **Pythagoras of Rhegium.** See note on vi. 6. 4. The statue of Leontiscus by him, here mentioned by Pausanias, is mentioned also by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 59). As to the sculptor Clearchus see iii. 17. 6 note. Nothing more is known about the sculptors Euchirus, Syadras, and Chartas; the first of them is mentioned, indeed, by Suidas (*s.v.* *Σώστρατος*), but the notice is borrowed from Pausanias, and is bungled in the borrowing.

4. 5. **the statue of the boy binding a fillet** etc. Prof. C. Robert has argued (*Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 444 *sqq.*) that this statue must have been no other than the figure of a boy in a similar attitude on the throne of Zeus. See v. 11. 3. But this seems very improbable; the figure on the throne was probably in relief, not in the round. Others have identified the statue here described by Pausanias with the statue of Pantarces mentioned by him below (vi. 10. 6). But this seems at least equally improbable. See the note on the latter passage. The three works (the statue of the boy with the fillet, the relief, and the statue of Pantarces) are rightly regarded by Prof. Furtwängler as distinct and independent (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 62 note 3). On representations in ancient art of boys or men binding fillets on their hair, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1874, pp. 214-216.

4. 5. **Silanion, an Athenian.** This sculptor flourished Ol. 113 (328 B.C.), according to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51). Prof. Michaelis argued that the date of Silanion's activity should be placed about forty years earlier ('Zur Zeitbestimmung Silanions,' *Histor. u. philolog. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 107-114). But Mr. J. Delamarre defends Pliny's date on the strength of two Oropian inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. Nos. 4253, 4254). See J. Delamarre, 'Le sculpteur Silanion,' *Revue de Philologie*, 18 (1894), pp. 162-164. The inscribed base of a statue by Silanion has been found at Pergamus (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 50). According to Pliny (*l.c.*) Silanion was a self-taught

artist. His strength seems to have lain in portraiture. The subjects of a number of his works are known. See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 1350-1363; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 10-12; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 394-398; *id.*, in *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. philolog. u. histor. Cl. d. k. b. Akad. d. Wissen. zu München*, 1892, p. 663 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 328 *sq.*; Fr. Winter, 'Silanion,' *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Inst.* 5 (1890), pp. 151-168. Cp. vi. 14. 4 and 11.

4. 5. **Polycles.** This sculptor was one of a family of artists known to us from ancient writers and inscriptions, but whose dates and relationships are somewhat difficult to determine.

1. Pausanias twice mentions the sons of Polycles as sculptors. Thus he says that the statue of the boxer Agesarchus was by the sons of Polycles (vi. 12. 8 *sq.*), and again that they made the image of Cranaean Athena near Elatea (x. 34. 8). From this latter passage, taken in connexion with a passage immediately preceding it (x. 34. 6), we learn that the sons of Polycles were named Timocles and Timarchides, and that they were Attic by birth. In the present passage Pausanias tells us that Polycles made a statue of Amyntas, who was victorious in the pancratium for boys. Now we know that the pancratium for boys was not introduced until Ol. 145 (200 B.C.), and that the victor in that year was Phaedimus (Paus. v. 8. 11). Hence the victory of Amyntas and the statue of him by Polycles cannot have been earlier, and may have been much later, than Ol. 146 (196 B.C.)

2. Pliny mentions (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 50 and 52) two sculptors of the name of Polycles, one of whom flourished in Ol. 102 (372 B.C.), the other in Ol. 156 (156 B.C.) The former cannot be the Polycles of Pausanias, since the Polycles of Pausanias, as we have just seen, must have lived later than 196 B.C. It remains therefore that the Polycles of whom Pausanias speaks was the Polycles who flourished in 156 B.C. Contemporary with this later Polycles was a sculptor Timocles (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 52).

3. In another passage (*Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 35) Pliny mentions two sculptors, Polycles and Dionysius, the sons of Timarchides, who made images of Jupiter and Juno in the temples of these deities which stood within the cloistered court called the Colonnade (*porticus*) of Octavia at Rome. The Colonnade of Octavia occupied the site of a colonnade called the Colonnade of Metellus because it had been built by Metellus Macedonicus (Velleius Paterculus, i. 11), doubtless after his return in 146 B.C. from his conquest of Macedonia. The temples enclosed by the colonnade seem to have been dedicated in 179 B.C. (J. H. Middleton, *The remains of Ancient Rome*, 2. p. 200), but neither from this date nor from the date of the colonnade can we legitimately infer the date of the images, since we do not know that they were made for the temples or the colonnade. In the same passage (*Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 35) Pliny mentions a sculptor Timarchides who made an image of Apollo holding a lyre in a temple beside the Colonnade of Octavia. This Timarchides was probably the father of the two sculptors Polycles and Dionysius whom Pliny mentions in the same paragraph.

4. In 1880 Mr. Homolle found in Delos a statue with the following inscription :

Γάιον Ὀφέλλιον Μαάρκου (*sic*) υἱὸν Φέρον Ἰταλικοὶ
δικαιοσύνης ἕνεκα καὶ φιλαγαθίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
Ἀπόλλωνι.
Διονύσιος Τιμαρχίδου
καὶ Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐποίησαν.

"The Italians (dedicated) to Apollo (this statue of) Gaius Ofellius Ferus, son of Marcus, on account of his justness and kindness to themselves. Dionysius son of Timarchides, and Timarchides son of Polycles, both of them Athenians, made (the statue)." The statue in question, a fair specimen of late Greek work, occupied one of the niches in the market-place which was especially frequented, if not built, by the Italian merchants resident in Delos. It cannot have been made earlier, and probably was made some time later, than 190 B.C., the date of the first appearance of the Romans in Delos. On the other hand it cannot be later than 90 B.C., the date of the outbreak of the Social War in Italy, for after that date the name 'Italians' would not have been used. The statue may belong, Mr. Homolle thinks, to the end of the second century B.C. With this date the palaeographical character of the inscription agrees, and it is confirmed by the fact that the market-place in which the statue stood appears to have been built not long before 130 B.C. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 5 (1881), p. 390 *sqq.*; *Hermes*, 19 (1884), p. 305; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 242; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 362.

5. In his excavations on the site of the temple of Cranaean Athena near Elatea Mr. Paris discovered a fragment of a pedestal bearing, in letters of the second century B.C., the inscription ΠΟΛΥΚΛΗΣΤΙΝ, which may conjecturally be thus supplied: Πολυκλῆς Τιμ[αρχίδου]. "Polycles, son of Timarchides (made the statue)."

6. In December 1894 the base of a statue was found near the south-west corner of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens. It bears the following inscription in letters which are certainly not earlier than the middle of the second century B.C., and which may be as late as Sulla's time (78 B.C., date of Sulla's death):

Τιμαρχίδης Πολυκλέους Θορίκιος νεώτερος ἐποίησεν.

"Timarchides the younger, son of Polycles and of the township of Thoricus, made (the statue)." This proves that there were two contemporary sculptors each called Timarchides, and each with a father named Polycles. Thus we get two Polycleses as well as two Timarchideses, living in the second half of the second century B.C. or in the early part of the first century B.C. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 20 (1895), p. 216.

7. On a large pedestal at Lindus in Rhodes there is a mutilated inscription, which may perhaps be restored thus:—

'Ασ[τ]υκράτ[η 'Α]σ[τ]υκράτευς
Πολυκλῆς Πο[λυκλεῦς ? καὶ]
[Μ]ναστίμος 'Αριστω[νίδα ἐποίησαν].

"Astycrate, daughter of Astycrates. Polycles, son of Polycles, and Mnastimus, son of Aristonidas, made (the statue)." See *Inscr. Graec. Insul.* I. No. 855; cp. Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 197. If this restoration is correct, we have a sculptor Polycles, whose father's name was also Polycles; but the restoration of even the first two letters of the father's name is very uncertain.

8. In Rome a marble base was found with the following inscription:

Ποῖνος Μακεδών. Πολυκλῆς ἐποίει.

"Poenus, a Macedonian. Polycles made (the statue)." The inscription appears to be, not the original, but a later copy. See Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 486.

On the whole, if we leave out of account the Lindian and Roman inscriptions, which contribute little or nothing certain to the solution of the question, we find that the evidence points to the existence of a family of sculptors who lived in the second century B.C., and who bore the names of Polycles, Timocles, Timarchides, and Timarchides, and that two at least of these names (namely Polycles and Timarchides) were each borne by two members of the family. Many family-trees have been suggested by modern scholars. The best perhaps is the one proposed by Mr. W. Gurlitt, which, though it was drawn up before the Athenian and Elatean inscriptions were found, is perfectly reconcilable with, or rather is confirmed by, them. It is as follows:

POLYCLES I., an Athenian,
after 196 B.C. (Paus. vi. 4. 5); about 156 B.C. (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 52)

TIMOCLES
about 156 B.C. (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxiv. 52);
Pausanias, vi. 12. 9, x. 34. 6 and 8

TIMARCHIDES I.
Paus. vi. 12. 9; x. 34. 6 and 8

POLYCLES II.
Second century B.C. (Elatean inscription)
Pliny, xxxvi. 35

DIONYSIUS of Athens
Between 130-90 B.C. (Delian inscription)
Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi. 35

TIMARCHIDES II., an Athenian of Thoricus
Between 150-78 B.C. (Athenian inscription)
Between 130-90 B.C. (Delian inscription)

Prof. C. Robert proposed a family-tree which, so far as the names and relationships go, agrees with the foregoing, but differs from it as to dates, since Prof. Robert would assign Polycles I., with his sons Timocles and Timarchides I., to the third, instead of to the second century B.C. His reason for doing so is this. In a passage quoted by Eusebius (*Praepar. Evang.* vi. 8. 17 *sq.*) from a work of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus, who died in 207 B.C., mention is made of a boxer Hegesarchus. This Hegesarchus is identified by Prof. Robert with the boxer Agesarchus whose statue was made by the sons of Polycles (Paus. vi.

12. 8 *sq.*) from which it would follow that the sons of Polycles lived not later than the second half of the third century B.C., and that their father Polycles I. cannot have flourished much after the middle of that century. But to this view there are grave objections. (1) The date assigned by Prof. Robert to Polycles I. agrees with the date of neither of the two sculptors of that name mentioned by Pliny (see above). (2) The date assigned by him to Timocles (third century B.C.) contradicts Pliny, who puts Timocles in the middle of the following century, namely 156 B.C. (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 52). (3) If Dionysius was at work between 130 and 90 B.C., as the Delian inscription seems to show, it is unlikely that his father Timarchides I. should have been at work (as Prof. Robert supposes) in the third century B.C.

On the whole subject, see Th. Bergk, 'Ueber den Hercules des Polycles,' *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1845, pp. 787-791, 793-795; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 536 *sqq.*; C. Bursian, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 9 (1863), p. 99 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 428-430, 439; Homolle, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 5 (1881), pp. 390-396; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 19 (1884), pp. 300-315; Loewy, *Untersuchungen zur griech. Künstlergeschichte*, p. 9; *id.*, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 242, 486; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, pp. 361-365, 416 *sq.*; P. Paris, *Élatée* (Paris, 1892), pp. 125-136; F. Münzer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 20 (1895), pp. 216-219.

4. 6. **in wrestling alone.** The Greek is *μουνοπάλης*. The word seems to designate an athlete who practised wrestling by itself, and not as part of the pentathlum or pancratium. See W. Dittenberger, in *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 287 *sq.* The same word occurs in the epigram carved on the base of Xenocles's statue (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 164; see note on vi. 9. 2).

4. 10. **All this I have set forth** etc. See iii. 10. 5.

4. 11. **Cyniscus.** The upper part of the pedestal of this statue was found in the Byzantine church at Olympia, 27th March 1877. It is a quadrangular block of white Peloponnesian marble. Round the edge of the upper surface runs the following inscription:

πύκτα[ς τόνδ'] ἀνέθηκεν ἀπ' εὐδόξοιο Κυνίσκος
Μαν[τ]ινέας νικῶν πατρὸς ἔχων ὄνομα.

"Cyniscus, of famed Mantinea, who bore his father's name, being victorious over the boxers, dedicated this (statue)." The sculptor's name was probably cut on the lower part of the pedestal which is lost. From the archaic forms of the letters the inscription cannot be much later than the middle of the fifth century B.C. The sculptor must, therefore, have been the elder Polyclitus (see note on ii. 22. 7). From the disposition of the holes for fastening the statue upon the pedestal, it is inferred that the weight of the body rested on the left foot, while the right foot was behind and only touched the ground lightly with its fore part. The marks show that the statue was of bronze.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 149; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 148 *sq.*; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), p. 190, No. 436; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 99, pp. 35, 175; *id.*, *Imagines Inscr. Gr. Ant.* p. 27; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 50; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graec.* No. 377; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 280.

It has been conjectured that the statue called 'the Westmacott Athlete' in the British Museum is a copy of Polyclitus's statue of Cyniscus. 'The Westmacott Athlete' represents a young man of vigorous, athletic form, standing and apparently in the act of placing the victor's wreath on his head, but the right arm is broken off short; the left arm hangs by the side. The style of the statue is thoroughly Polyclitian, and the footprints agree closely with those of the Olympic pedestal. The original must have been a famous work, for numerous other replicas and imitations of it have come down to us, including particularly two statues at Rome, one in the Barracco Collection, the other in the garden of the Palazzo del Quirinale. See A. Philios, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1890, p. 207 *sqq.*, with pl. 10 and 11; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. p. 499, with fig. 255; and especially A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 452-471.

4. 11. **Ergoteles —— won two victories —— at Olympia** etc. Pindar composed his twelfth Olympic ode in honour of this Ergoteles. In that ode (*v.* 16 *sqq.*) the poet alludes to the sedition which drove Ergoteles from his native Cnosus, and to the two Pythian and the two Isthmian victories won by him. As, however, he makes no allusion to a second Olympic victory gained by Ergoteles, it follows that the ode was written in honour of the first of the two victories, which fell in Ol. 77 (472 B.C.), as we learn from the Scholia on Pindar (p. 261, ed. Boeckh). The Pythian victories of Ergoteles fell in the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth Pythiad (Schol. on Pindar, *l.c.*), both of which preceded Ol. 77. See Boeckh, *Explic. Pindar*, p. 205 *sqq.* On the other hand, as Pindar makes no reference to the Nemean victories of Ergoteles, it follows that these victories were won after the composition of the ode, and therefore after Ol. 77 (472 B.C.)

5. 1. **Pulydamas.** Cp. vii. 27. 6; Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 22. The victory of Pulydamas, or Polydamas, as he is also called, was won in Ol. 93 (408 B.C.), as we learn from Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 203, ed. Schöne), who adds that Pulydamas went to Persia, slew lions in presence of Ochus (*i.e.* Darius II., king of Persia), and fought bare-handed with armed men. Tzetzes refers to the exploits of Pulydamas in slaying lions and in outrunning a chariot (quoted in Dindorf's Teubner ed. of Diodorus, vol. 2. p. 149). The account which Suidas (*s.v.* Πολυδάμας) gives of this athlete is copied almost verbally from the present passage of Pausanias. Lucian tells us that the statue of Pulydamas at Olympia was believed to cure fever (*Deorum concilium*, 12).

5. 3. **in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad.** That is, 371 B.C. But Diodorus (xv. 75) places the sack of Scotusa in 367 B.C. The massacre is mentioned also by Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 29).

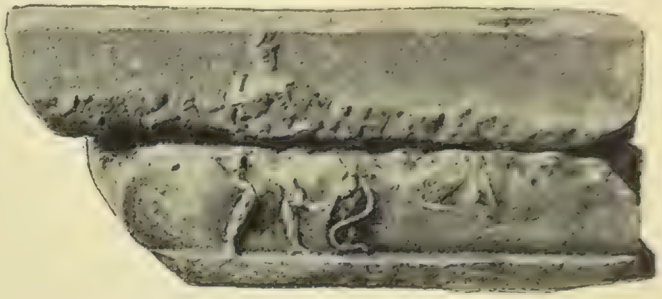
5. 4. **The highlands of Thrace —— are the home of —— lions.** Herodotus, after telling how the camels in the army of Xerxes were attacked by lions in Thrace, remarks that lions were common in the region between the river Nestus in Thrace and the river Achelous in Acarnania, but that they were found in no other part of Europe (vii. 125 *sq.*) Aristotle, who was a native of this district, twice states that lions were found in Europe between the rivers Nessus and Achelous

(*Hist. anim.* vi. 31, vii. 28, vol. I. pp. 579 b. 6 *sq.*, 606 b. 14 *sqq.*, Berlin ed.) The statement is repeated by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* viii. 45, where *Mestumque* is a mistake of Pliny or his copyist for *Nestumque* or *Nessumque*). Xenophon says (*Cyneget.* 11): "Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears, and such like wild beasts, are caught in foreign lands about Mt. Pangaeus and Mt. Cittus in the interior of Macedonia, about the Mysian Mt. Olympus and in Mt. Pindus, and at Nysa in the interior of Syria." Dio Chrysostom says (*Orat.* xxi., *ad init.*) that in his time (about 50-117 A.D.) lions no longer existed in Europe, though formerly they had been found in Macedonia and other places. The existence of lions in Europe within historical times was questioned by Maury (*Revue archéologique*, 2 (1845), p. 521 *sqq.*) Since Maury wrote a monument has come to light which perhaps confirms the statements of the ancient writers as to the existence of lions in Europe. In 1861 a marble tombstone was found near the church of the Holy Trinity in the west of Athens. On the stone is represented in relief a man lying on a bed, behind and above whose head is a lion; another man is standing at the feet of the prostrate man, and is trying to defend him. Behind him the half of a ship is seen. The epitaph, which is somewhat obscure, says that the man was a Phoenician, that he was attacked by a lion, but that friends coming from the ship defended him and buried him on the spot. There are also two lines in Phoenician giving the man's name. The inscription is not older than the second century B.C. See *Bulletino dell' Instituto*, 1861, p. 140; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1861, p. 321 *sqq.*, with Tav. d' agg. M. 1. In Palaeolithic times the lion ranged over a great part of Europe; its remains have been found in France, Germany, Italy, and Sicily (Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*,[5] p. 291 *sq.*)

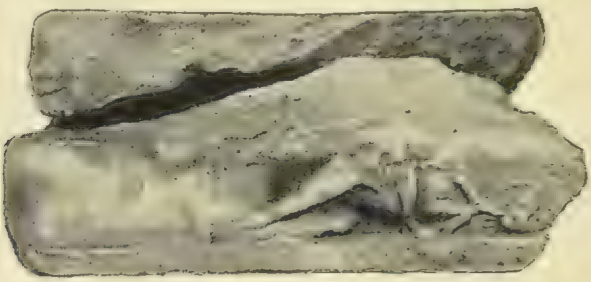
5. 7. **the band called Immortals.** These were the foot-guards of the Persian king, 10,000 in number. A thousand of them had golden pomegranates on the butt-ends of their lances; the other nine thousand had silver pomegranates. See Herodotus, vii. 41 and 83. The excavations of Mr. Dieulafoy in the palace of the Persian kings at Susa during the winter of 1885-1886 brought to light a magnificent frieze of enamelled bricks representing these foot-guards. The figures are life size and the colours are brilliant. The swarthy dark-bearded warriors are represented in gay robes, holding long lances in their hands, with bows and quivers slung over their shoulders. The frieze is now in Paris. There is an excellent reproduction of it in the Museum of Science and Art at Edinburgh. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 3 (1887), p. 87 *sqq.*, with the coloured plates xiii. xiv.; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 5. p. 541, fig. 348.

5. 7. **Of the feats I have enumerated, some are represented on the pedestal of his statue.** A portion of this pedestal, with some of the reliefs referred to by Pausanias, was found at Olympia by the Germans, and is now in the Museum there. It is a quadrangular block of white marble. On one side of it is represented in relief the combat of Pulydamas with the lion. The lion is rearing on its hind-legs, with its left hind-paw on the left knee of Pulydamas, while his tail lashes the ground. The lion's head rests on the right shoulder of Pulydamas, who appears

to be strangling the beast. On the opposite side of the pedestal, the victorious Pulydamas is represented standing on the slain lion. On the third side of the pedestal Pulydamas appears in the middle lifting a man off the ground; but the marble is mutilated, and only the feet of



his adversary are seen in air. At the left end of the scene is Darius, seated on a throne. He is represented as a bearded man in a long



flowing robe. On the right of the scene are three women also in long robes, but the upper bodies of two of them are lost. This scene repre-



FIGS. 2-4.—EXPLOITS OF PULYDAMAS (MARBLE RELIEFS AT OLYMPIA).

sents some feat of strength performed by Pulydamas before the Persian king, but apparently not the combat with the three 'Immortals.'

The upper surface of the pedestal shows that it was intended for the reception of another block above it. Probably therefore the pedestal, which Pausanias expressly describes (§ 1) as lofty, was composed, like

the pedestal which supported the victory of Paeonius, of a number of blocks, one above the other. The reliefs, representing the exploits of Pulydamas, would then run in a series of horizontal bands round the pedestal. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 3. pl. lv. 1-3; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), pl. xvii. A; K. Purgold, in *Historische u. philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 238-244.

5. 8. **the prophecy of Homer.** The words are addressed by Andromache to Hector in their parting scene (*Iliad*, vi. 407).

5. 8. **Pulydamas —— had gone into a cavern** etc. Cp. Diodorus, *Frag.* ix. 14, ed. Dindorf, with the passage of Tzetzes there quoted.

6. 1. **Narycidas.** Three fragments of a pedestal of yellowish-grey limestone, conjectured to be the pedestal of the statue of Narycidas, were found at Olympia in 1878, 1879, and 1880. The fragmentary inscription is thus restored by Professors Dittenberger and Furtwängler:

[οὔ τι μόνᾳ τιμὰν ἐν] Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἰσχύος ἔσχον
[κυδαίνων γενεὰν π]ατρίδα θ'· [ἃ] γὰρ ἴσα
[ἦλθέ μοι ἐν Πυθοῖ θ' ὅτ'] ἐνίκων καὶ τρὶς ἐν Ἰ[σ]θμοῖ
[Δαμαρέτου παῖς ὢν Ναρυ]κίδας Φιγ[α]λεύς.
[Δαίδαλος ἐπ]οίησε Πατροκλέ[ος Φλειά]σιος.

"Not in Olympia alone was I honoured for my strength, thereby glorifying my family and fatherland. For equal honour fell to my lot when I conquered at Pytho and thrice at the Isthmus. I am Narycidas of Phigalia, son of Damaretus. Daedalus, a Phliasian, son of Patrocles, made (the statue)." If the last line of the inscription is restored aright, we can hardly doubt that Daedalus the Phliasian, son of Patrocles, is identical with Daedalus the Sicyonian, son of Patrocles, whom Pausanias mentions here and elsewhere (vi. 2. 8 note). The inscription belongs to the early part of the fourth century B.C., which, as we have seen (note on vi. 2. 8), was the date of Daedalus the Sicyonian. The sculptor may at some time have settled at Phlius.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 161; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), pp. 46, 144 *sq.*; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 103; G. H. Förster, *Die olympischen Sieger*, Teil 1. p. 24.

6. 1. **Callias of Athens.** The pedestal of this statue, consisting of a simple block of Pentelic marble, stands to the north-east of the temple of Zeus. It is not in its original position. On the upper (horizontal) surface of the pedestal is the inscription—

Καλλίας Διδυμίου Ἀθηναῖος
παγκράτιον
Μίκων ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.

"Callias an Athenian, son of Didymius, (victor in) the pancratium. Micon, an Athenian, made (the statue)." The traces on the top of the pedestal prove that the statue was of bronze and larger than life, and that the figure was in an easy attitude, the weight resting equally on

both legs. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 146; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 227; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 41; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 165; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 498. From Pausanias (v. 9. 3) we learn that the victory of Callias in the pancratium was won in Ol. 77 (472 B.C.) In an inscription found on the Acropolis at Athens (*C. I. A.* i. No. 419) Callias is mentioned as having been victorious at Olympia, twice at the Isthmus, four times at Nemea, and also at the Great Panathenian festival. From the pseudo-Andocides (*contra Alcibiadem*, 32) we learn that Callias was ostracised. As to the artist Micon, he was best known as a painter (see note on i. 17. 3); but according to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 88) his statues of athletes were esteemed. A fragment of a base of Pentelic marble, found on the Acropolis at Athens, is inscribed with the sculptor's name, which, as restored by some scholars, is "Micon son of Phanomachus." See *C. I. A.* 1. No. 418; Loewy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, No. 42; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 763. From the date of Callias's victory we may infer that Micon flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C.

6. 1. **Androsthenes —— won two victories.** The first of these victories fell in Ol. 90 (420 B.C.), as we learn from Thucydides (v. 49).

6. 2. **a statue of Eucles.** The base of this statue was found at Olympia, in the East Byzantine wall, 3rd March 1878. It is of black limestone. On the top are the marks of the feet of a bronze statue of about life size; the right foot was in advance of the other. The inscription is on the vertical side, and runs as follows:

[Εὐκ]λῆς Καλλιάνακτος Ῥόδιος.
[Ναυ]κύδης Πατροκλῆος ἐποίησε.

"Eucles, a Rhodian, son of Callianax. Naucydes, son of Patrocles, made (the statue)." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 159; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 84, No. 129; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 86. As a grandson of Diagoras the Rhodian (vi. 7. 1 note) Eucles probably won his Olympic victory about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century B.C. The style of the inscription certainly points to a considerably later date; but the pedestal with the inscription may have been renewed. As to the sculptor Naucydes and his brothers, see note on ii. 22. 7. Elsewhere (vi. 1. 3) Pausanias calls Naucydes an Argive. In an inscription found at Olympia, Polyclitus, one of the brothers of Naucydes, is also called an Argive (see note on vi. 7. 10). But in another inscription found at Olympia, Daedalus, the other brother of Naucydes, is called a Sicyonian (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 635; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 89), and he is always called a Sicyonian by Pausanias (vi. 2. 8; vi. 3. 4 and 7; vi. 6. 1; x. 9. 6). To explain this seeming discrepancy, H. Brunn reminds us that a close connexion subsisted between the artistic schools of Argos and Sicyon, and that the elder Polyclitus, though generally called an Argive, is once called a Sicyonian (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 55). He thinks that the Argive school

of art died out about Ol. 100 (380 B.C.), and was replaced by the Sicyonian school. This opinion is shared by Prof. W. Klein. See H. Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), 1880, Philosoph. philolog. Cl. p. 472 *sqq.*; W. Klein, in *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 5 (1881), p. 99.

6. 2. **the house of the Diagorids.** See vi. 7. 1 *sqq.*

6. 2. **Polyclitus, an Argive** etc. As to the younger Polyclitus, see note on ii. 22. 7.

6. 2. **a public friend of the Phocian nation.** A decree of the Phocian confederacy conferring the position of public friend (*proxenos*) on three men of Larissa has been found inscribed on a stone at Elatea, the chief city of Phocis. See *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique* 10 (1886), p. 359 *sq.*; P. Paris, *Élatée*, pp. 61, 210 *sqq.* Other examples of *proxeny* (public friendship) conferred on individuals by confederacies are known from inscriptions. See S. Reinach, *Traité d'epigraphie Grecque*, p. 361. As to the Phocian confederacy, cp. x. 5. 1 *sq.*

6. 3. **Nicodamus —— made the statue of Damoxenidas.** The pedestal of this statue was found 8 metres south of the second column of the temple of Hera (counting from the east), 18th October 1879. Its original position was probably to the east of the north-east corner of the temple of Zeus, near the statues of Callias (§ 1, above), Eucles (§ 2), and Euthymus (§ 4, below). The pedestal is of black limestone. On the top is the print of the left foot of a life-size statue; the boxer seems to have been represented lunging out with his left foot far in advance to deliver a blow. The inscription is on the upper (horizontal) side of the pedestal. It runs thus:

Νικόδαμος ἐποίησε.
Δαμοξε[νίδ]ας Μαινάλιος.

"Nicodamus made (the statue). Damoxenidas a Maenalian." The second line (containing the name of the boxer) belongs to the original inscription, and dates from about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. The first line (containing the name of the sculptor) is much later, dating perhaps from the first century B.C. This shows that the inscription was partially renewed about that time. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 158; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 208, No. 328; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 98. The sculptor Nicodamus must have been at work soon after 420 B.C., since he made a statue of Androsthenes, who won a victory in that year (§ 1 of this chapter). For mention of other works by Nicodamus see v. 25. 7; v. 26. 6; vi. 3. 9.

6. 4. **Euthymus.** The lower block of the base which supported the statue of Euthymus was found at Olympia 2 metres east of the pedestal of the Eretrian bull (see v. 27. 9 note) on 5th March 1878. It is of Pentelic marble and bears the following inscription:

Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς 'Αστυκλέος τρὶς 'Ολύμπι' ἐνίκων
εἰκόνα δ' ἔστησεν τήνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν.
Εὔθυμος Λοκρὸς ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου ἀνέθηκε.
Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν.

"I, Euthymus a Locrian, son of Astycles, was thrice victorious at Olympia, and he (*sic*) set up this statue for mortals to behold. Euthymus a Locrian from Zephyrium dedicated (this statue). Pythagoras a Samian made (it)." An examination of the stone shows that the words *τῆνδε βροτοῖς ἐσορᾶν* were carved by another and less skilful hand than the rest of the inscription, and that the word *ἀνέθηκε* is an addition made to the original inscription by the same less skilful hand. Hence it is supposed that the statue was originally dedicated, not by Euthymus himself, but by some one else whose name was mentioned in the second line, and that for some reason this name was struck out and the inscription altered into its present form. This explains the awkwardness of making Euthymus speak in the first person in the first line and in the third person in the second line. Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold suppose that the statue was set up not by Euthymus himself, but by his native city Locri; that the original inscription recorded this fact: and that the Eleans, offended at any state besides their own presuming to award such an honour, caused the inscription to be altered in such a way as to make it appear that the statue had been erected by Euthymus himself.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 144; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 151; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 82, No. 127; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 388; *id.*, *Imagines Ins. Gr. Ant.* p. 46; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 23; Kaibel, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 34 (1879), p. 203; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 156; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graec.* No. 378.

According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* vii. 152) the statue of Euthymus at Olympia and another statue of him at Locri were struck by lightning on the same day, in consequence of which the Delphic oracle commanded that sacrifices should regularly be offered to Euthymus, both in his lifetime and after his death.

The first Olympic victory of Euthymus was won in Ol. 74 (484 B.C.), as Pausanias tells us (§ 5). This gives a clue to the date of the sculptor Pythagoras, who made the statue. He also made a statue of Astylus, who won Olympic victories in 488, 484, 480 B.C. (See vi. 13. 1 note.) Pliny must therefore be mistaken in saying (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 49) that Pythagoras flourished in Ol. 90 (420 B.C.) Pausanias always speaks of this sculptor as a citizen of Rhegium (vi. 4. 4; vi. 6. 1; vi. 13. 7; vi. 18. 1). Pliny, indeed (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 59), and Diogenes Laertius (viii. 1. 47) distinguish the sculptor Pythagoras of Rhegium from the sculptor Pythagoras of Samos. But as the statue of Euthymus was by Pythagoras of Samos, and Pausanias, in mentioning the name of the sculptor (§ 6), does not distinguish him from Pythagoras of Rhegium, we may assume that the two were identical. Probably Pythagoras was one of those Samians who, at the instigation of Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, settled in Zancle (Messene), ousting the old inhabitants (Herodotus, vi. 23 *sqq.*) This took place about 494 B.C.; and as the Samians in Zancle may have been subject to Anaxilas of Rhegium (cp. Thucydides, vi. 4), it is possible that the sculptor Pythagoras described himself sometimes as a Samian, sometimes as a Rhegian.

As to the sculptor and his works see Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 489-507; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] I. p. 263 *sqq.*; H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, I. p. 132 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 277 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] I. p. 239 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, I. pp. 409-412.

Prof. Waldstein has argued that the so-called Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum and the statue commonly called 'Apollo on the *omphalos*,' which was found in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens in 1862 and is now in the National Museum at Athens, are copies of the statue of Euthymus by Pythagoras of Rhegium. They appear to be undoubtedly copies of the same statue, of which there are two other replicas, one in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, and another (inferior one) in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. The statue represents a young man of extremely powerful build, standing in an easy attitude. From the severity of its style the statue probably belongs to the first half of the fifth century B.C. Another theory is that the statues in question are copies of the Apollo of Calamis. See i. 3. 4 with the note, where the literature of the subject is given (vol. 2. p. 66).

6. 4. **the river Caecinus —— the wonderful phenomenon of the grasshoppers.** The story that the grasshoppers chirped as usual in the territory of Locri but were silent in the territory of Rhegium, is told by other writers, but they place the boundary, not at the Caecinus, but at the Halex. See Strabo, vi. p. 260; Timaeus, quoted by Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 1; Conon, *Narrationes*, 5. Diodorus says (iv. 22) that Hercules, being disturbed in his sleep by the chirping of the insects, prayed that they might disappear; the gods heard his prayer and grasshoppers were never afterwards seen in that district. For references in ancient writers to the song or chirping of the grasshopper, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), 1865, p. 80 *sqq.*

6. 5. **Theagenes, the Thasian.** See vi. 11. 2 *sqq.*

6. 7. **Euthymus fought with the Hero.** The following story of the victory of Euthymus over the Hero or ghost is told more briefly by Strabo (vi. p. 255), Aelian (*Var. hist.* viii. 18), Suidas (*s.v.* Εὔθυμος), and Eustathius (on Homer, *Odyss.* i. 185). Of these writers, Suidas copies Pausanias, and Eustathius copies Strabo. The name of the drunken sailor who became a Hero was Polites, according to Strabo and Eustathius. Suidas calls him Alybas. According to Strabo, the Hero's shrine was near Temesa, and was shaded with wild olive trees. (As to the wild olive, cp. Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 841 *sqq.*, with the Schol. on *v.* 848; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 161.) The supernatural beings whom the Greeks called Heroes seem to have been always the souls of dead men, who in their lives had rendered themselves conspicuous for good or evil. Heroes, in this sense, were often regarded as dangerous. Thus it is said: "They are thought to be mischievous. Hence persons passing their shrines keep silence, lest they should suffer some harm" (Hesychius, *s.v.* κρείττονας). On the nature and worship of these Heroes, see J. Wassner, *De heroum apud Graecos cultu* (Kiliae, 1883); E. Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 137-186; and the work of Ukert, referred to in the next note.

6. 8. **the ghost of the murdered man.** The word translated 'ghost' in this chapter is *δαίμων*. No one word in English bears all the meanings of *δαίμων*, which must be translated variously according to the context. Here it is used of the spirit and ghost of a dead man, which is active after death. The word occurs in the same sense in a sepulchral inscription of Paros, published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 6 (1882), p. 246:

ταῦρον δ' ἀμφὶ πῦρ ἔσφαξαν, τιμαῖσι σέβοντες
δαιμονί μου νέρθεν σὺν χθονίοισι θεοῖς.

"They sacrificed a bull in the fire to my ghost and to the gods below." On *δαίμονες* in general, see Ukert, 'Ueber Dämonen, Heroen und Genien,' *Abhandlungen d. phil. hist. Classe d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.* (Leipsic), 1 (1850), pp. 137-219; Gerhard, 'Ueber Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien,' *Abhandlungen d. könig., Akad. d. Wissen zu Berlin*, Philol. hist. Abhandl., 1852, pp. 237-266; Ad. Wahrmund, 'Ueber den Begriff *δαίμων* in seiner historischen Entwickelung,' *Zeitschrift für die oesterreichischen Gymnasien*, 10 (1859), pp. 761-783.

6. 8. **to appease the Hero —— and to give him every year** etc. The tastes of the dead man were inferred from those which he had displayed in his life. Similarly an English officer, dying in a remote part of India, was worshipped as a demon by the natives and received offerings of spirits and cigars (*Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, 1 (1886), p. 104).

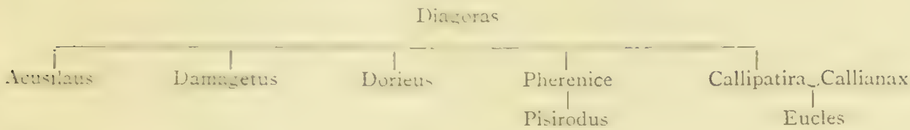
6. 10. **the town is inhabited to this day.** Strabo mentions (vi. p. 255) that in his day the natives of Temesa pronounced the name of their town Tempsa, but Strabo himself uses the form Temesa.

7. 1. **Charmides, an Elean, a boxer.** A large block of the pedestal which supported the statue of Charmides was found in the East Byzantine wall at Olympia, 15th March 1878, immediately south of the pedestal of Euthymus (vi. 6. 4), beside which Pausanias saw it. The block is of grey marble. From the footprints on the top it appears that the statue was of bronze and about life size, and that Charmides was represented standing still with his feet close together. The inscription, engraved on the upper surface of the block, is as follows:

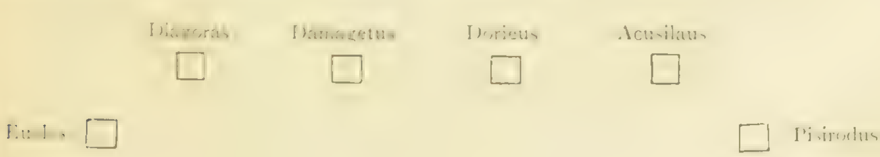
Βαλείου πύκτα [τ]οδε Χαρμ[ίδα ἀγλαὸν εἶδ]ο[ς]
[θάησα]ι, νίκας [μ]νά[μ]ατ' ['Ολυμπιά]δος.

"Thou beholdest in this the glorious form of Charmides, an Elean boxer, a memorial of an Olympic victory." The date of the victory of Charmides is unknown, but the position of his monument between those of Euthymus and the Diagorids raises a presumption that he belonged to the fifth century B.C. The inscription is not the original one, but a copy of it made perhaps in the first century B.C., and the block on which it is carved had, as the marks prove, previously served as the base of a different statue. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 156.

7. I. **the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family.** The family of Diagoras was as follows:



Pindar composed his seventh Olympic ode in honour of the victory of Diagoras in the boxing-match at Olympia, which took place in Ol. 79 (464 B.C.), according to a scholiast on Pindar (p. 157, ed. Boeckh). The same scholiast informs us that a copy of the ode, engraved in letters of gold, was dedicated in the sanctuary of Lindian Athena in Rhodes; and he describes, on the authority of Aristotle and Apollas, the statues of Diagoras and his family at Olympia in the following terms: "At Olympia, next after the statue of Lysander, stands the statue of Diagoras; it is four cubits and five fingers high; the right hand is uplifted, the left hand is inclined towards the body. Next to this statue is the statue of Damagetus, his eldest son, who bore his grandfather's name and competed in the pancratium; the statue is four cubits high, or five fingers less than that of his father. Next to it is the statue of his brother Dorieus, also a boxer. After him, thirdly, is Acusilaus, with the boxing-strap on his left hand, but lifting up his right hand in an attitude of prayer. These sons of the victor stand on pedestals with their father. After them are statues of two sons of his daughters, victors also; one of them is Eucles, who beat Andron in boxing, and after him is Pisirrhothus" (*sic*). This description of the statues is doubtless taken by the scholiast, directly or indirectly, from Aristotle's work on the Olympic victors (Diogenes Laertius, v. 26; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 2. p. 182 *sqq.*) Apollas, the other authority referred to by the scholiast, is almost unknown (cp. *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 306), but he probably copied from Aristotle. It will be observed that both Pausanias and Aristotle (as cited by the scholiast on Pindar) profess to describe the statues of Diagoras and his family in the order in which they stood, and that the two orders differ from each other. According to Pausanias the order was as follows:—Acusilaus, Dorieus, Damagetus, Diagoras, Eucles, Pisirodus. According to Aristotle the order was as follows: Diagoras, Damagetus, Dorieus, Acusilaus, Eucles, Pisirrhothus (Pisirodus). In order to reconcile this apparent discrepancy Dr. Purgold suggests that the statues of Diagoras and his three sons stood in one row, which Aristotle enumerated from left to right, while Pausanias described it from right to left, and that the statues of the two grandsons stood apart from the others, perhaps on the opposite side of the road, as thus:



Prof. Dittenberger, on the other hand, prefers to suppose that the positions of some of the statues in question were changed between the time of Aristotle and that of Pausanias, and he finds a confirmation of this view in some of the inscriptions belonging to them (see below).

Portions of the inscribed pedestals of four of the statues have been found at Olympia; the four are those of Diagoras, Damagetus, Dorieus, and Eucles. As to the inscribed base of the statue of Eucles see above, note on vi. 6. 2. With regard to the other three:

(1) Five small fragments of a base of white marble were found at Olympia in 1876 and 1880. On the upper edge of the stone is the inscription:

Δια[γόρ]ας Δαμ[αγ]ήτου Ῥό[διος].

"Diagoras, a Rhodian, son of Damagetus." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 151.

(2) A block of white marble, which had formed part of a pedestal, was found built into one of the later brick walls of the Leonidaeum. It bears the inscription:

Δαμάγητος Διαγόρα Ῥ[όδιος].

"Damagetus, a Rhodian, son of Diagoras." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 152; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), p. 52. No. 334. From the fact that the pedestal was found far from its original position, built into the wall of an edifice which certainly existed in the time of Pausanias, Prof. Treu and the late G. Hirschfeld inferred that Pausanias cannot have seen the statue of Damagetus, but must have borrowed his notice of it from an older writer (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 75 *sq.*, 113). But, in the first place, the brick wall where the pedestal was found belongs to a Roman restoration which, according to Dr. Dörpfeld's repeated investigations, was later than the time of Pausanias. And, in the second place, the pedestal itself belongs, not to the Roman restoration at all, but to a Byzantine wall with which one of the doorways of the Roman edifice was built up. Thus the fact of the pedestal having been built into a Byzantine wall cannot prove that Pausanias did not see it and its statue in their original place. See Dittenberger and Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 262 *sqq.*

(3) A block of Parian marble, which had formed part of a pedestal, was found in three pieces at Olympia in 1877. Two of the pieces were found near the base of the statue of Telemachus (see vi. 13. 11 note); the third piece was found 10 metres west of the pedestal of the Victory of Paeonius (see v. 26. 1 note). On the block an inscription, containing a long list of athletic victories, is carefully cut in archaic letters of the Ionic alphabet. The inscription is mutilated. As restored by Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold it runs as follows:

[Δωριεὺς Διαγόρα Ῥόδιος]

[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον]	[Ἰσθμοῖ πύξ]
[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτιον]	[Ἰσθμοῖ πύξ]
[Ὀλυμπίαι παγκράτ]ιον	Ἰσθμ[οῖ]
[Πυθοῖ πύξ]	Ἰσθμ[ο]ῖ
[Πυθοῖ πύ]ξ	Νεμῆ[ι π]ύξ
[Πυθοῖ π]ὺξ ἀκονιτεί	Νεμῆι πύξ
[Ἰσθμο]ῖ πύξ	Ν[εμ]ῆι πύξ
[Ἰσθ]μοῖ πύξ	Νε[μ]ῆι πύξ
[Ἰσθ]μοῖ πύξ	[Νεμ]ῆι πύξ
[καὶ πα]νκράτιο[ν]	[Νεμῆι] π[ύξ]
	[Νεμῆι πύξ]

As thus restored, the inscription records that Dorieus, a Rhodian, son of Diagoras, won three victories at Olympia in the pancratium; three victories at Pytho (Delphi) in boxing, one of these three having been won without a contest; eight victories at the Isthmus, of which five were in boxing, one in the pancratium, and two in contests which are not specified; and seven victories at Nemea in boxing. This list of victories tallies with the list which Pausanias gives of Dorieus's victories (§§ 1 and 4 of this chapter), except that Pausanias does not mention the three Pythian victories, contenting himself with remarking that Dorieus won a victory at Pytho without a contest. But in the inscription as it stands the name of the victorious athlete is wanting; and others (including Messrs. Treu, Roehl, and Loewy) have preferred to suppose that the missing name is not that of Dorieus but that of Theagenes the Thasian, who won two victories at Olympia, three at Pytho, nine at Nemea, and ten at the Isthmus. See Paus. vi. 11. 4 *sq.* But to this view it is objected by Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold that on the stone there is not room enough for mention of the nine Nemean victories of Theagenes; and further that the mention of a Pythian victory, won without a contest, is a strong argument in favour of Dorieus (who is expressly said by Pausanias to have won such a victory) and against Theagenes (who is not said by Pausanias to have won such a victory). Victories won without contests were rare; Pausanias mentions only two examples (vi. 7. 4; vi. 11. 4), and if Theagenes had won such a victory, it is highly probable that Pausanias would have recorded it. Finally, if the athlete commemorated had been Theagenes the Thasian, the inscription would have been in the Thasian alphabet, whereas it is in the Ionian, which is known to have been currently used by the Rhodians (Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Geschichte des griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 47 *sq.*) On the whole, the evidence is decidedly in favour of the view that the inscription in question refers to Dorieus the Rhodian rather than to Theagenes the Thasian. The second Olympic victory of Dorieus was won in Ol. 88 (428 B.C.) (Thucydides, iii. 8), and hence his first and third victories fell in Ol. 87 (432 B.C.) and Ol. 89 (424 B.C.) respectively. The monument at Olympia, with the long list of his many victories at the various games, was probably erected at the end of his career as an athlete, say about 420 B.C.; and with this

date the style of the inscription agrees perfectly. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 153; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 189, No. 87; *id.*, 37 (1879), p. 212; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 380; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 29; Foucart, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 11 (1887), pp. 289-296; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 24, pp. 59 *sq.*, 377. It is remarkable that while the inscription on the pedestal of Dorieus's statue is in the style of the fifth century B.C., the inscriptions on the pedestals of his father and elder brother, Diagoras and Damagetus (Nos. 1 and 2 above), clearly belong to a later age, namely the second half of the fourth or even the beginning of the third century B.C. In this fact Prof. Dittenberger sees a confirmation of his view that the positions of the statues of Diagoras and his family were changed between the time of Aristotle and that of Pausanias (see above). He supposes that when the statues were shifted, the pedestals and inscriptions, or rather some of them, were renewed; and that among those which were renewed were the pedestals of Diagoras, Damagetus, and probably of Eucles also. See W. Dittenberger, in *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 260 *sq.*

7. 2. **The statue of Diagoras is by Callicles.** As the victory of Diagoras was won in 464 B.C., and the sculptor Callicles was probably not at work till after 420 B.C. (see next note), the statue of Diagoras would seem to have been made many years after his victory (H. Brunn, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 246).

7. 2. **Theocosmus made the statue of Zeus at Megara.** See i. 40. 4, from which it appears that this sculptor, father of the sculptor Callicles, was a contemporary of Phidias and was at work at the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) See also x. 9. 8.

7. 2. **Eucles.** See vi. 6. 2 note.

7. 2. **Callipatira.** See v. 6. 7 *sq.* with the note.

7. 3. **the young men —— carried their father** etc. A scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.* vii., Introd., p. 158, ed. Böckh) says: "It is said that the sons being victorious at Olympia on the same day as their father, took and carried him about the racecourse (stadium) amid the admiration of the Greeks." It will be observed that Pausanias does not, like the scholiast, say that Diagoras himself won a victory on the same day as his sons. The triple victory could hardly have been won in 464 B.C., and we do not know that Diagoras won any Olympic victory after that year. Cicero (*Disput. Tuscul.* i. 46. 111), like Pausanias, only says that Diagoras's two sons were victorious on the same day, and he reports the saying of a Spartan who, congratulating Diagoras on that occasion, told him, "Die, Diagoras, for you will not ascend into heaven" (*i.e.* you can never hope to be happier than you are to-day). Plutarch, who reports the same saying (*Pelopidas*, 34), states that Diagoras saw his grandsons crowned as well as his sons.

7. 3. **pelted him with flowers.** Cp. iv. 16. 6.

7. 3. **being descended from the daughter of Aristomenes.** See iv. 24. 2 *sq.*

7. 4. **Dorieus —— won eight victories** etc. See above, p. 27.

7. 4. **He and Pisirodus —— had gone to Thurii** etc. Xenophon

says (*Hellenica*, i. 5. 19) that Dorieus had fled from Athens and Rhodes in consequence of being condemned to death by the Athenians; that in the Peloponnesian war he fought against Athens; and that, while in command of two Thurian vessels, he was captured in 407 B.C. by the Athenians, but released by them without ransom. We know from Thucydides also (viii. 35 and 84) that Dorieus commanded a Thurian squadron against Athens in the Peloponnesian war. Cp. Diodorus, xiii. 38 and 45.

7. 7. **their treatment of Thrasyllus** etc. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 7; Diodorus, xiii. 101-103. Cp. S. A. Naber, 'De slag bij de Arginusen,' *Mnemosyne*, 1 (1852), pp. 217-256; von Bamberg, in *Hermes*, 13 (1878), pp. 509-514; A. Philippi, 'Die Arginusenschlacht und das Psephisma des Kannonos,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 35 (1880), pp. 607-609.

7. 8. **Hellanicus.** The pedestal of his statue was found at Olympia, 11th March 1878, in the East Byzantine wall, to the south of the Eretrian bull (see v. 27. 9 note). It is a block of reddish-violet marble, of a fine crystalline structure. On the upper surface is the print of the left foot of the statue, together with a round hole for the attachment of the right foot, which was drawn back and only touched the ground with the ball of the foot, like the statue of Cyniscus (vi. 4. 11 note). The inscription, which is carved on the upper surface of the pedestal, runs thus: Ἑλλάνικος Ἀλεῖος ἐκ Λεπρέου. "Hellanicus, an Elean from Lepreus." This confirms Pausanias's statement (v. 5. 3) that whenever any citizens of Lepreus won prizes at Olympia "the herald proclaimed them Eleans from Lepreus." The victory of Hellanicus, as Pausanias informs us, was won in Ol. 89 (424 B.C.) The inscription, however, is much later; to judge from its style it belongs to the first century B.C. It was doubtless cut to replace the original inscription, which had worn away, but of which there are still faint traces on the upper surface of the base. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 155.

7. 10. **cheese from the basket.** *I.e.* new-made cheese. As soon as the milk had coagulated, it was taken out of the pail and placed in baskets, to let the whey ooze out of it. Some farmers placed weights on the baskets, to squeeze out the whey the faster. When taken out of the baskets, the cheeses were placed on clean boards in a cool shady place. See Columella, *De re rustica*, vii. 8; Palladius, vi. 9; Pollux, vii. § 175. Pausanias here tells us that the athletes used to eat the cheese fresh from the basket, as soon as the whey had been strained off.

7. 10. **that of Pythocles —— is by Polyclitus.** The pedestal of this statue was found at Olympia between the Pelopium and the temple of Hera, 4th June 1879. It is a quadrangular block of black limestone, and bears on its upper surface the four following inscriptions, of which the mutilated inscriptions (*a*) (*b*) are the original ones; the other two are copies, made perhaps in the first century B.C. or A.D.

(*a*) Πυθοκλ
(*b*) Πολύκλειτος
(*c*) Πυθοκλῆς Ἀλεῖος
(*d*) [Πολύ]κλειτος ἐποίει Ἀργεῖος.

"Pythocles, an Elean. Polyclitus, an Argive, made (the statue)." The inscription (*a*) is in the Ionic, (*b*) in the Argive alphabet. The date of the original inscription (namely *a* and *b*) appears to be soon after the Peloponnesian war, *i.e.* at the close of the fifth century B.C. or at the very beginning of the fourth century B.C. It is, therefore, a moot point whether the sculptor who made the statue was the elder or the younger Polyclitus. He was certainly a contemporary of Daedalus the Sicyonian (see note on vi. 2. 8) and his brother Naucydes; it is natural, therefore, to conclude that he was their brother Polyclitus (see note on ii. 22. 7). This conclusion is generally accepted, but the question still remains whether the Polyclitus who made the statue of Pythocles and was brother to Daedalus and Naucydes is to be identified with the elder Polyclitus, who made the great image of the Argive Hera about 423 B.C. (see note on ii. 17. 4), or with the younger Polyclitus, who built the Rotunda in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius about 350 B.C. (see note on ii. 27. 3). We have seen reason to identify him with the younger Polyclitus (note on ii. 22. 7); but Messrs. Robert, Dittenberger, and Purgold argue that he was the elder sculptor of that name. A consideration which weighs with them is the position of the image of Hebe by Naucydes side by side with the great image of Hera by the elder Polyclitus (ii. 17. 5 *sq.*); they infer that the images were contemporary and that the sculptors were brothers.

The marks on the pedestal of Pythocles show that at some time the original statue was removed and replaced by another, which stood in quite a different attitude. The removal of the statue was probably the occasion of renewing the inscription, and if the renewal took place in the first century B.C. or A.D. it will follow that this was the date of the removal of the statue. It seems probable, therefore, that the original statue was removed by some Roman, possibly by the emperor Nero, and transported to Italy, and that after its removal the Elean authorities replaced it by another, in order not to leave the pedestal empty. This conclusion was confirmed by the discovery at Rome in 1891 of a marble pedestal which had supported either the original statue of Pythocles or a replica of it. The pedestal was found near the corner of the Via del Sole and the Salara Vecchia, and it bears the following inscription: Πυθοκλῆς Ἠλεῖος πένταθλος. Πολυκλείτου Ἀργείου. "Pythocles of Elis, a pentathlete. (A work) of Polyclitus the Argive." See *Mittheil. d. arch. Instituts*, Römische Abtheilung, 6 (1891), pp. 304-306; *Athenaeum*, 5th March 1892, p. 314; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 546. The marks on the top of the Olympian pedestal show that the original statue stood resting on the right foot, while the left leg was drawn back and touched the ground only with the ball of the foot. This was the attitude of some of the

most famous statues of the elder Polyclitus, and the fact has been used as an argument in favour of the elder Polyclitus having made the statue of Pythocles. Prof. Furtwängler argues that two existing statues of athletes, one in the Vatican at Rome (cp. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen*, 1. p. 28) and one at Munich (Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*,[5] No. 303), are copies of Polyclitus's statue of Pythocles. They are in Polyclitus's style and the size of their feet agrees with the original foot-marks on the Olympian pedestal. They represent a young naked athlete standing with the weight of his body on the right foot, his left foot being somewhat drawn back. The head is turned to the left: the right arm hangs by his side; and the left arm from the elbow is stretched out, the hand grasping a small vessel of the shape called *aryballos*.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 162, 163; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 149 *sq.*; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 144, No. 286; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 44; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 91; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 83; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3275; C. Robert, *Archäologische Märchen*, p. 104 *sqq.*; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 471 *sqq.*

8. 1. **Phradmon, an Argive.** He was a contemporary of Myron and the elder Polyclitus, and flourished in Ol. 90 (420-417 B.C.), according to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 49). He made a fine statue of an Amazon (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 53), and a bronze group of twelve oxen which stood in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena in Thessaly (*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 743). A Roman writer classes him with Polyclitus and Ageladas (Columella, *De re rustica*, x. 30). Cp. H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 286.

8. 1. **he also inscribed at Olympia the names of the victors** etc. Cp. vi. 6. 3.

8. 2. **The story, as told by some humbugs, is this** etc. The story is told by Pliny on the authority of Scopas, who wrote a work on the Olympic victors (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 82), and by Augustine on the authority of Varro (Augustine, *De civ. dei*, xviii. 17). Both these writers give the name of the athlete as Demaenetus, but they agree with Pausanias that he was a Parrhasian. As to the transformation into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, see viii. 2. 6 note.

8. 3. **Eubotas the Cyrenian.** His victory in the foot-race was won Ol. 93 (408 B.C.) (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, i. 2. 1; Diodorus, xiii. 68). The occasion when Eubotas was said to have won the chariot-race was Ol. 104 (364 B.C.) See vi. 4. 2 note. The interval between the two victories of Eubotas is considerable; but we must remember that the prize in the chariot-race was awarded, not to the driver, but to the owner of the chariot; there is therefore no reason why a victor in the chariot-race should not have been an old man.

8. 4. **The occasion of Timanthes' death** etc. The following story has been copied from Pausanias, with some verbal changes, by Suidas (*s.v.* Τιμάνθης).

8. 5. **Philip, an Azanian from Pellana.** A bronze plate, which had apparently been let into the front of a pedestal, was found east

of the north-east corner of the Wrestling-School (*Palaestra*) at Olympia, 19th May 1878; it bears the following inscription:

ὯΩδε στὰς ὁ Πελασγὸς ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποκα πύκτας
τὸμ Πολυδεύκειογ χερσὶν ἔφανε νόμον,
ἆμος ἐκαρύχθη νικαφόρος· ἀλλὰ πάτερ Ζεῦ
καὶ πάλιν Ἀρκαδίᾳ καλὸν ἄμειβε κλέος,
τίμασον δὲ Φίλιππον, ὃς ἔνθαδε τοὺς ἀπὸ νάσων
τέσσαρας εὐθείᾳ παῖδας ἔκλινε μάχᾳ.

"Standing in this attitude the Pelasgian (*i.e.* Arcadian) boxer once at the Alpheus displayed the science of Pollux (*i.e.* boxing) with his hands, when he was proclaimed victor. But, O father Zeus, give fair renown to Arcadia again, and honour Philip, who here laid low in fair fight four boys from the islands." This inscription was doubtless attached to the base of a statue of Philip, who is probably the Philip here mentioned by Pausanias. The only doubt is created by Pausanias's statement that the statue of Philip was by Myron. The great sculptor Myron flourished in the first half of the fifth century B.C.; but this inscription, to judge from the character of the letters, belongs to the beginning of the third century, or possibly to the end of the fourth century B.C. Various solutions of the difficulty were suggested by E. Curtius. Two Arcadian boy-boxers called Philip may have won Olympic victories at different times; or the Myron who made the statue may not have been the great sculptor but a later namesake; or lastly, the statue may have been by the great Myron, but may have been afterwards taken to represent Philip. Messrs. Loewy, Hoffmann, Dittenberger, and Purgold prefer the second of these solutions, and in fact there is some independent evidence that there was a later sculptor called Myron. See note on vi. 2. 2, 'Lycinus brought foals.'

Curtius further pointed out that the inscription read by Pausanias on the pedestal of Philip's statue cannot well have been earlier than the latter part of the fourth century B.C.; since before that time Pellana, the birthplace of Philip, was in the hands of Sparta, and a native of that town would not have dared to proclaim himself as an Azanian, *i.e.* as an Arcadian.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 174; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1887), p. 84 *sq.*, No. 130; Kaibel, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 34 (1879), p. 205; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 126; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum*, No. 388; cp. Scherer, *De Olympionicarum statuis*, p. 37 *sq.* As to Pellana, see iii. 21. 2 note; as to Azania, see viii. 4. 3.

8. 5. **Critodamus from Clitor.** A block of the pedestal of his statue was found at Olympia (26th April 1879) to the east of the Roman triumphal gateway, in front of the south-east colonnade. The block is of black limestone, and bears the inscription:

Κριτόδαμος
Λίχα Κλειτόριος.
Κλέων ἐπόησε
Σικυώνιος.

"Critodamus of Clitor, son of Lichas. Cleon, a Sicyonian, made (the statue)." The inscription seems to date from the first half of the fourth century B.C., which agrees fairly with what we otherwise know of the date of the sculptor Cleon (see note on v. 21. 3). Pausanias, it will be observed, calls the athlete first Critodamus and afterwards Damocritus. The inscription proves that the first of the two names is correct. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 167; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 146, No. 289; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 96.

8. 5. **Alypus.** See vi. 1. 3.

8. 5. **The history of Promachus** etc. See vii. 27. 5 *sqq.*

8. 6. **Ageladas the Argive.** See note on iv. 33. 2.

8. 6. **when Isagoras —— seized the Acropolis of Athens** etc. See Herodotus v. 72, who specially mentions Timasitheus among the accomplices of Isagoras who were put to death by the Athenians. Cp. Paus. iii. 4. 2 note.

9. 1. **Theognetus —— his statue is by Ptolichus.** Simonides wrote an epigram in honour of Theognetus (*Anthol. Palat.* xvi. 2, where Θεόγνητον is a correction for Θεόκριτον). As Simonides died in Ol. 78. 3 (466 B.C.), the victory of Theognetus must have been not later than Ol. 78. 1 (468 B.C.) This fixes approximately the date of the sculptor Ptolichus. The sculptor Aristocles of Sicyon, here mentioned by Pausanias, must be distinguished from two other sculptors of the same name, viz. (1) Aristocles the Cydonian (v. 25. 11), and (2) Aristocles son of Cleoetas (v. 24. 5 note). As to the pupils and family of Aristocles the Sicyonian, see also § 3 of this chapter and vi. 3. 11. H. Brunn places them thus:

(1) Aristocles, about Ol. 70 (500 B.C.)
(2) Synnoon, pupil of the preceding.
(3) Ptolichus (son of the preceding), about Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) (But Ptolichus should rather be placed about 468 B.C. See above.)
(4) and (5) Unknown, but at work between Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) and Ol. 90 (420 B.C.)
(6) Sostratus, after Ol. 90 (420 B.C.)
(7) Pantias (son of the preceding), about Ol. 100 (380 B.C.)

See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 80 *sq.*; *id.*, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), *Philosoph. philolog. Cl.*, 1880, p. 480 *sq.* As to Ptolichus, see also vi. 10. 9; as to Pantias, vi. 14. 12. As to Canachus, see note on vii. 18. 10.

9. 2. **a statue of Xenocles.** The pedestal of this statue was found at Olympia, 16th January 1878, 4 metres north-east of the pedestal of the Messenian Victory (see v. 26. 1), in the East Byzantine wall. The pedestal is of coarse-grained yellowish marble, and bears the following inscriptions:

(*a*) Ξενοκλῆς Εὐθύφρονος Μαινάλιος
(*b*) Πολύκλε(ι)τος ἐποί(η)σε.
(*c*) [Μ]αινάλιος Ξενοκλῆς νίκασα Εὐθύφρονος υἱός,
ἀπτὴς μο(ν)νοπαλᾶν τέσαρα σώμαθ' ἑλών.

(*a*) "Xenocles a Maenalian, son of Euthyphron."
(*b*) "Polyclitus made (the statue)."
(*c*) "I, Xenocles a Maenalian, son of Euthyphron, won a victory, having conquered four wrestlers without myself receiving a fall."

Inscriptions (*a*) and (*b*) are on the upper (horizontal) side of the pedestal; (*c*) is on the front vertical side. On the upper surface the footprints of the bronze statue, which was about life size, are visible. The feet were turned somewhat outwards; the left was a little in front of the right. From their style it appears that the inscriptions may be dated between 400 and 380 B.C. It is, therefore, doubtful whether the sculptor was the elder or the younger Polyclitus (see above, note on vi. 7. 10, 'Pythocles'). See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 164; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. p. 150; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 83 *sq.*; Kaibel, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 34 (1879), p. 206; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 90; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graecorum*, No. 380. Prof. Furtwängler, however, thinks that the inscription might be dated about 420 B.C., in which case the statue must have been by the elder Polyclitus. He identifies two existing statues, one at Paris and one at Rome, as copies of Polyclitus's statue of Xenocles. His grounds for doing so are that the statues are in the style of Polyclitus and that the relative position of the feet agrees with the footprints on the Olympian pedestal. They represent a boy standing at rest, the weight on the right foot, the left foot slightly advanced, the head looking to the right. Prof. Furtwängler enumerates other statues, torsos, and heads which he conceives to be copies or imitations of the statue of Xenocles. See A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 415, 491 *sqq.*

9. 3. **Sostratus.** Sculptors of this name are mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51 and 60) and Polybius (iv. 78). In the Dionysiac theatre at Athens the base of a statue has been found signed by the sculptor Sostratus, son of Euphranor. And in the Piraeus there is an inscription from the base of a statue containing the name of the sculptor Sostratus. See Loewy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 105, 106. Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 81, 295, 298, 299, and note on viii. 26. 7.

9. 3. **the sanctuary of Peace in Rome.** The Temple of Peace at Rome was built by Vespasian to commemorate the conquest of Judaea and his own accession to the empire. It was begun in 70 A.D. and dedicated in 75 A.D. In it were deposited vast numbers of the finest works of art, gathered from many distant lands. "In this temple," says Josephus, "was gathered and deposited everything to see which men had previously travelled all over the world." Amongst the spoils which it contained was the golden candlestick from the temple at Jerusalem. According to Herodian the temple was the largest and most beautiful building in Rome. Pliny says that it was one of the most beautiful buildings that the world had ever seen. It was destroyed by fire in the reign of Commodus. See Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 7; Dio Cassius,

lxvi. 15; Herodian, i. 14. 2 *sq.*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 102; J. H. Middleton, *The remains of Ancient Rome*, 2. p. 13 *sqq.*

9. 3. **a phantom —— announced the victory.** This story is told also by Aelian (*Var. hist.* ix. 2), who mentions that according to another version Taurosthenes despatched a pigeon with a purple flag fastened to it, which flew to Aegina with the news of victory in one day.

9. 4. **Cratinus, a Spartan.** Nothing more is known of this sculptor.

9. 4. **the chariot of Gelo.** In the Wrestling-School (Palaestra) at Olympia there were found in 1878 and 1884 three large blocks of a pedestal of Parian marble, which is believed to have supported the chariot of Gelo. The inscription on the blocks is mutilated, but with the help of Pausanias's observations it may be restored thus:

[Γέλων Δεινομένεος Γελῷ]ος ἀνέθηκε
Γλαυκίας Αἰγινάτας ἐ[π]οίησε.

"Gelo of Gela, son of Deinomenes, dedicated (the chariot). Glaucias an Aeginetan made it." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 143; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 142; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 359; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 68; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 28; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 126; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3410. Gelo's victory was won (as Pausanias tells us) in Ol. 73 (488 B.C.) He had made himself tyrant of Gela in Ol. 72. 2 (491 B.C.) See Dionysius Halicarn., *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 1. It was not till 485 B.C. that Gelo made himself master of Syracuse. Pausanias appears to have taken the date of Gelo's occupation of Gela and transferred it by mistake to his occupation of Syracuse. Hence his argument that the Olympic victor could not have been the tyrant Gelo falls to the ground. Cp. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, under the years 491 and 485; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, 2. pp. 124, 127. The fact that Glaucias of Aegina made this chariot for Gelo proves that Glaucias flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C. Other works of his are mentioned by Pausanias below (§ 9 of this chapter; vi. 10. 3; vi. 11. 9).

9. 6. **Cleomedes of Astypalaea.** His story is told also by Plutarch (*Romulus*, 28), Eusebius (*Praepar. Evang.* v. 34), and Suidas (*s.v.* Κλεομήδης). Suidas copies from Pausanias. Cp. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 197 *sq.* From an inscription found in the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Epidaurus we learn that Astypalaea was a colony of Epidaurus, or at least that it was so regarded by the Epidaurians, who accorded to the Astypaleans immunity from imposts and participation in their rites (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 73, Inscr. No. 233). According to Scymnus (*Orbis descriptio*, 551) Astypalaea was a colony of Megara.

10. 1. **Glaucus the Carystian.** The Olympic victory of Glaucus seems to have been gained in Ol. 75 (480 B.C.) For a writer in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* (1. p. 232) says that Glaucus was crowned at Olympia in the twenty-fifth Olympiad, *πέμπτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν* 'Ολυμπιάδα, where, as Siebelis pointed out, we must necessarily read *ἑβδομηκοστὴν* for *εἰκοστήν*. This is proved by the statement of the same

writer in the *Anecdota* that Glaucus was assassinated at the instigation of Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse; for Gelo was tyrant of Syracuse from Ol. 73. 4 to Ol. 75. 3 (485-478 B.C.) The correction is further confirmed by the fact that the statue of Glaucus was by Glaucias of Aegina (§ 3), for this sculptor was a contemporary of Gelo's (see note on vi. 9. 4). The writer in the *Anecdota* states that Glaucus won three victories at the Pythian, and ten at the Isthmian games; and that he was four cubits high all but five fingers. That Glaucus was a famous boxer is proved by the repeated mention of him by ancient writers (Demosthenes, xviii. 319, p. 331; Aeschines, iii. 189; Lucian, *Pro imaginibus*, 19; *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Bibl. Reg. Parisiensis*, ed. Cramer, 2. p. 154). Suidas (*s.v.* Γλαῦκος) copies his account of Glaucus from Pausanias. Philostratus tells the same anecdote of Glaucus that Pausanias tells, but attributes the exhortation at the critical moment to the trainer Tisias instead of to the boy's father (*De arte gymnastica*, 20). As to Glaucus the sea demon, from whom the athlete was supposed to be descended, see an article by J. de Witte, 'Le dieu marin Glaucus,' *Revue archéologique*, 2 (1845), pp. 622-630; and cp. ix. 22. 7 note.

10. 4. **His statue has not only a shield —— but also a helmet —— and greaves etc.** On some Greek vases the armed race is represented as it was run in the old style, the runners being armed with shield, helmet, and greaves, as Damaretus was represented in his statue. On other, generally later, vases the runners have shields and helmets but no greaves. See Daremberg et Saglio, *Diction. des antiquités*, 1. pt. 2. p. 1644; Schreiber, *Bilderatlas*, Taf. xxii. 3 and 5; and especially Fr. Hauser, 'Zur Tübinger Bronze,' *Jahrbuch d. archäol. Instituts*, 2 (1887), pp. 95-107; *ib.* 10 (1895), pp. 182-203. "In the oldest vase-paintings," says Mr. Hauser, "the wearing of greaves is not constant, as we should expect it to be from the statement of Pausanias as to the equipment of the runners in the armed race. In fact greaves can be shown only in three representations of this date (say roughly about 520 B.C.), while in four they are wanting. From this time onward the wearing of greaves prevails more and more, but shortly before the middle of the fifth century B.C. it ceases suddenly and once for all" (*Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 10 (1895), p. 199). The shield which the runners in the vase-paintings carry is always round: the helmet is generally of the Attic shape, with round cheek-pieces and a round slit above the eyes (*ib.*) As to Damaretus and the introduction of the armed race, cp. v. 8. 10; viii. 26. 2; x. 7. 7.

10. 5. **the Argives Eutelidas and Chrysothemis.** These sculptors are not otherwise known. They probably flourished about Ol. 70 (500 B.C.), since they made the statues of Damaretus and his son Theopompus, of whom the former won victories in Ol. 65 and Ol. 66 (520 and 516 B.C.) Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 61.

10. 5. **Iccus, a Tarentine.** He flourished in Ol. 77 (472 B.C.), according to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Τάρας). The strictness of his training is referred to by Plato (*Laws*, viii. pp. 839 e-840 a, cp. *Protagoras*, p. 316 d) and Aelian (*Nat. anim.* vi. 1; *Var. hist.* xi. 3). Lucian

mentions him among the famous trainers (*Historia quomodo conscribenda*, 35).

10. 6. **a statue of Pantarces, an Elean.** He won the prize in the boys' wrestling-match in Ol. 86 (436 B.C.) See v. 11. 3. The statue of Pantarces here mentioned by Pausanias has been by some identified with the statue of the boy by Phidias, which Pausanias mentioned above (vi. 4. 5). But (1) on the base of the latter statue the only name inscribed seems to have been that of the sculptor, Phidias. Now it is highly improbable that the statue of an Olympic victor should not have been inscribed with the victor's name and the contest in which he had been victorious. (2) If the statue of Pantarces here noticed had been by Phidias, Pausanias would almost certainly have said so. (3) It is very unlikely that he would have mentioned the same statue twice over in such a way as to lead the reader to suppose that he was describing two separate works. Cp. Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1099 note 2; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 23 (1888), p. 444; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 62.

It is said that Phidias inscribed the name of his favourite Pantarces on the finger of his great statue of Zeus at Olympia (Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις). But the Pantarces whose name was so inscribed was said to be an Argive. Hence he may have been a different person from the Olympic victor, who was an Elean. The Olympic victory of Pantarces the Elean in 436 B.C. is sometimes appealed to as evidence that Phidias was at work on his great image of Zeus at this time (vol. 3. p. 534). But if the favourite of Phidias was a different person from Pantarces the Elean, this argument would fall to the ground. See G. Loeschcke, in *Historische Untersuchungen A. Schäfer gewidmet*, pp. 34-38; C. Robert, *l.c.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 368 Anm. 3.

The statue here mentioned by Pausanias is not to be confounded either with the supposed likeness of Pantarces on the throne of Zeus (v. 11. 3) or with the statue of him erected by the Achaeans (vi. 15. 2).

10. 6. **Ageladas.** See note on iv. 33. 2.

10. 6. **the image of Zeus, which was dedicated by the Greeks** etc. See v. 23. 1.

10. 9. **that of Agiadas is by Serambus.** Two fragments of white marble which perhaps formed part of the base of this statue were found at Olympia in 1879. One of the fragments was found near the temple of Hera, the other to the east of the temple of Zeus. The inscription, as restored by Roehl, runs thus:

> [Εἰκόνα Ϝαλεῖος τάνδ' Ἀγι]άδας ἀνέθ[ηκε]
> [πὺξ παῖς νικάσα]ς καλὸν ἀ[γῶνα Διός].
> [Σηράμβου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγ]ίνᾳ μ' ἰ[δοῦ ἐνθάδε Ϝέργον].

"Agiadas, an Elean, dedicated this statue, having been victorious as a boy in boxing at the goodly games of Zeus. Behold me here, a work of Serambus, the man of Aegina." The restoration is, however, very uncertain. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 150; *Archäologische*

Zeitung, 37 (1879), p. 161, No. 312; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 355; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 416; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 123; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigram. Graecorum*, No. 372. Nothing more is known of the sculptor Serambus.

10. 9. the statue of Tellon. The white marble base which supported this statue was found at Olympia outside the East Byzantine wall, 1st December 1877. On the upper (horizontal) surface is a mutilated inscription of the fifth century B.C.:

Δαήμονος υἱὸ[ς]
Ὀ[ρ]εσθάσιος παῖ[ς].

A later copy of the inscription, doubtless made to replace the original which even then had become illegible, was cut probably in the first century B.C. Like the original inscription, the copy is on the upper (horizontal) face of the stone. With the help of these two copies and of Pausanias, the inscription may be restored as follows:

Τέλλων τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε Δαήμονος υἱό[ς ἀγαυοῦ
Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος παῖ[ς ἀπὸ πυγμαχίας].

"Tellon, an Arcadian of Oresthasium, son of glorious Daemon, dedicated this (statue), being victorious among the boys in boxing." From the marks on the top of the base it appears that the statue was of bronze and life size; it rested equally on both feet, but the left foot was somewhat in advance of the right. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 147, 148; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 190, No. 91; *id.*, 38 (1880), p. 70; Kaibel, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 34 (1879), p. 204; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 98; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 279; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigr. Graec.* No. 376.

11. 2. Theagenes, a Thasian. He won a victory at Olympia in boxing in Ol. 75 (480 B.C.) See vi. 6. 5. He is said to have once eaten a whole bull for a wager (Athenaeus, x. p. 412 d e). Plutarch says that Theagenes won 1200 crowns (Pausanias § 5 says 1400), "of which he considered the most to be rubbish"; and he tells a story illustrative of his jealousy and touchy sense of his own pre-eminence as an athlete (*Praecept. ger. reipub.* 15. 7). Lucian (*Hist. quomodo conscrib.* 35) couples Theagenes with Pulydamas of Scotusa, as to whom see vi. 5.

A block of white marble, inscribed with a long list of victories, which was found at Olympia in 1877, is supposed by some to have belonged to the pedestal of Theagenes's statue; but more probably it belonged to that of Dorieus the Rhodian. See above, p. 26 *sqq.*

11. 4. I have already narrated etc. See vi. 6. 5 *sq.*

11. 6. When he departed this world etc. The following story about the statue of Theagenes is also told at length by Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxi. vol. 1. p. 377 *sq.* ed. Dindorf) and Eusebius (*Praepar. Evang.* v. 34). The latter writer adds that after the land had recovered its fertility in the manner described in the story, the people of Thasos for the future wore their hair long in honour of Demeter. Cp. Ukert,

'Ueber Dämonen, Heroen und Genien,' *Abhandlungen d. philol. histor. Cl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* Leipzig, 1850, p. 183; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 181 *sq*.

11. 6. **sunk the statue in the sea.** It is said that when Scipio Africanus, the younger, died, a statue of Apollo wept for three days. So the Romans, by the advice of the soothsayers, voted that the statue should be cut in pieces and flung into the sea (Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 84, vol. 1. p. 129 ed. Dindorf).

11. 9. **he heals diseases, and is honoured by the natives.** Lucian mentions (*Deorum concilium*, 12) that the statue of Theagenes in Thasos cured fevers, as the statue of Pulydamas did at Olympia. Athenagoras says that the Thasians worshipped Theagenes as a god (*Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 14, p. 62, ed. Otto).

12. 1. **Hiero —— tyrant of Syracuse.** One of the offerings dedicated by Hiero at Olympia (though not for an Olympic victory) is in existence. It is a bronze helmet, of Etruscan shape, and has evidently been used. It was found at Olympia in 1817, and was presented to the British Museum by George IV. On the upper part of the helmet is the inscription:

Ἰάρων ὁ Δεινομένεος
καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι
τῷ Δὶ Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

"Hiero, son of Dinomenes, and the Syracusans (dedicated) to Zeus these Etruscan spoils from Cumae." In 474 B.C. Hiero, being besought by the people of Cumae to deliver them from the Etruscan cruisers which scoured the seas, sent to Cumae a fleet which gave battle to the Etruscans and defeated them with great loss (Diodorus, xi. 51; Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 137). The helmet in question was probably one of many weapons taken from the Etruscans in this sea-fight and dedicated by Hiero at Olympia. We can hardly doubt that it was actually worn by one of the Etruscan seamen in the battle.

See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 249; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 510; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 745; Hicks, *Greek historical inscriptions*, No. 15; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 95; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3228; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 111; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigr. Graec.* No. 310; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 2 (1881), p. 66 *sq.*; Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 59 *sq.*; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, 2. p. 250 *sq*.

A votive offering dedicated at Delphi for a victory won by Hiero in the Pythian games was found by the French at Delphi in 1896. It is a bronze statue 1.80 metres high, and represents a young man clad in a robe which reaches to his feet and wearing on his head the victor's wreath; in his right hand he grasps the reins of two horses, of which some remains have been found. The statue is a masterpiece and in nearly perfect preservation. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 6th June 1896, p. 734; *id.*, 13th June 1896, p. 769; *id.*, 27th June 1896, p. 832; *id.*, 1st Aug. 1896, p. 1021 *sq.*; *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 24 (1896), p. 186 *sqq*.

12. 1. **Onatas —— Calamis.** See notes on v. 25. 5 and 10.

12. 4. He met his death at the hands of Dinomenes etc. Pausanias has here made a mistake. It was not Hiero II., but his grandson Hieronymus who was assassinated in 215 B.C. by a band of conspirators, among whom a certain Dinomenes played a leading part (Livy, xxiv. 7; cp. Polybius, vii. 7; Diodorus, xxvi. 15). His grandfather, Hiero II., died peacefully, beloved and honoured, at a great age, in the same or the preceding year (Livy, xxiv. 4; Polybius, vii. 8; Lucian, *Macrobii*, 10; Valerius Maximus, viii. 13, Ext. 1).

12. 5. some account both of Aratus and of Areus etc. See ii. 8 *sq.*; iii. 6. 4 *sqq.*

12. 6. Daippus. He was a pupil of Lysippus and flourished in Ol. 121 (296 B.C.) (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51 and 66). Cp. Paus. vi. 16. 5; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 407 *sq.*

12. 8. the elegiac verses (on his statue) —— declare that the Tritaeans are Arcadians. In the time of Pausanias the town Tritia belonged to Achaia (vii. 22. 6 *sqq.*); hence Pausanias is surprised to find that in the inscription on the base of Agesarchus's statue Tritia was reckoned to Arcadia. It has been suggested that Tritia may have been annexed by Arcadia at the time when Arcadia was at the height of its power, soon after the foundation of Megalopolis (Bursian. *Geogr.* 2. p. 324 note 2). The geographer Dicaearchus, who flourished about 300 B.C., seems to have reckoned Tritia to Arcadia (Cicero, *Epist. ad Atticum*, vi. 2. 3). But this would hardly explain why it belonged to Arcadia in the time of Agesarchus, that is, probably about the middle of the second century B.C. (see next note). Perhaps the most probable solution of the difficulty is that proposed by Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 538). He conjectures that the Romans after their conquest of Achaia in 146 B.C. may have severed Tritia from Achaia and assigned it to Arcadia, with the intention of thus curtailing the power of the rebel Achaeans. But it was afterwards assigned to Patrae in Achaia by Augustus (Paus. vii. 22. 6), and so belonged to Achaia in Pausanias's time. The present passage of Pausanias has been misunderstood by Prof. C. Robert (*Hermes*, 19 (1884), p. 301 *sq.*), as was pointed out by Mr. Loewy (*Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, p. xxiii. *sq.*) Cp. W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 363.

12. 9. the sons of Polycles. See vi. 4. 5 note. The subsequent mention of them, to which Pausanias here refers, occurs in x. 34. 6 and 8. As the sons of Polycles probably flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., this so far helps us to fix the date of Agesarchus, whose statue they made. Eusebius mentions a boxer Hegesarchus (*Praepar. Evang.* vii. 8. 17 *sq.*), but he is probably a different person from the Agesarchus of the present passage of Pausanias, though Prof. Robert would identify them. See above, p. 14 *sq.*

13. 1. Astylus of Crotona. He was victorious in the 73rd, 74th, and 75th Olympiads (488, 484, 480 B.C.) See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 203, ed. Schöne; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* viii. 1.

13. 1. the sanctuary of Lacinian Hera. It stood on the promontory of Lacinium, near Crotona, and was revered by the Italian Greeks who assembled in great numbers to hold the festival of the

goddess (Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 96). In the days of its prosperity the sanctuary was crowded with votive offerings (Strabo, vi. p. 261). Here women, robed in black, mourned for Achilles (Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 856 *sqq.*, with the scholia of Tzetzes). It is said that the ashes on the altar of the goddess standing under the open sky were never stirred even by the most violent storm (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 240), and that if a man cut his name on a tile of the temple he would live as long as his name remained on the tile (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 552). In 173 B.C. the Censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus unroofed the temple and transported the tiles to Rome, but the Senate ordered them to be restored (Livy, xlii. 3). Cp. Preller, *Römische Mythologie*,[3] i. p. 288 ; *id.*, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] i. p. 163.

13. 2. **Chionis.** Chionis won Olympic victories in Ol. 28, 29, 30, and 31 (668, 664, 660, 656 B.C.) See iii. 14. 3 ; iv. 23. 4 and 10 ; viii. 39. 3 ; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. i. p. 197, ed. Schöne. (Eusebius, however, gives the name of the victor in Ol. 28 as Charmis.) The armed race was not introduced till Ol. 65 (520 B.C.) See v. 8. 10. Myron flourished Ol. 80 (460-456 B.C.) (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 49).

13. 3. **proved at Olympia that he excelled** etc. This and the next sentence are copied almost verbally by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἱππόμαχος). Pausanias's words imply that the long race, the short race, and the double race were all run on the same day and in the order mentioned. Krause thought that these races must have been run in a different order, namely, short race, double race, long race, because that was the chronological order in which they were instituted (see Paus. v. 8. 6 with the notes). But there is no reason to suppose that the order of the games was determined by such antiquarian considerations rather than by considerations of practical convenience. That the long race must have been run early in the day seems to be proved by the fact that once an Argive runner, after winning the long race at Olympia, announced his victory in person at Argos the same day (Eusebius, *Chron.* vol. i. p. 205, ed. Schöne). Further, the order in which Pausanias mentions the races (namely long race, short race, double race) is confirmed by the fact that this was the order followed at other places, if we may judge from the order in which the victors are mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* i. Nos. 414, 416, 417, 420, 1765). Cp. Krause, *Olympia*, p. 98 *sq.* ; Dissen, on Pindar, vol. i. p. 269.

13. 4. **a Rhodian, Leonidas.** He is mentioned by Philostratus (*Heroica*, xx. 41). His victories were won in Ol. 154, 155, 156, 157 (164, 160, 156, 152 B.C.) See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. i. p. 209, ed. Schöne, who adds that Leonidas was the first and only man who won twelve Olympic crowns in four Olympiads.

13. 5. **son of Duris** etc. Duris was tyrant of Samos, and a contemporary of Theophrastus (Athenaeus, viii. p. 337 d). The exile of the Samians referred to by Pausanias is probably the period of the Athenian occupation (365-322 B.C.), when the native population was driven out and lived in exile, till they were restored by Perdiccas. The sculptor Hippias is otherwise unknown. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, i. p. 423 *sq.* ; Vischer, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 22

(1867), p. 318 *sqq.*; C. Curtius, *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*, p. 5 *sqq.*; P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian coins*, p. 58 *sqq.*

13. 6. **Aristion, son of Theophiles.** The pedestal of this statue was found (30th October 1879) in the East Byzantine wall, about 10 metres south of the base of the Messenian Victory (v. 26. 1). It is a quadrangular block of black limestone. From the footprints of the statue on the upper surface of the pedestal it appears that the statue was life size, and that it rested equally on both feet, which were somewhat turned out. The inscription, which is much weathered, is cut on the upper surface of the pedestal, in front of the footprints. It runs thus:

'Αριστίων Θεοφίλεος 'Επιδαύριος.
Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε.

"Aristion of Epidaurus, son of Theophiles. Polyclitus made (the statue)." To judge from the character of the letters, the inscription belongs to the middle of the fourth century B.C.; the sculptor was therefore the younger Polyclitus. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 165; K. Purgold, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 150 *sq.*; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 207, No. 327; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 92; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3348. Prof. Furtwängler thinks that a number of existing statues of Hermes, especially one in the Lansdowne Collection, give us an idea of the pose of Polyclitus's statue of Aristion (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 502 *sqq.*)

13. 7. **a Sicyonian, Canachus.** There were two sculptors of Sicyon named Canachus. This is the younger of the two. He flourished in Ol. 95 (400 B.C.) (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 50), and was one of the sculptors who made the statues dedicated by the Lacedaemonians at Delphi in commemoration of their victory over the Athenians at Aegospotami (405 B.C.) See Paus. x. 9. 10; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 76, 277. As to the elder Canachus, see note on viii. 46. 3.

13. 8. **Tisander.** He appears to have been mentioned by Pindar. See Pindar, ed. Bergk, Fragm. 263. Naxus was destroyed by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, in 403 B.C. (Diodorus, xiv. 15).

13. 11. **Telemachus.** The base of his statue was found at Olympia, 15th May 1877, on the south edge of the terrace of the temple of Zeus, between the East Byzantine wall and the small gateway of the South Terrace wall. It seems to be in its original position. The stone is a coarse grey limestone. On the upper surface are the footprints of a life-size bronze statue, which must have rested equally on both feet. The following inscription is carved on the vertical side of the base:

Τηλέμαχος Τηλεμάχ[ου].
'Ολύμπια τεθρίππῳ Πύθια κέλη[τ]ι.
Φιλωνίδης ἐποίησε.

"Telemachus, son of Telemachus (victorious at) the Olympian games with a four-horse chariot and at the Pythian games with a racehorse. Philonides made (the statue)." There is some difference of opinion as

to the date of the inscription. Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold assign it to the end of the fourth century or the first half of the third century B.C.; Prof. Furtwängler and the late G. Hirschfeld assign it to the second half of the fourth century B.C.; Mr. Loewy thinks it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 'Hellenistic' period nor later than the middle of the second century B.C. The sculptor Philonides is only known from this inscription. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 177; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 95 *sq.*, No. 60; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 142.

It is to be observed that the bases of the statues of Telemachus, Epitherses (15. 6), Antigonus (15. 7), and Philonides (16. 5) have all been found to the south of the temple of Zeus, and in the order mentioned by Pausanias, taking them from east to west. It seems probable, therefore, as Prof. Furtwängler has observed, that from the present passage as far as 16. 5 Pausanias is describing in order, from east to west, the statues which lined the broad street (used for processions) which ran to the south of the temple of Zeus in a direction from east to west. See Furtwängler, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 140.

The inscribed bases of two statues of another Telemachus, a son of Leon, who won an Olympic victory with a racehorse, probably about the beginning of the first century B.C., have been found at Olympia. One of the statues was erected in honour of Telemachus by the Olympic Umpires (*Hellanodikai*) and the Olympic Council. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 199, 406; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 140 *sq.*, No. 18.

13. 11. **The statue of Aristophon, son of Lysinus** etc. A fragment of greyish-blue Hymettian marble, found at Olympia 12th October 1876, is conjectured to have formed part of the pedestal of Aristophon's statue. It bears a few letters of an inscription, which Messrs. Dittenberger and Purgold propose to restore as follows:—

Ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων]
[Ἀ]ριστο[φῶντα Λυσίνου Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ].

"The Athenian people (dedicated this statue of) Aristophon, son of Lysinus, to Olympian Zeus." The restoration is confirmed by the fact that the fragment was found to the south of the East Byzantine wall, close to the base of Telemachus (see the preceding note); for Pausanias mentions the statue of Aristophon immediately after that of Telemachus. It is further confirmed by the discovery at Athens of a dedicatory inscription, bearing the name of Aristophon, son of Lysinus, which in style and material agrees exactly with the Olympian inscription (*C. I. A.* ii. No. 1475). Both inscriptions apparently belong to the latter part of the fourth century B.C. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 169.

14. 3. **the games which the Ionians of Smyrna celebrate.** Olympian games were held at Smyrna (Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* i. 25. 23), also games in honour of the Emperor Hadrian, which seem to have been called the Hadrian-Olympian games (Philostratus, *op. cit.* i. 25. 1; Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* i. 63). See Krause, *Olympia*, p. 224 *sqq.*

14. 5. The statue of Milo, son of Diotimus. A fragment of a pedestal of dark limestone, found to the east of the Council House at Olympia, bears the following fragmentary inscription :

τ]ίμου ἀνέθηκεν.

It may possibly have been part of the pedestal which supported the statue of Milo. But the form of the *theta* on the inscription (⊙ instead of Θ) is against the supposition. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882). p. 90, No. 429 ; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 589.

14. 5. Milo gained six victories —— at Olympia. This is mentioned also by Diodorus (xii. 9) and Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 201, ed. Schöne), the latter of whom adds that Milo won also six prizes at the Pythian games, ten at the Isthmian, and nine at the Nemean. One of his Olympic victories was won in Ol. 62 (532 B.C.), according to Eusebius (*l.c.*) The account which Pausanias here gives of Milo is copied almost verbally by Suidas (*s.v.* Μίλων).

14. 6. His feats with the pomegranate and the quoit etc. Philostratus describes (*Vit. Apollon.* iv. 28) the bronze statue of Milo at Olympia as standing on a quoit, the left hand grasping a pomegranate, the fingers of the right hand stretched straight out, and a fillet encircling the brows. But this may be an imaginary description, concocted from the stories current about the feats of strength which Milo exhibited, and which are here described by Pausanias. Even if Philostratus's description were true, it would furnish no ground for holding, with Mr. Scherer (*De Olympionicarum statuis*, p. 23 *sqq.*), that the statue of Milo conformed to the type of the Apollo of Canachus (as to which see note on viii. 46. 3). Milo's feat with the pomegranate is mentioned also by Aelian (*Var. hist.* ii. 24 ; *id.*, *Nat. anim.* vi. 55).

14. 8. he was killed by wild beasts etc. The story of the death of Milo is told in substantially the same way by Strabo (vi. p. 263), Valerius Maximus (ix. 12. 9), Aulus Gellius (xv. 16), and a scholiast on Theocritus (iv. 6).

14. 9. Pyrrhus, son of Aeacides etc. See i. 11 *sqq.*

14. 11. the tyranny of Aristotimus. See v. 5. 1 note.

14. 11. Gorgus, a Messenian. His victory must have been later than Ol. 103 (368 B.C.) See vi. 2. 10 *sq.* ; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 296 *sq.* ; and the following note.

14. 11. Theron, a Boeotian. The inscribed pedestal of a statue by this sculptor has been found at Pergamus, from which it appears that he flourished in the first half of the second century B.C. The marks on the upper surface of the pedestal show that the statue was of bronze. See *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon, Vorläufiger Bericht* (Berlin, 1880), p. 111 *sq.* ; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 156 ; Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 49.

14. 11. Silanion. See note on vi. 4. 5.

14. 12. Xenombrotus. Three fragments of the base which supported the statue of Xenombrotus were found at Olympia in 1878 and 1880. They are of a grey marble veined with white and blue. The marks seem to show that Xenombrotus was represented standing

in front of or beside his horse. The inscription, to which Pausanias refers, is engraved on the base, and runs as follows:

[Αὔτα πενθο]μένοις ἐτύμα φάτις, ἱπ[πάδ]α [νίκαν]
[κείνᾳ καλλίσταν] εἶναι ὀλυμπιάδι,
[ᾇ Κ]ῴων ὅ[σ]ι[ον δρομι]κοῦ Πισαῖον ἄεθλον
πρῶτος ἑλὼν [Μ]έροπος ν[ᾶσ]ον ἐσα[γ]ά[γετο]
τοῖ[ος,] ὁποῖο[ν] ὁ[ρ]ᾷς, Ξεινόμβροτο[ς· ἁ δέ νιν] Ἑλλὰς
ἄφθιτον ἀείδ[ει] μνωμένα ἱπποσύνας.

"If you would know, the tale is true that the most glorious victory in the horse-race was won in that Olympiad in which Xenombrotus gained the holy prize for speed at Pisa and so was the first to make the isle of Merops known (at Olympia). Such was he as you behold. Greece hymns his fame of horsemanship in deathless song." The inscription appears from its style to date from about 350-330 B.C. The expression "such was he as you behold" shows that the statue was a portrait of Xenombrotus. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 170. As to portrait-statues of victors, see above, p. 1.

14. 12. Meropian Cos. Cos was called Meropian and the Coans were called Meropes after a mythical king Merops or his daughter Meropis (Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 16; Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Μέροψ; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 15).

14. 12. Pantias. Cp. vi. 3. 11; vi. 9. 3; and the note on vi. 9. 1.

14. 13. Tisamenus. See iii. 11. 6 *sqq.*

14. 13. Stomius. As this sculptor made a statue of Hieronymus who defeated Tisamenus, and Tisamenus was present at the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.), Stomius may have flourished in Ol. 75 (480-477 B.C.) (Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 117 *sq.*)

15. 1. Archippus, a Mitylenian. A round pedestal of dark grey marble which seems to have supported the statue of Archippus was found at Olympia, 21st April 1876, to the south of the temple of Zeus, between the South Terrace wall and the north wing of the Council House. It bears the inscription:

Ἄ[ρχιππος
Καλλιφάνους
Μυτιληναῖος.

"Archippus, a Mytilenian, son of Calliphanes." From its style the inscription seems to date from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 173.

15. 2. Theomnestus of Sardes. Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 91) mentions a Theomnestus among the sculptors who represented athletes, armed men, hunters, and persons sacrificing. Further, an inscription from the base of a statue made jointly by Theomnestus, son of Theotimus, and Dionysius, son of Astius, has been found in Chios. As we learn from the present passage of Pausanias that Theomnestus made a statue of a native of Chios, it is probable that the Theomnestus of Pausanias and the Theomnestus of the inscription are identical. See Brunn, *Gesch. d.*

griech. Künstler, 1. p. 522; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 286; *id.*, *Untersuchungen zur griech. Künstlergeschichte*, p. 10.

15. 3. Clitomachus. Aelian bears witness to the strict temperance of this athlete (*Nat. anim.* vi. 1; *Var. hist.* iii. 30). Cp. *Anecdota Graeca e codd. Biblioth. Reg. Parisiensis*, ed. Cramer, 2. p. 154. Pindar mentions an athlete named Clitomachus who won a victory at the Isthmus (*Pyth.* viii. 51), but the Clitomachus mentioned by Pausanias was of course a different person, since he won a victory in Ol. 141 (216 B.C.) Pausanias's account of Clitomachus is copied by Suidas (*s.v.* Κλειτόμαχος).

15. 3. the Thasian Theagenes. See vi. 6. 5 *sq.*; vi. 11. 2-9.

15. 4. Caprus, an Elean. Cp. v. 21. 10.

15. 5. When Caprus had won in the wrestling etc. This passage shows that at Olympia the wrestling, boxing, and pancratium regularly took place on the same day and in the order of mention, though on the present occasion Caprus persuaded the umpires for once to bring on the pancratium before the wrestling. That the pancratium took place late in the day may be inferred from an inscription of Roman times, found at Olympia, in which it is mentioned that a pancratiast, Tiberius Claudius Rufus, continued the contest till night had fallen and the stars were shining (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 54; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 91 *sq.*, No. 147). Pausanias mentions an occasion when the pancratium lasted into the night (v. 9. 3), but that was in the old days, before Ol. 77 (472 B.C.), when all the contests were held in one day. The same order (wrestling, boxing, pancratium) would seem to have been followed, at least in the men's contests, in the games of Amphiaraus at Oropus, if we may judge from the order in which the victors are mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. G. G. S.* i. Nos. 414, 416, 417). The contests are mentioned in the same order in another inscription found between Thespiae and Plataea (*C. I. G. G. S.* i. No. 1765).

15. 6. Epitherses. A part of the pedestal of his statue was found at Olympia, 14th January 1879, to the south of the temple of Zeus, opposite the sixth column (counting from the west), but only 11 paces from the south wall of the Altis. It is a block of Pentelic marble, with holes at the back for clamps by which it was fastened to another block. The inscription, which is carefully cut, is as follows:

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων
Ἐπιθέρση Μητροδώρου
νικήσαντα ἄνδρας πυγμὴν
Ὀλύμπια δὶς καὶ τὴν περίοδον.
Πυθόκριτος Τιμοχάριος Ῥόδιος ἐπόησε.

"The people of Erythrae (dedicated this statue of) Epitherses, son of Metrodorus, who was twice victorious in the men's boxing-match at Olympia, and won victories at all the great games. Pythocritus, a Rhodian, son of Timocharis, made (the statue)." The date of the inscription can hardly be determined on palaeographical grounds, as we know too little about the history of writing at Erythrae, but a clue to

its date is furnished by the name of the sculptor (see below). See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 186; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 54, No. 229; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 176. The sculptor Pythocritus is mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 91), and two Rhodian inscriptions from the pedestals of statues by him have come down to us. He seems to have flourished at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 461; Loewy, *op. cit.* Nos. 174, 175; Dittenberger and Purgold, in *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 315 *sq.*, on No. 186.

15. 6. **I pointed out a little above** etc. See vi. 9. 4 *sq.*

15. 7. **The Paleans** etc. The island of Cephallenia was divided into four petty independent states, each with its own capital. These towns were Same, Pronni, Crane, and Pale. This subdivision of the island explains its political insignificance in antiquity. The name of Pale is still retained in the modern *Paliki*, the name of the peninsula on which Pale stood. See Bursian, *Geogr. von Griechenland*, 2. pp. 371, 373 *sq.*, 377.

15. 7. **Demetrius who marched against Seleucus** etc. The Demetrius meant is Demetrius Poliorcetes. See i. 10. 2; i. 16. 1.

15. 7. **a statue of Demetrius —— and a statue of Demetrius' son Antigonus.** Portions of the inscribed bases of both these statues have been found at Olympia. (1) A slab of grey limestone, which formed the upper part of the base of Antigonus's statue, was found (8th May 1876) south of the temple of Zeus, at the sixth column reckoning from the west. It bears the inscription:

[῾Ο] δᾶμος ὁ Βυζαντ[ίων]
[βα]σιλῆ ᾿Αντίγονον.

"The Byzantine people (dedicated this statue of) king Antigonus." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 304; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 38, No. 36; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 161; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscr.* No. 166. Mr. E. L. Hicks suggests that this statue may have been dedicated by the Byzantines out of gratitude for a crushing defeat which Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, had inflicted in 276 B.C. on the Gauls settled in Thrace, who were a continual danger to Byzantium. See Justin, xxv. 2; Polybius, iv. 46; Livy, xxxviii. 16.

(2) Two fragments of a pedestal of grey limestone were found at Olympia in 1879. They bear a mutilated inscription, which may be restored as follows:

[῾Ο] δᾶ[μος ὁ Βυ]ζαντίων
[βα]σιλ[ῆ Δαμ]άτριον.

"The Byzantine people (dedicated this statue of) King Demetrius." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 305.

Pausanias thought that the two kings commemorated by these statues were Demetrius Poliorcetes and his son Antigonus Gonatas. More probably, however, the Antigonus commemorated was Antigonus

the One-eyed, the father (not Antigonus Gonatas, the son) of Demetrius Poliorcetes. For another inscription found at Olympia records a vote of thanks and congratulation to the two kings Antigonus and Demetrius (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 45; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 125 *sq.*, No. 254). But these two kings are almost certainly Antigonus the One-eyed and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, who assumed the title of kings simultaneously in 306 B.C. as a consequence of Demetrius's victory at Salamis in Cyprus (see i. 6. 6 note), whereas Demetrius Poliorcetes and his son Antigonus Gonatas were never kings at the same time. Moreover in the congratulations Antigonus is mentioned before Demetrius, which would not have been the case if Demetrius had been his father. And that the Antigonus and Demetrius to whom the congratulations are voted are the same Antigonus and Demetrius whose statues are here mentioned by Pausanias is made probable by the fact that the pedestals of their statues are made of the same sort of stone (a fine-grained limestone not often employed at Olympia) on which the vote of thanks and congratulations is engraved.

15. 9. **another statue of Areus.** For the other statue of Areus, see vi. 12. 5.

15. 10. **Caprus.** See above, § 4 *sq.*, and v. 21. 10 note.

15. 10. **Paeanius, an Elean.** See vi. 16. 9 note.

16. 1. **Anauchidas.** His statue has been already mentioned (vi. 14. 11). Schubart suggested that Pausanias's notes may have here got mixed up (*Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 9 (1851), p. 297).

16. 1. **Eurydamus who commanded the Aetolians** etc. See x. 16. 4.

16. 2. **The statue of Antigonus —— and the statue of Seleucus.** Statues of Antigonus and Seleucus have been already mentioned (vi. 11. 1).

16. 2. **the capture of Demetrius.** See i. 10. 2; i. 16. 1.

16. 2. **Timon won victories in the pentathlum** etc. See v. 2. 5. As to the reason why he abstained from competing at the Isthmian games see v. 2. 1-4; cp. vi. 3. 9. He is to be distinguished from Timon the victor in the chariot-race (vi. 2. 8; vi. 12. 6).

16. 3. **Antigonus the guardian of Philip.** See vii. 7. 4. Honours were lavished on him by the Greeks at the Nemean games. See Polybius, ii. 70.

16. 4. **the winter Nemean games.** See ii. 15. 3 note.

16. 5. **a statue of Philonides.** The base of this statue was found in the south-west corner of the Altis, 21st March 1879. It is of yellow sandstone and bears the inscription:

> Β[α]σιλέως Ἀλε[ξάνδρου]
> ἡμεροδρόμας καὶ
> βηματιστὴς τῆς Ἀσίας
> Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου Κρὴς
> Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε
> Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

"Philonides, son of Zotes, a native of Chersonese in Crete, and a courier and road-measurer to King Alexander in Asia, dedicated (this statue) to Olympian Zeus." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 276; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 139, No. 275; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 115; Hicks, *Greek hist. Inscript.* No. 129. A mutilated copy of the same inscription was found to the north of the Byzantine church at Olympia, 27th November 1879. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 277; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 209, No. 329. The office of road-measurer (*βηματιστής*, literally 'stepper') to Alexander the Great was previously known from Athenaeus, who mentions (x. p. 442) one Baeton, a 'road-measurer' to Alexander the Great and author of a work on the stages of Alexander's march from day to day. Another road-measurer to Alexander the Great was named Diognetus (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* vi. 61). The 'road-measurer' had probably to estimate by paces and to record the length of each day's march. A road which had thus been measured by paces was said to be *βεβηματισμένη*, literally 'paced' (Polybius, iii. 39, xxxiv. 12; Strabo, vii. p. 322). See Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*,[2] i. 2. p. 383.

16. 5. **a statue of Leonidas, a native of Naxos.** The base of this statue was found before the east end of the north front of the Leonidaeum, 10th April 1880. It was built into a Byzantine edifice. The base is of black limestone and bears a mutilated inscription which may be restored as follows:

Ἡ [πό]λ[ις ἡ Ψωφιδίων]
Λεωνί[δ]ην Λεώτο[υ Νάξιον]
Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀνέ[θ]η[κεν].

"The city of Psophis dedicated (this statue of) Leonidas, a Naxian, son of Leotes, to Olympian Zeus." The style of the inscription points to the second half of the fourth century B.C. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 294; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 89 *sq.*, No. 391. From the name of Leonidas's father we learn that the Leonidas in question is the same man who built the Leonidaeum. See v. 15. 1 note. Hence we are justified in supplying Νάξιον in the present inscription.

16. 7. **Lysippus, an Elean.** A fragment of a pedestal of black limestone, conjectured by Dr. Purgold to have formed part of the pedestal of the statue of Lysippus, was found at Olympia about 20 paces south of the west end of the Byzantine church. It bears the following fragmentary inscription:

ἐ]πο[ί]Ϝηἑ Ἀργεῖος·
. . . . . ι [ἀνέ]θηκαν.

See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 85 *sq.*, No. 387; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 44 a. A clue to the date of Lysippus the Elean is furnished by the fact, mentioned by Pausanias, that his statue was by Andreas the Argive. For the pedestal of another statue by this sculptor

has been found at Olympia, which enables us to date the artistic activity of Andreas about 169 B.C. The pedestal in question supported a statue set up by the Achaean League in honour of Q. Marcius Philippus, who in the inscription is described as Consul of the Romans. Philippus was consul twice, namely in 186 and in 169 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 8, xliii. 11). In the latter year he commanded in the war against Perseus and received an embassy from the Achaean League (Polybius, xxviii. 10 *sq.*) Hence the consulate referred to in the inscription is probably the latter of the two. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 318; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 227; Loewy, ***Inschriften griech. Bildhauer***, No. 475. We may infer, then, that Lysippus the Elean lived in the first half of the second century B.C.

16. 8. he set up a slab etc. This stone has been found at Olympia in two pieces. One piece was found (5th November 1880) 15 metres east of the apse of the Byzantine church; the other was found (21st January 1881) in the court of the Wrestling-School (Palaestra). The stone is grey limestone. The back is rough hewn; the front bears the following inscription:

Δειν[οσ]θ[ένης]
Δε[ι]νοσθέ[ν]εο[ς] Λα-
κεδαι[μό]νιος τῶ
ι Δὶ 'Ο[λ]υμπίῳ
ἀνέθ[ηκ]ε 'Ολύμπια
νικάσας στάδιον.
[ἀπ]ὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς στά-
λᾱς ἐλ Λακεδα-
ίμονα ἑξακάτι-
οι τριάκοντα, ἀπ-
ὸ τᾶς δὲ πὸτ τὰ-
ν πράταν στά-
λαν τριάκον-
τα.

"Dinosthenes a Lacedaemonian, son of Dinosthenes, a victor in the foot-race at the Olympic games, dedicated (the statue) to Olympian Zeus. From this stone to Lacedaemon is 630 (furlongs), and from it to the first stone is 30 (furlongs)." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 171; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 87, No. 389; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 26.

It will be observed that Pausanias gives the distance of the stone from Lacedaemon as 660 furlongs, whereas the stone says 630. Pausanias seems to have added the 30 furlongs mentioned on the stone as the distance between Lacedaemon and the first stone. It appears that "the first stone" was set up 30 furlongs beyond Lacedaemon, probably in the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyclae, which is just about 30 furlongs distant from the theatre of ancient Sparta (E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, 2. p. 245). As the one inscribed stone was set up in

the sanctuary at Olympia, it was natural that the other should also be set up in a sanctuary. Similarly we hear of copies of a treaty, engraved on stone, being set up at Olympia and in the sanctuary at Amyclae (Thucydides, v. 18. 9). This is Brunn's explanation of the inscription, and it has been accepted by Mr. W. Gurlitt (*Ueber Pausanias*, p. 163) and Mr. G. H. Förster (*Die olympischen Sieger*, 1. Teil, p. 29). The question, however, still remains: why should Dinosthenes have recorded on the base of his statue the distance from Olympia to Lacedaemon and perhaps Amyclae? To this E. Curtius replied that Dinosthenes may have been a road-measurer (see note on § 5, 'Philonides') and may have helped to determine the measurements which he thus recorded.

See E. Curtius, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 93-96; G. Hirschfeld, *ib.* 40 (1882), pp. 103-105; Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 29 (1883), p. 471; H. Brunn, *ib.* 30 (1884), p. 23 *sq.*

The French surveyors estimated the distance by the old road from Sparta to Olympia at 105 to 106 kilometres, that is about 65 to 66 miles (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 127). The distance mentioned on the stone of Dinosthenes (630 furlongs) is equal to 111.7 kilometres or about 69 miles, if we reckon the Greek furlong (*stade*) at 177.4 metres. See vol. 2. p. 13.

The Olympic victory of Dinosthenes probably fell in Ol. 116 (316 B.C.) It is true that Eusebius calls the victor of that year Demosthenes (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 205 *sq.* ed. Schöne) and that Diodorus (xix. 17) calls him Dinomenes. But both of them agree in stating that he was a Laconian, and probably the names Demosthenes and Dinomenes are merely clerical errors for Dinosthenes, the form of the name which Pausanias has preserved and which is confirmed by the inscription. At least we know, from the combined testimony of Pausanias and the inscription, that Dinosthenes was an Olympic victor, and his name occurs nowhere else in the list of Olympic victors preserved by Eusebius. The assumed date of the victory (316 B.C.) agrees also well with the style of the inscription.

16. 8. **Sthennis.** See note on vi. 17. 5.

16. 9. **Paeanius, son of Damatrius.** The base of this statue was found at Olympia, 16th February 1881, built into a water-basin in an early Byzantine edifice, at the back of the southern part of the Echo Colonnade. It is of grey limestone. On the upper surface are the footprints of the statue; they show that it rested on the right foot, which was in advance, while only the tip of the left foot touched the ground. The inscription is:

Παιάνιος Δαματρίου Ἠλεῖος.

"Paeanius an Elean, son of Damatrius." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 179; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), p. 195 *sq.*, No. 438. The Olympic victory of Paeanius fell in Ol. 141 (216 B.C.) In the following Olympiad (212 B.C.) he was defeated by Caprus. See vi. 15. 4 *sq.* and 10. As to the Pythian victories of Paeanius, see vi.

15. 10, where three such victories are recorded, whereas here Pausanias, through forgetfulness perhaps, speaks of only two.

16. 9. a chariot of an Athenian, Glaucon, son of Eteocles. The pedestal which supported this chariot was found at Olympia in 1880, to the north-west of the Byzantine church. It consisted of two blocks of grey limestone, which were found separately, built into late walls. On the top of the base are holes for attaching the chariot. The inscription is:

Διὶ Ὀ[λυμπίῳ Γλαῦ]κων
Ἐτεοκλέ[ους] Ἀθηναῖος.

"Glaucon an Athenian, son of Eteocles (dedicated this chariot) to Olympian Zeus." The dimensions of the base (.68 metre long by .76 high and .46 broad) show that the chariot must have been a miniature one. From the ornamental character of the letters, the inscription seems to belong to the third century B.C. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 178; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 88 *sq.*, No. 390. Glaucon is mentioned in an Attic inscription. See U. Köhler, 'Inschrift des Glaukon,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 9 (1884), pp. 49-53.

17. 1. But if you will go to the right etc. It has been asked why Pausanias has divided the statues of the Olympic victors into two groups, the one comprised in vi. 1-16, the other in 17-18. Dr. Dörpfeld supposes that the first group comprised the statues which stood within the Altis, round about the temple of Zeus; and that the second group comprised those which stood beside the road followed by the processions, and which therefore, before the Altis was extended by Nero (see note on v. 10. 1), were mostly outside the Altis. See Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 335 *sq.* Dr. Dörpfeld's solution is unsatisfactory. For Pausanias's words imply that the second group of statues extended from the Leonidaeum to the great altar of Zeus, and the altar of Zeus was at all times within the Altis. Moreover Pausanias appears to have included in the first group the statues which lined the great processional road on the south of the temple of Zeus, and which therefore, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, must have been outside the Altis until the sacred precinct was extended by Nero (see note on vi. 13. 11). Indeed, Dr. Dörpfeld's view seems to be completely disproved by the fact that two of the statues in the second group are described by Pausanias as being not far from the pillar of Oenomaus (vi. 18. 7). For the pillar of Oenomaus was between the great altar and the temple of Zeus (vi. 20. 6), and must therefore always have been within the Altis.

17. 1. the Leonidaeum towards the great altar. As to the Leonidaeum, see note on v. 15. 1. As to the great altar, see v. 13. 8 *sqq.*

17. 1. Democrates, a Tenedian. A bronze tablet, inscribed with a long decree in honour of this Democrates, was found at Olympia (21st January 1876), south of the south-west corner of the temple of Zeus. The decree is in the Elean dialect and seems to have been voted by the Council or Senate of Elis. It provides that Democrates shall rank as

a public friend (*proxenos*) and benefactor of the city; that he shall have a seat of honour at the festival of Dionysus, a share of the sacrifices, etc. It is further provided that the decree shall be graved on bronze and set up in the sanctuary of Zeus by one Aeschinas, the superintendent of the horses. The inscription seems to belong to the period between the death of Alexander the Great and the Roman conquest, perhaps to the first half of the third century B.C. It is framed between miniature Corinthian pilasters and surmounted by a miniature gable, in which a bunch of grapes is represented between two double axes, the badge or crest of Tenedos (see note on x. 14. 1). See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 39; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 33 (pub. 1876), pp. 183-186, No. 4; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 264; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 1. No. 1172. Aelian tells how Democrates used to draw a ring round himself in the arena and defy his adversaries to drag him out of it (*Var. hist.* iv. 15).

17. 1. **Dionysicles —— Lysus.** Nothing more is known of these sculptors.

17. 2. **Philinus —— gained five victories in running at Olympia** etc. Two of his victories were in the short foot-race, and were won in Ol. 129 and 130 (264 and 260 B.C.) (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 207, ed. Schöne).

17. 5. **Sthennis, the Olynthian.** Cp. vi. 16. 8. A sculptor named Sthennis flourished in Ol. 113 (328 B.C.), according to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51); and a sculptor of this name made for Sinope a statue of the hero Autolycus which was carried off by Lucullus. See Strabo, xii. p. 546; Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 23; cp. Appian, *Mithrid.* 83. Pliny also mentions statues of Demeter, Zeus, and Athena by Sthennis, which were in the temple of Concord at Rome (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 90). Further, from an inscription found in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, near Oropus (*C. I. G. G. S.* i. No. 279; Loewy, *Inschr. griech. Bildhauer*, No. 103 a), we learn that an Athenian sculptor named Sthennis, son of Herodorus, made a statue for king Lysimachus. Prof. Benndorf has suggested that the Athenian Sthennis may be identical with the Olynthian Sthennis, since, after the destruction of Olynthus by Philip, Sthennis may have migrated to Athens and received the citizenship. On this hypothesis the two statues by Sthennis at Olympia (Paus. vi. 16. 8; vi. 17. 5) were executed before the destruction of Olynthus, while consequently Sthennis still described himself as an Olynthian. But Olynthus was destroyed in 348 B.C., and Lysimachus did not assume the title of king till 306 B.C. Hence on Prof. Benndorf's view we should have to assume that Sthennis was at work before 348 and after 306 B.C., which is possible but not very probable.

Two other pedestals of statues signed with the name of the sculptor Sthennis (but without further designation) are in existence. One of them (Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 83) was found on the Acropolis at Athens, and therefore may presumably be referred to the Athenian Sthennis; it seems to date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C. Another (Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 481) seems to be a later copy, not an original inscription. A fragment of a base of Pentelic marble, found in the

Dionysiac theatre at Athens (Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 541), bears a dedicatory inscription by Sthennis, son of Herodorus of the township (*deme*) of Diomia; this Sthennis is probably the Athenian sculptor. From another inscription found in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus near Oropus (*C. I. G. G. S.* i. No. 315; Loewy, *op. cit.* No. 112 a) it would seem that the Athenian Sthennis had a son who was also a sculptor, and who bore his paternal grandfather's name of Herodorus.

On the whole it must be left an open question whether the Olynthian Sthennis and the Athenian Sthennis were one and the same person, and whether, supposing they were two, the notices in Pliny, Strabo, and Plutarch (see above) refer to the Olynthian or the Athenian sculptor.

See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 389, 391; Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 83, 103 a (pp. 83, 384), 112 a (pp. 90, 384 *sq.*), 481, 541; O. Benndorf, in *Zeitschrift f. die österreichische Gymnasien*, 26 (1875), pp. 740-743.

17. 5. **Daetondas, a Sicyonian.** In the olive-wood below Delphi was found a fragment of a base of bluish marble bearing the signature of a sculptor Daetondas. Probably this is the Daetondas mentioned by Pausanias; for the latter sculptor appears, from what Pausanias says, to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and the character of the inscription agrees well with that date. See Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, No. 97. Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 418.

An inscription from the pedestal of a statue by a sculptor Daetondas exists at Thebes; it seems to date from the early part of the third century B.C. (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. No. 2472).

17. 6. **the Clytids.** The pedigree of Clytius, the founder of the Clytid family, was, according to the present passage of Pausanias, as follows:

Amythaon
|
Melampus
|
Mantius
|
Oicles
|
Amphiaraus
|
Alcmaeon
|
Clytius

This differs from the family-tree of Melampus given by Homer (*Odyss.* xv. 241 *sqq.*) as follows:

Melampus
- Antiphates
  - Oicles
    - Amphiaraus
      - Alcmaeon
      - Amphilochus
- Mantius
  - Polyphides
    - Theoclymenus
  - Clitus

From inscriptions found in Chios it appears that a branch of the Clytids was settled in that island. The inscriptions confirm the form of the name Clytid (Κλυτίδαι) as against the form Clytiad (Κλυτιάδης), which appears in the text of Herodotus (ix. 33). The name Oicles, which seems to have been a family name of the Clytids, also occurs in Chian inscriptions. See B. Haussoullier, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 3 (1879), pp. 45-58, 242-255.

17. 6. **the daughter of Phegeus.** Her name was Alphesiboea. See viii. 24. 8.

17. 7. **Cantharus, the Sicyonian.** Cp. vi. 3. 6 note.

17. 7. **the statue of Gorgias, the Leontinian.** The base of this statue of the famous rhetorician was found by the Germans at Olympia (16th December 1876), 10 metres north of the north-east corner of the temple of Zeus. It is of black limestone. The inscription is as follows:

Χαρμαντίδου Γοργίας Λεοντῖνος.
τὴμ μὲν ἀδελ[φ]ὴν Δηϊκράτης τὴγ Γοργίου ἔσχεν,
ἐκ ταύτης δ' αὐ[τ]ῷ γίγνεται Ἱπποκράτης,
Ἱπποκράτους δ' Εὔμολπο[ς, ὃς εἰ]κόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκεν
δισσῶν, παιδείας κ[α]ὶ φιλί[ας ἕ]νεκα.

Γοργίου ἀσκῆσαι ψυχὴν ἀρετῆς ἐς ἀγῶνας
οὐδείς πω θνητῶν καλλίον' ηὗρε τέχνην·
οὗ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γυάλοις εἰκὼν ἀνακεῖται,
οὐ πλούτου παράδειγμ', εὐσεβείας δὲ τρόπων.

"Gorgias of Leontini, son of Charmantides. Deicrates took to wife the sister of Gorgias, and by her he had a son Hippocrates, and Hippocrates had a son Eumolpus, who dedicated this statue for two reasons, for education's and affection's sake. No mortal ever yet discovered a fairer art to train the soul for virtuous struggles than Gorgias. In Apollo's vale his statue stands, a proof of his piety, not a display of his wealth." The inscription apparently belongs to the early part of the fourth century B.C. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 293; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), p. 43, No. 54; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 875 a; E. Hoffmann, *Sylloge epigr. Graecorum*, No. 357. The latter part of the inscription refers to the gilt or golden statue of himself which Gorgias dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. See x. 18. 7 note.

17. 8. **at Athens —— on an embassy.** Gorgias's embassy to Athens occurred in 427 B.C. (Diodorus, xii. 53; cp. Thucydides, iii. 86). As to the embassy and the effect of Gorgias's eloquence on the Athenians, see Plato, *Hippias Major*, p. 282 b; Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* i. 9. 2; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *De Lysia judicium*, 3; Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 13.

17. 9. **Gorgias lived a hundred and five years.** Others said variously 107, 108, or 109 years. See Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, i.[4] p. 948, note 3. Prof. Zeller inclines to date the life of Gorgias 483-375 B.C.

18. 2. **Anaximenes.** This writer appears, as Pausanias indicates,

to have composed three histories. 1. A history of Philip of Macedonia in at least eight books (Harpocration, *s.v.* Καβύλῃ): 2. A history of Alexander the Great in at least two books (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀλκίμαχος; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 2. 3): 3. A history of Greece from the earliest times under the title of 'the First Histories' (Athenaeus, vi. p. 231 c). The scope of this last work is described by Diodorus (xv. 89) as follows: "Anaximenes of Lampsacus recorded the earliest history of Greece, starting with the theogony and the first race of men. He brought his history down to the battle of Mantinea and the death of Alexander, comprising almost all the affairs of both the Greeks and the barbarians in twelve books." Suidas tells us (*s.v.* Ἀναξιμένης) that Anaximenes was a pupil of Diogenes the Cynic and a tutor of Alexander the Great, whom he attended in his campaigns.

18. 2. **The following anecdotes are told of him.** These two anecdotes are told in almost the same words by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἀναξιμένης).

18. 7. **Praxidamas, an Aeginetan.** He is mentioned by Pindar as the first Aeginetan (Aeacid) who won an Olympic victory. Pindar adds that Praxidamas was crowned five times at the Isthmus and thrice at Nemea (Pindar, *Nemeans*, vi. 27 *sqq.*) Praxidamas is also mentioned by the pseudo-Plutarch (*De nobilitate*, 20). Although Pausanias here tells us that the statues of Praxidamas (Ol. 59 = 544 B.C.) and Rexibius (Ol. 61 = 536 B.C.) were the first statues of athletes set up at Olympia, he had previously mentioned the statue of Eutelidas (Ol. 38 = 628 B.C.), expressly saying that it was ancient and the inscription on it worn with age (vi. 15. 8).

19. 1. **On this terrace are the treasuries.** The situation of the treasuries on a terrace overlooking the Altis, immediately at the foot of Mt. Cronius, is accurately described by Pausanias, except that the treasuries lie rather to the east than to the north of the temple of Hera. A flight of steps, dating perhaps from the time of the Persian wars, leads up to the terrace. These steps are mentioned by Pausanias (v. 21. 2). At the back of the treasuries a substantial retaining wall with buttresses protected them against landslips from Mt. Cronius.

Before the German excavations it had been supposed, on the analogy of the so-called Treasuries of Mycenae and Orchomenus, that the Olympic treasuries were circular. Indeed a learned traveller (the late W. Vischer) thought he had perhaps discovered the remains of one of the round treasuries at the south-east side of Mt. Cronius. However, the remains proved to be those of a modern brick-kiln.

Pausanias mentions ten treasuries. The foundations of twelve have been discovered. This discrepancy is explained by the fact that before Pausanias's visit to Olympia two of the treasuries (those numbered II. and III. on the plan) had been destroyed to make way for a paved road leading up to Mt. Cronius. From the direction taken by the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, it is inferred that the paved road in question must have been made at the same time as the aqueduct, probably by Herodes Atticus, and therefore in the lifetime of Pausanias. If the road is rightly dated, it affords conclusive proof that Pausanias described the

treasuries as they were in his own time, and that he did not copy his description (as some critics have supposed) from the works of Polemo, who wrote some three and a half centuries before him.

The foundations of all twelve treasuries are in more or less perfect preservation; but only in the case of three of them (the treasuries of Sicyon, Megara, and Gela) have architectural members been discovered in sufficient quantities to enable us to restore them with fair probability. All the treasuries are in the form of a small oblong temple with an ante-chamber. Hence Polemo calls them temples (Polemo, *Fragm.* 22, ed. Preller; Athenaeus, xi. p. 479 f-480 a); and if Pausanias had copied from Polemo, he would probably have called them so too. The ante-chambers of all the treasuries, except that of Gela and perhaps of Epidamnus, opened through two pillars between *antae*. The treasury of Gela, the largest of all, has the form of a prostyle temple, its ante-chamber or rather porch being surrounded by pillars on three sides. All the treasuries seem to have been built in the Doric style. The precious objects were doubtless kept in the inner chambers. All the treasuries face to the south, not, like temples, to the east.

See *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 23; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 B; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 207, 224 *sq.*; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 33 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 344 *sq.*; Curtius, 'Die Schatzhäuser von Olympia,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. histor. Cl. d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Berlin), 5th March 1896, pp. 239-251; *id.*, quoted by Schubart, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 29 (1883), p. 475, note 4; Fr. Richter, *De thesauris Olympiae effossis* (Berlin, 1885). As to Vischer's mistake, see his *Erinnerungen*, p. 470 n.*

19. I. **the treasury of the Sicyonians.** Pausanias describes the treasuries from west to east (cp. § 14). The Sicyonian treasury is the most westerly of the twelve. It was identified by an inscription, Σεκυόνι[οι] on one of the *antae* of the ante-chamber. This inscription, which was not found in its original position, seems to date from the first half of the fifth century B.C. The treasury is 12.44 metres long by 7.30 broad. Well-preserved examples of all the architectural members of the treasury have been found, so that it is possible to restore the building completely on paper. It was in the Doric style throughout. The blocks were found scattered up and down the Altis, but were easily recognised because they consist of a fine-grained yellowish-red sandstone, such as has been used in the construction of no other building in Olympia. On the other hand ancient Sicyon appears to have been largely built of exactly the same stone. Hence it has been conjectured by Dr. Dörpfeld that all the blocks were quarried and hewn at Sicyon and brought round by sea ready to be put together at Olympia. This is confirmed by the masons' marks on the stones; for these marks consist of letters of the Sicyonian alphabet. The foundations of the treasury are built of a variety of materials. The upper courses are mostly constructed of the same coarse shell-limestone of which most of the edifices at Olympia were built. The lower part of the foundations consists of small stones (pebbles, shell-limestone, and breccia, also fragments of roof-tiles) bonded with clay mortar. A frieze of triglyphs

and metopes ran all round the top of the walls on the outside; twenty-nine out of the original thirty-six blocks have been found. The gables were unsculptured. The roof was covered with marble tiles. Traces of red and blue paint were visible on many of the stones of the building (for example on the triglyphs) at the time of their discovery. All the blocks of the upper building were clamped together with iron clamps of the ┍━┙ pattern; in the foundations, on the other hand, no clamps were employed. With regard to the date of the treasury, its architectural style agrees so closely with that of the temple of Zeus that we might suppose it was built at the same time, namely about the middle of the fifth century B.C.; and with this date the character of the inscription and of the masons' marks on the stones agrees perfectly. But from a slight technical indication (a small round projection on the upper edge of the triglyphs and metopes) Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it probable that the treasury is later than the Parthenon at Athens, and that hence it belongs to the second half of the fifth century B.C., although in Athenian buildings of the fifth century B.C. the old ┍━┙ shaped clamps, such as are found in the treasury, were replaced by the newer ├━┤ shaped clamps.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xxvii.-xxx.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 40-44; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. 35-37, with pl. xxxiii.; *id.*, 'Das Schatzhaus der Sikyonier,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in. Athen*, 8 (1883), pp. 67-70; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 220 *sqq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 B *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 344; Adler, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 66. For the inscription and masons' marks, see *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 649-668; *Archäol. Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 169-179; Roehl, *I. G. A.* Nos. 27 B. 27 c; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3167.

19. 2. **Myron built it —— in the thirty-third Olympiad.** The idea that the Sicyonian treasury was built in or soon after Ol. 33 (648 B.C.) is entirely precluded by the style both of the structure and of the inscription (see preceding note). Pausanias's mistake appears to have arisen from observing that the bronze shrines, or one of them (see next note), was a votive offering of the tyrant Myron. From this he inferred that the treasury itself was built by Myron. In reality it appears to have been built at least a century and a half after Myron's time; in the interval Myron's offering must have been deposited elsewhere.

See A. Kirchhoff, in *Archäol. Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 171 *sq.*; K. Purgold, *ib.* p. 176 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 43; Dittenberger and Purgold, *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, p. 663 *sq.*, on No. 649; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 220-222; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 B.

19. 2. **two chambers, one in the Doric, the other in the Ionic style.** Before the German excavations at Olympia it was believed that these two chambers formed part of the building; and they were adduced as evidence that as late as the seventh century B.C. the walls of rooms were still lined with bronze. Further the fact that one of them was in the Ionic style was pointed to as a proof that at that time the Greeks of the Peloponnese had already begun to build in the Ionic style. These conclusions were upset by the discovery of the treasury itself. For its walls show not the least trace of having ever been lined

with bronze; and the style is pure Doric throughout. Hence we must conclude that these bronze 'chambers' were portable models; and probably it was only the Doric one which was dedicated by Myron; the Ionic one may have been a much later offering. Still the 'chambers' must have been very substantial models, since the lesser of them weighed 500 talents (§ 4), which, in the Aeginetic standard, is approximately equal to 19 tons. See, in addition to the references at the end of the preceding note, Adler and Curtius, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 66, 67; F. Adler, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 30 *sq.*

19. 2. **Tartessian bronze.** The copper mines of Spain, especially of Andalusia, within which the ancient Tartessus was comprised, were famous in antiquity. Strabo says (iii. p. 146) that nowhere in the world was copper produced in such quantities and of so fine a quality as in Turdetania, which corresponds to part of Andalusia. Cp. Diodorus, v. 36. 2; Scymnus, *Orbis Descriptio*, 164 *sqq.*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iii. 30; Mela, ii. 86; H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie*, 4. p. 65 *sq.*

19. 3. **Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians.** According to Strabo (iii. p. 148) Tartessus was the ancient name of the Baetis (the *Guadalquivir*), and he quotes Stesichorus to show that the poet called the Baetis the Tartessus. The tides on the river are mentioned also by Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* v. 6). At the present day large steamers ascend the *Guadalquivir* as far as Seville.

19. 3. **some think that Carpia —— was anciently called Tartessus.** Carpia is no doubt the Spanish seaport which the ancients also called Carthaea (Appian, *Bell. Civile*, ii. 105), but more commonly Carteia (Strabo, iii. p. 141; Livy, xxviii. 30, xliii. 3; Hirtius, *Bell. Hispan.* 32; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iii. 7; Mela, ii. 6. 96). The site of the city, identified by the description of Mela (*l.c.*), by ruins, and by the discovery of coins, was at the head of the bay of Gibraltar, at a place now called *El Rocadillo* about 4 miles north-west of Gibraltar (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.* 1. p. 527). The view that Carteia was the ancient Tartessus is mentioned also by Strabo (iii. p. 151) and Mela (ii. 6. 96), and it is apparently accepted by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iii. 7). The other opinion, mentioned by Pausanias, that Tartessus was at the mouth of the Baetis (the *Guadalquivir*) is recorded also by Strabo (iii. p. 148). Tartessus, as is well known, is the Tarshish of the Bible; the two forms Tartessus and Tarshish seem to be the respective Greek and Semitic corruptions of the name of a native Iberian tribe (H. Kiepert, *Lehrbuch d. alten Geographie*, § 419).

19. 4. **the treasury was dedicated by Myron.** The translation should rather be: "the chamber was dedicated by Myron."

19. 4. **a bronze-plated shield.** The Greek is ἀσπὶς ἐπίχαλκος, an expression which Pausanias perhaps borrowed from Herodotus (iv. 200). It may possibly mean no more than 'a bronze shield' (cp. Bähr on Herodotus, *l.c.*) The adjective here translated 'bronze-plated' is elsewhere applied by Pausanias to a tripod (v. 12. 5).

19. 4. **the Myanians.** See x. 38. 8 note, and the Critical Note

on the present passage (vol. 1. p. 589). From the present passage it appears that Pausanias had not visited Myania at the time when he was writing his description of Olympia.

19. 5. Thucydides —— mentions —— the city of the Myonians. See Thucydides, iii. 101.

19. 6. Miltiades, son of Cimon, who was the first —— to reign etc. Pausanias has here made a slip; the first Athenian tyrant of the Chersonese was not the famous Miltiades, son of Cimon, who led the Athenians at Marathon, but his uncle Miltiades, son of Cypselus. See Herodotus, vi. 36-38. The same mistake is made by Cornelius Nepos (*Miltiades*, 1).

19. 6. old Attic letters. See note on i. 2. 4.

19. 6. Patrocles of Crotona. This is a different person from the Sicyonian sculptor of the same name who is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (vi. 3. 4). Cp. note on x. 9. 10; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 277 *sq.*

19. 7. the treasury of the Carthaginians. This is probably the fourth treasury from the west (marked IV. on the plan). Treasuries II. and III. appear to have been pulled down shortly before Pausanias visited Olympia. See note on § 1. Properly the treasury should have been denominated, after its founders, the treasury of the Syracusans. The name 'treasury of the Carthaginians' was probably a popular designation which came into use in later ages when more interest was taken in the Carthaginian spoils which it contained than in its Syracusan founders. At least this explanation of the name seems more probable than Freeman's notion that the treasury was so called "in proud scorn." The Syracusan victory which it is commonly supposed to have commemorated was the great defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera in 480 B.C. See Herodotus, vii. 165-167; Diodorus, xi. 21 *sq.*; Ad. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, 1. pp. 205-207; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, 2. p. 192 *sqq.* But the style of the architecture points, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, to an earlier date, and this indication is confirmed by an inscription (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 661, Συρ[ακοσίων] "of the Syracusans") which seems to have been carved on some part of the building and which from its style is judged by Prof. Dittenberger to be not later than the end of the sixth century B.C. Further, a piece of sculptured relief, which appears to have adorned the gable of the treasury (see below), is considered by Prof. Treu to be too archaic in style to have been executed as late as the period immediately after the battle of Himera. Both the inscription and the relief are carved on blocks of the same dazzling white limestone of which the entablature is made (see below). Thus the concurrent testimony of architecture, epigraphy, and sculpture points to the treasury having been built not later than the end of the sixth century B.C. If we accept that testimony, we must apparently abandon the idea that the Syracusan treasury was founded by Gelo, since Gelo did not make himself master of Syracuse until 485 B.C. And indeed Pausanias, interpreted strictly, affirms only that the votive offerings in the treasury were dedicated by Gelo: he does not say that the treasury itself was founded by him. (The

translation of this passage, vol. 1. p. 312, should be corrected accordingly.) These offerings were, we can hardly doubt, spoils captured by Gelo from the Carthaginians at Himera. The three linen corselets in the treasury had probably been worn by three soldiers of the Carthaginian host in the battle. As to the use of linen corselets by the ancients see note on i. 21. 7.

Nothing of the treasury is standing but the foundations, which are 10.19 metres long by 6.50 metres broad. They consist of two courses of masonry resting on a substratum of pebbles. The stone is the coarse shell-limestone of which so many buildings at Olympia are constructed. The blocks are mostly hewn in polygons, which is remarkable, as the polygonal style of masonry hardly occurs elsewhere at Olympia. Numerous broken blocks of a dazzling white limestone, comprising blocks with clamps of the ┌──┐ shape, pieces of an architrave, fragments of triglyphs and metopes, and many pieces of a peculiarly moulded *geison*, are conjecturally supposed by Dr. Dörpfeld to have belonged to the treasury of the Carthaginians or (as it should rather be called) of the Syracusans. Fragments of this white limestone were discovered near the foundations of the treasury and partly built into them. But Dr. Dörpfeld does not consider that the attribution of the architectural members in question to the Syracusan treasury is perfectly certain. See W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 46; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xxxiv. A fragment of a limestone relief, representing a naked human leg grasped apparently by an arm, is conjectured by Prof. Treu to have formed part of a sculptured decoration in the front gable of the Carthaginian treasury. He supposes that the scene represented was one of combat in which a vanquished foe was grasping, with a suppliant gesture, the knees of the victor. See G. Treu, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. p. 15 *sq.*

19. 8. **The third and fourth of the treasuries are offerings of the Epidamnians. . . .** These are the fifth and sixth treasuries from the west (numbered V. and VI. on the plan). Of these the treasury called by Pausanias the fourth (No. VI. on the plan) was doubtless the treasury of the Byzantines, whose name has here dropped out of the text of Pausanias, though it occurs in the next section (§ 9). Of the Epidamnian treasury (No. V.) nothing remains but foundations, and even these are incomplete, the back foundation-wall being totally destroyed, so that it is impossible to determine the exact length of the building. The foundations, so far as they exist, are composed of a single course of soft limestone resting on a deep substructure of pebbles bonded with clay-mortar. The blocks of limestone are carefully cut so that only their outer edges are in contact. Iron clamps are not used to bond the blocks. From the greater breadth of the treasury Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that it must have had six supports (four columns between *antae*) on its southern façade, instead of the usual number of four. See W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 47. A fragment of a limestone relief, representing the head, mane, and breast of a horse, is conjectured by Prof. Treu to have belonged to a sculptured decoration of the front gable of the Epidamnian treasury.

The horse seems to have borne a rider. The mane is long and carefully carved, though in a stiff conventional style. Considerable remains of colour are to be seen on the fragment. The background is bright blue; the mane was painted in alternate strips of blue and red; the bridle is red; the body of the horse seems to have been yellow. See G. Treu, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 16-18; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 16, with pl. xxv. B; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 244; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, No. 296.

The Byzantine treasury (No. VI. on the plan) is not much better preserved than the Epidamnian. However, in addition to the foundations, there are preserved some pieces of the wall of the treasure-chamber and a small part of the floor. The foundations consist of three courses of shell-limestone, without any substruction of pebbles. See Dörpfeld, *l.c.* Three fragments of limestone reliefs representing a waterfowl, a cock, and a hen (all mutilated) are conjectured by Prof. Treu to have belonged to a sculptured decoration of the front gable of the Byzantine treasury (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 23-25). From a fragment of Polemo, preserved by Athenaeus (xi. p. 480 a), we learn that the Byzantine treasury contained a cedar-wood image of Triton holding a silver cup, also a silver Siren, and various vessels of silver and gold.

19. 8. **It contains a representation of Atlas** etc. Dr. Purgold has argued that this group of Hercules and Atlas in the Gardens of the Hesperides and the group of Hercules fighting Achelous (see § 12) originally occupied the gables of the temple of Hera; he supposes that they were taken down to protect them from the weather, from which, being of wood, they were liable to suffer. See *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 7 (1887), pp. 130-132. As to Atlas upholding the sky, see note on v. 11. 5. The Greek word translated 'firmament' in the present passage is πόλος. On the various significations of this word, see the learned discussion of Prof. E. Maass in his *Aratea* (Berlin, 1892), p. 123 *sqq.* He shows that it was variously employed in the sense of the firmament or celestial globe, the axis of that globe, a pole of the axis, a sun-dial, etc.

19. 8. **The Hesperides were removed** etc. See v. 17. 2.

19. 9. **The Sybarites also built a treasury.** This is the seventh treasury from the west (No. VII. on the plan). It must have been built before 510 B.C., for in that year Sybaris was destroyed. Only the northern half of the treasury is preserved, and even that merely to a height of one course. This course is composed of coarse shell-limestone, and rests on a bed of sand and fine pebbles. The breadth of the treasure-chamber is about 5.60 metres; its length is unknown. Even the general plan of the building is unknown, but can be inferred from the analogy of the other treasuries. In the treasure-chamber lie some slabs of the pavement; they are of shell-limestone, and have on their upper surface certain holes of which the purpose is not known. See W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 47 *sq.* A fragment of limestone bearing a small piece of floral ornament (?) carved in

relief is conjecturally assigned by Prof. Treu to one of the gables of the Sybarite treasury (*Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. p. 25 *sq.*)

19. 9. **Lupiae —— is the ancient Sybaris.** This is, of course, absurd. Lupiae or Lupia was in Calabria, while Sybaris was far away in Lucania. Sir E. H. Bunbury thought that the only reasonable explanation of Pausanias's strange mistake is that "he confounded Lupia in Calabria (the name of which was sometimes written Lopia) with the Roman colony of Copia in Lucania, which had in fact arisen on the site of Thurii, and, therefore, in a manner succeeded to Sybaris" (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, article 'Lupiae,' vol. 2. p. 217).

19. 10. **a treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene.** This is the eighth treasury from the west (No. VIII. on the plan). It is the smallest and perhaps the oldest of all the treasuries. In spite of its small size it seems to have been built on the same general plan as the others, in other words, to have consisted of a chamber with a shallow ante-chamber or porch. The foundations and part of the upper walls are preserved. They are constructed of hewn blocks of the coarse shell-limestone and of a soft marly limestone. The shell-limestone is employed in the portions of the building above ground and in a part of the foundations; the marly limestone is employed only in the two lower courses of the foundations. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that the part built of marly limestone is the older, and that the other material (shell-limestone) was only employed in rebuilding and extending the treasury at some later time. Neither clamps nor dowels appear to have been used to bind the stones together. To the north of the treasury of Gela a slab of hard limestone was found bearing the inscription *Κυρα[ναῖοι]* ('Cyrenians') in large letters. From the size and shape of the stone Dr. Dörpfeld is of opinion that it formed part of an *anta* of the Cyrenian treasury. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xxxii.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 48; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 246; K. Purgold, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), p. 180, No. 399; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 506 a.

A fragment of a limestone relief (0.23 metre high, 0.28 metre broad, and 0.26 metre thick) representing a woman carrying or struggling with a small lion is believed to have formed part of a sculptured decoration of the front gable of the Cyrenian treasury. The woman thus represented is probably Cyrene, the patron goddess of the city of that name. For Pindar tells how Apollo found her struggling, unarmed, with a lion (*Pyth.* ix. 25 *sqq.*); and in two sculptures brought from Cyrene and now in the British Museum the goddess is similarly portrayed. In the Olympian relief the goddess is grasping one of the lion's forelegs in her left hand; her right arm, her head, the lower part of her body, and the lower part of the lion's body, are all broken off. Prof. Treu is of opinion that she was portrayed carrying the lion and moving to the spectator's right, probably pursued by her lover Apollo. Prof. Studniczka thinks that she may have been kneeling and struggling with the beast. The breast and arms of the goddess are bare; her long curls fall down on her shoulders. Remains of red paint are to be seen on her robe; her hair and the lion's mane seem to have been painted red; and traces of

bright blue were visible on the background at the time of its discovery. Further, a fragment of another limestone relief, representing the body of a cock, is believed to have also belonged to the sculptured decoration of the gable of the Cyrenian treasury, since the stiff conventional style in which the wings and feathers are rendered agrees closely with the representation of cocks on Cyrenian vases. Prof. Treu conjectures that a cock and hen, facing each other, may have occupied each of the ends of the gable. From the archaic style of these sculptures it would seem that they date from the early part of the sixth century B.C. The treasury may very well have been built in the reign of Battus II. (574-554 B.C.), when Cyrene received a great influx of Greek colonists, and hence presumably a large increase of wealth (Herodotus, iv. 159). See G. Treu, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 19-23; Fr. Studniczka, *Kyrene* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 28-39; *id.*, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Kyrene,' vol. 2. p. 1724 *sq.*

19. 10. **Selinus —— was destroyed by the Carthaginians.** Selinus was destroyed and most of the people put to the sword by the Carthaginians in 409 B.C. (Diodorus, xiii. 54-58). An inscription found at Selinus gives a list of the gods by whose help the Selinuntians conquered in war. They were "Zeus, and Fear, and Hercules, and Apollo, and Poseidon, and the Tyndarids, and Athena, and the Apple-bearer (or Sheep-bearer) (Demeter), and the All-powerful Goddess (Pasicratia), but especially Zeus." See Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 515; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 117. However, their gods failed them in the last struggle with the Carthaginian. Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, said that the gods of Selinus had departed from the city, being offended with the people (Diodorus, xiii. 59).

19. 10. **the people of Selinus dedicated a treasury.** This is the ninth treasury from the west (No. IX. on the plan). From its position, hemmed in between the Cyrenian and the Metapontine treasuries (Nos. VIII. and X.), it is clearly of later date than both of them. Portions of the foundations and walls, pieces of the pavement of the treasure-chamber, and the pedestal of a statue in the chamber, are preserved, probably also a part of the entablature. The material of the walls is a fine hard shell-limestone, quite different from the coarse gritty shell-limestone of which the temple of Zeus and so many other buildings at Olympia are constructed. Some pieces of an ancient Doric entablature, found partly on the terrace of the treasuries, partly at the Prytaneum, are made of the same fine hard limestone, and as their dimensions agree with those of the Selinuntian treasury we may safely conclude that the entablature belonged to the treasury in question. Of the walls of the treasure-chamber only a single course, composed of a double row of slabs set up side by side on their narrow edges, is preserved. The slabs were bonded together by large swallow-tailed clamps made of wood; of course only the holes made to receive these clamps are preserved. The floor of the treasure-chamber is double. The lower and original floor consists merely of mortar laid immediately on the earth: it is well preserved. Above it is a later stone pavement resting on supports so as to leave a hollow space between it and the original floor.

The stone of which the pavement and its supports are constructed is the common coarse shell-limestone of Olympia. The ground-plan of the treasury cannot be restored with certainty, since hardly a stone of its southern half is preserved. The style of the entablature, of which some remains have been found (see above), is simple and archaic. Some blocks of the pediment have also been discovered. On the ground of its architectural style and of certain technical indications Dr. Dörpfeld dates the treasury approximately in the second half of the sixth century B.C. See W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 49 *sq.*; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xxxii., xxxiii.

19. 11. **the treasury of the Metapontines.** This is the tenth treasury from the west (No. X. on the plan). Although only half a course of hewn stones is standing, the ground-plan of the building can be restored with certainty, since the foundations, constructed of large boulders, are preserved entire. Thus we see that the treasury consisted of a chamber about 9.60 metres long and 8.30 metres broad, with an ante-chamber or porch a little over 2 metres deep. The half-course of ashlar masonry seems to have formed the highest part of the foundations, and not to have belonged to the upper walls of the building. It is constructed of blocks of the common coarse shell-limestone of Olympia not united by clamps. In the foundations were found built some triglyphs and metopes of soft marly limestone. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that they belong to the treasury, having been either rejected by the masons on account of some flaw while the treasury was building, or built into the foundations during some later restoration. See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xxxii.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 50. A fragment of a limestone relief, representing the back part of the body of a mule, is conjectured by Prof. Treu to have formed part of a sculptured decoration of the front gable of the Metapontine treasury. It retains traces of colour (red and bluish green). See G. Treu, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. p. 18 *sq.*

The antiquary Polemo, quoted by Athenaeus (xi. p. 479 f) tells us that in the treasury of the Metapontines at Olympia there were 132 silver and three gold-plated cups, three silver wine-jugs, and one silver sacrificial vessel.

19. 11. **in my time nothing was left of it** etc. Cicero speaks of having visited Metapontum (*De finibus*, v. 2). Elsewhere he remarks that Magna Graecia, once so flourishing, in his days lay utterly waste (*De amicitia*, iv. 13). The site of Metapontum, according to Sir E. H. Bunbury, "was probably already subject to malaria, and from the same cause has remained desolate ever since" (Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*, *s.v.* 'Metapontum').

19. 12. **The people of Megara —— built a treasury.** This is the eleventh treasury from the west (No. XI. on the plan). Pieces of all the architectural members of this treasury have been found, so that a complete restoration of it is possible, though only the foundations and part of one course of the walls are standing. Blocks of the stylobate, drums and capitals of columns, architrave blocks, triglyphs and metopes, horizontal and slanting *geisa*, *simas*, roof-tiles, and pedimental reliefs

were all found built into the Byzantine fortification wall, to the south-west of the temple of Zeus. The material of the entablature is a fine shell-limestone thinly coated with stucco. But the *sima* (projecting edge of the roof) and the roof-tiles are of terra-cotta, and the pedimental reliefs are of marly limestone. So complete is the preservation of the architectural members that few ancient buildings are so well known to us as the Megarian treasury. That these remains do actually belong to the Megarian treasury, though they were found so far away from it, is proved, first, by the evidence of Pausanias, who describes the pedimental reliefs, and, second, by the inscription Μεγ[αρ]έων ('of the Megarians'), which is carved on a block of the architrave.

The foundations are carelessly and somewhat irregularly constructed of large blocks of shell-limestone. The treasure-chamber measured on the inside 8.17 metres in length by 5.10 metres in breadth. The blocks of the stylobate show the marks where the two columns of the porch stood and the holes into which gratings between the columns and the *antae* were fixed. The central opening between the columns was closed with a double door. The Doric capitals closely resemble those of the temple of Zeus in the shape of the echinus. At the neck they have four rings and three cuttings, the latter, however, only on the outer side. Almost all the drums of the two columns have been found. They have twenty flutes. The total height of the columns seems to have been about 3.50 metres, but this is not quite certain. Apparently the shafts had no *entasis* or swelling in the middle. The architrave was composed of a double row of slabs set up, face to face, on their narrow edges. On the central block of the architrave, over the entrance, was carved in later, apparently Roman, times the inscription ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ ('of the Megarians'). A triglyph frieze extended only along the façade; it did not run round the building. Almost all the blocks of it have been found. The *geison* ran all round the building, but it is only on the façade that it had mutules and *guttae*. The wall of the pediment consisted of five stones, which have all been found. In front of it were set up slabs of marly limestone adorned with sculptured reliefs (see below). The holes in the back of the triglyphs and *geisa* show that the roof of the ante-chamber or porch was constructed of eight wooden beams. The roof-tiles were of terra-cotta; many fragments of them have been found. At the gable they ended in a painted ornamental cornice (*sima*) of terra-cotta, the colours of which (reddish yellow and dark brown) are well preserved. A lion's head projected from each end of the *sima*. Traces of colour have been observed on other parts of the building beside the *sima*. Thus red appeared on the architrave, and dark blue on the triglyphs and on the mutules of the *geison*. But no traces of painted ornaments were detected by Dr. Dörpfeld on the metopes and on the capitals of the columns. Iron clamps of the ⊢⊣ shape were employed to bind together the blocks of the upper building, but not the stones of the foundations. With regard to the date of the treasury, the style both of the architecture and of the sculptures points to the second half of the sixth century B.C.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xxxvi.-xxxviii.; *id.*, Tafelband 2. pl. cxix.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 50-53; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. 37-40, with pl. xxxiv.; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 c *sq.*; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 195 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 214; Baedeker,[3] p. 345. For the inscription see *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 653; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 211 *sq.*, No. 333.

19. 12. **small cedar-wood figures** etc. Dr. Purgold holds that these figures originally adorned one of the gables of the temple of Hera. See note on § 8. As to the combat of Hercules with Achelous, see note on iii. 18. 16. The figure which Pausanias calls Zeus was perhaps in reality Oeneus, the father of Dejanira.

19. 12. **beside the Hesperides** etc. See v. 17. 2.

19. 13. **In the gable —— is wrought in relief the war of the giants** etc. Fragments, more or less incomplete, of all the figures here described by Pausanias were found built into the West Byzantine wall of the Altis, at its southern end. That these fragments do indeed belong to the Megarian treasury is proved, not only by their correspondence with the description of Pausanias, but also by the fact that along with them were found the architectural remains of that treasury. From the remains of the tympanum which have been discovered Dr. Dörpfeld calculates the height of the pediment at 0.744 metre and its breadth at 5.70 metres. The figures of the relief, however, projected somewhat from the pediment under the eaves, and the total amount of free space for them is reckoned to have been 0.84 metre in height and about 5.95 metres in length. The size of the figures is not quite half that of life.

The fragments of the reliefs have been carefully pieced together and the missing portions conjecturally restored by Prof. Treu. There seem to have been five pairs of combatants and two animals. In the middle of the pediment a god (probably Zeus) was represented striking down a giant, the god being on the left side, and the giant on the right side of the central point of the gable, viewed from the spectator's standpoint. The figure of the giant is preserved almost entire (Fig. 5). He is sinking on his left knee, and his head is drooping, but he is still defending himself with his right arm, or (as Prof. Treu thinks) endeavouring to extract a weapon from a wound in his side. On his left arm he carries a round shield, and he is armed with a breastplate, greaves, and helmet. Of his adversary (Zeus) nothing is preserved but the naked left leg, from the knee downwards, and a shapeless mass supposed by Prof. Treu to be part of the body and head of the god. He appears to have been striding towards the sinking giant, perhaps with the thunderbolt uplifted in his right arm to hurl at his vanquished foe. In the eastern or right-hand side of the gable (viewed from the spectator's standpoint), the figure next to the sinking giant was that of a naked god striking at a prostrate giant. Only the lower part of the body, the left foot, and the left hand of the god are preserved. Prof. Treu restores him as Hercules, striding to the spectator's right, armed with a bow in his extended left hand and heaving up a club in his raised right hand. This combination of weapons seems odd to us; but Her-

cules is often thus represented in archaic Greek art (Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, I. p. 284; Furtwangler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. p. 2141 *sqq.*) Of the fallen adversary of Hercules little more than a shapeless mass is left. To the right of this sorely mutilated giant a god armed with helmet, breastplate, shield, and greaves is kneeling; he is probably Ares, and would seem to have been represented thrusting a spear into another fallen giant, who is armed with a leathern corselet, but has no greaves. In the extreme right-hand (eastern) corner of the pediment is a snake. In the left-hand or western side of the gable, immediately to the left of Zeus, we may conjecture, with Prof. Treu, that Athena was represented, armed with aegis and helmet, in the act of spearing a fallen giant, although of the goddess all that remains is her left foot. Of her adversary, the fallen giant, there are considerable remains; he is armed with a helmet and leathern corselet, but wears no greaves. To the left of this prostrate giant another god, probably Poseidon, seems to have been kneeling and spearing another giant. Of Poseidon, if it be he, the mutilated head, the upper part of the body, and the left arm (without the hand) are preserved. Of his fallen adversary there are considerable remains; he is lying on his back and covering himself with his shield. Lastly, in the extreme left (western) corner of the gable, a sea-monster seems to have been represented, though little of it but a shapeless mass is left.



FIG. 5.—WOUNDED GIANT (FROM THE GABLE OF THE MEGARIAN TREASURY).

The material of which the figures are made is a soft whitish-yellow limestone, apparently the same of which the large archaic head of Hera is made (see note on v. 17. 1). The stone is quarried close to Olympia,

on the western side of the valley of the Cladeus (see the geological map in Bötticher's *Olympia*,[2] pl. iii.) The relief is composed of five blocks of this stone; and as the joints of the blocks bear no relation to the figures, most of which seem to have been divided impartially between several blocks, it is clear that the figures were carved after the blocks had been placed in position. That they were painted is proved by the traces of colour which were visible at the time of their discovery. The background was bright blue; the prevailing colour of the figures was red. The flesh, as well as the hair and armour, of the combatants seems to have been painted, probably with a pale red or yellow. In point of style the figures closely resemble those of the metopes of temple F at Selinus (Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Figs. 346, 347, p. 331). They would seem to date from the middle or the second half of the sixth century B.C. At the time of their discovery they were the oldest known examples of pedimental sculptures in Greek art; but now they must probably yield the palm of antiquity to the quaint, brightly painted sculptures of this class which were found some years ago on the Acropolis at Athens.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates ii. iii. iv.; G. Treu, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 3. pp. 5-15; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), pp. 14-16, with plates xviii., xix.; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 214-219; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1104 U; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 121-123; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 211 *sq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, 1. pp. 236-239; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, §§ 294, 295, pp. 136-139; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 286-289; O. Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen in der Antike* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 72-75; Baedeker,[3] pp. lxxvi., 354.

19. 13. **this victory was won —— when Phorbas was archon for life at Athens** etc. As the Megarian treasury dates from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. (see on § 12), it is out of the question to suppose, with Pausanias, that the victory it commemorated was won before 776 B.C. (the time when the Olympiads began to be recorded). Pausanias's mistake seems to have arisen from his exaggerated idea of the antiquity of Dontas, the sculptor who made the cedar-wood figures in the treasury (§§ 12, 14), and whom Pausanias appears to refer to the mythical ages. But as a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis (see note on ii. 15. 1) he probably flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Hence the cedar-wood figures were probably made about the same time as the treasury itself. See Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 C; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 217 *sqq.*

19. 14. **the Lacedaemonian Dontas.** Elsewhere (v. 17. 2) Pausanias calls this artist Medon. One of the names must be wrong. H. Brunn thought that the sculptor's name was Dontas; Prof. Robert thinks that it was Medon. In the absence of inscriptions it seems impossible to say which is right. See Critical Note on v. 17. 2, vol. 1. p. 585.

19. 14. **The last of the treasuries —— dedicated by the people of Gela.** This is the most easterly of the treasuries (No. XII. on the plan). It is also the largest and probably, with the exception of the Cyrenian treasury (No. VIII.), the oldest of them all. Little more than the

foundations are standing, and even they are not entire. Enough, however, remains to enable us easily to make out the ground-plan. Moreover, almost all the columns and most of the entablature were found built into the East and West Byzantine walls, so that a restoration of the building is possible. The treasury consists of two parts, which were erected at different times. The original edifice was a simple quadrangular chamber 13.17 metres long from east to west by 10.85 metres broad from north to south. It had gables at its east and west ends. At a later time a portico was built along the whole south side of the treasury. The later date of this portico is proved by a variety of evidence. (1) While the foundations of the quadrangular chamber consist of one or two courses of ashlar masonry, the foundations of the portico are formed of small unhewn stones. Now this latter sort of foundation occurs only in the five westernmost treasuries, which were probably the latest. (2) The portico must have been added after the two treasuries to the west (the Megarian and the Metapontine treasuries) were already built; for the southern façades of these two treasuries are in a line with the south side of the chamber of the treasury of Gela, not with its portico. (3) The rude way in which the half-columns of the portico were attached to the south wall of the chamber cannot be original; a piece of each of the half-capitals projects beyond the edge of the wall.

The three steps which run round the chamber on three sides (east, north, and west) are also a later addition. The walls of the chamber are built exclusively of hewn blocks, mostly of shell-limestone, with a few blocks of marly limestone among them. The interior of the chamber was paved with a single course of shell-limestone, but in the middle of the pavement there is a second course of marly limestone. What this basement of marly limestone supported is not known. Dr. Dörpfeld formerly conjectured that columns stood on it, but he admits that no evidence of the existence of such columns is forthcoming. Nor is it known on which side was the entrance to the treasury before the portico was built. No trace of a door has been detected either in the east or the west wall.

In the West Byzantine wall were found numerous blocks of *geisa* and pediments, which have been proved to belong to the treasury of Gela. These blocks are of special interest because they were cased with terra-cotta plaques, on which patterns are painted in dark brown and dark red colours on a light yellow ground. These painted plaques, of which countless fragments have been found in the Byzantine wall, were nailed to the stone blocks, as is proved, first, by the holes for nails in the plaques, and, second, by the nails themselves, which are still sticking in most of the stones at distances corresponding to the holes in the plaques. The patterns painted on the plaques include bands of maeanders and of double twist. These plaques were fastened all along the *geisa* and *sima* both on the gable ends and the long sides of the building. On the gable ends they were attached not only to the ascending but also to the horizontal *geisa*. The effect must have been to give a gay many-coloured aspect to the gables as well as to

cornice of the building. This use of terra-cotta plaques to encase certain of the outer and more exposed portions of a stone building is believed to have been derived from a time when the only building material was timber. In these early days the projecting eaves of the wooden roof were especially liable to suffer from exposure to the weather; and hence they were protected by being cased with terra-cotta plaques. Through the force of custom this practice of casing the eaves was continued even after edifices had begun to be built of stone, and when consequently such a casing had become superfluous. The practice seems to have been characteristic of Sicily and Magna Graecia; for Dr. Dörpfeld and his colleagues discovered evidence of its having prevailed in Gela, Selinus, Syracuse, Crotona, Metapontum, and Paestum. This fact, coupled with the resemblance of the capitals of the portico to the capital of a column still existing at Gela, goes to show that the treasury of Gela was built by Sicilian architects, and that the terra-cotta plaques were imported ready made from Gela.

The treasure-chamber was roofed with terra-cotta tiles, specimens of which have been found. They were of two sorts, namely flat tiles with raised edges, and semicircular tiles to cover the junctions of the flat tiles. Along the ridge of the roof ran a row of pipe-like tiles, from each of which rose an ornamental plaque in the shape of a palmette.

The portico had six columns on its south front and two columns and one half-column on each of its two short sides, the columns at the corners being reckoned twice over. The columns are Doric; they supported, as usual, an architrave and a frieze of triglyphs and metopes. The columns taper considerably. They have four cuttings round the neck, and as many rings round the lowest part of the echinus. The architrave is unusually high compared to the triglyph frieze. Neither the *regulae* nor the mutules have *guttae*. It appears that the portico had a roof that sloped very slightly, but no gable. The blocks of the entablature (architrave and triglyph frieze) were bonded with iron clamps of the ┌─┘ shape. The drums of the columns were fastened together by means of strong quadrangular wooden dowels. In the original building (the treasure-chamber) neither clamps nor dowels appear to have been employed.

With regard to the date of the treasury Dr. Dörpfeld is of opinion that the quadrangular chamber dates from the first half of the sixth, and the portico from the first half of the fifth century B.C. He thinks that the fine style and the decorative patterns of the terra-cotta plaques, with which the gables and the outside cornice of the treasure-chamber were cased, prove that they cannot be older than the sixth century B.C.; and that on the other hand the building, from its position, cannot be later than the Megarian treasury, which appears to have been built in the second half of that century.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. plates xxxix.-xli.; *id.*, Tafelband 2. plates cxvi., cxvii.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 53-56; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), pp. 31-35, with pl. xxxiii. and xxxiv.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 193 *sq.*; *Die*

Funde von Olympia, p. 36 *sq.*, with pl. xxxviii.; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 D *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 208-214; Baedeker,[3] p. 345.

Here is perhaps the most appropriate place to notice a structure which Pausanias does not mention, though it certainly existed at the time when he wrote his description of Olympia. This is the great double tank, built and supplied with water by Herodes Atticus, and known as the Exedra.

In the close hot climate of Olympia the need of a supply of good drinking water is especially felt. For months together rain hardly falls: between May and October a shower is a rarity. The great festival was always held in summer (July or August), when the weather at Olympia is cloudless and the heat intense. Hence the multitudes who flocked to witness the games must have been much distressed by the dust and the burning sun, against which the spreading shade of the plane-trees in the sacred precinct could have afforded only an imperfect protection. Indeed Lucian, doubtless with a strong touch of exaggeration, speaks of the spectators packed together and dying in swarms of thirst and of distempers contracted from the excessive drought (*De morte Peregrini*, 19). The water of the Alpheus is not good to drink; for even in the height of summer it holds in solution a quantity of chalky matter. The water of the Cladeus, on the other hand, is drinkable in its normal state: but even a little rain swells it and makes it run turbid for a long time. Hence it was necessary to sink wells and to bring water from a distance. This was done even in Greek times. Nine wells, some square, some round, some lined with the usual shell-limestone, others with plaques of terra-cotta, have been found at Olympia; and water was brought in aqueducts from the upper valley of the Cladeus. But in Roman times the water supply was immensely improved and extended by the munificence of the wealthy sophist Herodes Atticus. He brought water in an aqueduct from the springs in the side valleys of the Alpheus, near the modern village of *Miraka*, distant from Olympia about two miles. One of the pillars of the aqueduct may still be seen at the meeting of two brooks in the valley of *Miraka*, also the tunnel at the foot of Mt. Cronius, from the place where it enters the Altis just above the treasury of Gela till it reaches the reservoir above the Exedra. The tunnel is .40 metre wide and 0.72 metre high; its sides are built of bricks in a semicircular form. As a monumental termination of his aqueduct Herodes Atticus built the so-called Exedra with its spacious tanks and its statues. The structure consisted essentially of two large tanks, an upper semicircular tank measuring 16.62 metres in diameter, and a lower oblong tank measuring 21.90 metres in length by 3.17 metres in breadth, and 1.20 metres in depth. The water flowed from the reservoir into the upper tank, and from the upper tank into the lower tank through two lions' heads, which are still in their places. The upper semicircular tank was paved with large slabs of polished marble and roofed over with a great half cupola, forming a sort of apse. This apse was built, partly of hewn stone, partly of brickwork with a core of rubble and mortar; some of the bricks are stamped with the name of

Herodes. Considerable portions of the structure, including all that could be well seen from below, were thickly coated with stucco and incrusted with marbles of various hues—white, grey, red, and green. At the back, towards the hill, the apse was supported by eight buttresses, which still exist. On its inner side, round the semicircular tank, it was divided into a series of niches which contained marble statues of members of the imperial house and of the family of Herodes Atticus. The niches, which were divided from each other by Corinthian pilasters, fell into two sets, namely eight round niches corresponding on the inside to the eight buttresses on the outside, and seven oblong niches in the intervals between the round niches. The oblong niches, corresponding on the inside to the intervals between the buttresses on the outside, were double the size of the others. As to the statues which stood in the niches, see below.

At each end of the lower oblong tank rose a small rotunda, built wholly of marble, consisting of a cupola supported by eight unfluted Corinthian columns, and enclosing a statue in the middle. The diameter of each of these little rotundas was only 3.80 metres. The tiny columns were of Carystian, the rest of the structure was of Pentelic marble. The roofs were formed of marble tiles carved in the shape of olive-leaves overlapping each other like scales. Lions' heads projected from their cornices. In each rotunda are still to be seen the remains of the low square pedestal which supported the statue.

On the middle of the parapet of the lower tank stood a large marble bull facing eastward. It was found lying in the tank, 20th March 1878. On the right flank of the bull is carved the following votive inscription:

Ῥήγιλλα ἱέρεια
Δήμητρος τὸ ὕδωρ
καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῷ Διί.

"Regilla, a priestess of Demeter, (dedicated) the water and its appurtenances to Zeus." See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 610; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 36 (1878), p. 94, No. 149. It thus appears that Herodes Atticus dedicated the aqueduct and Exedra in the name of his wife Regilla. The dedication cannot, therefore, have been later than 160 or 161 A.D., the date of Regilla's death; probably, as we shall see, it took place some years earlier.

Of the marble statues which stood in the niches of the apse fourteen have been found, in a more or less battered state, some of them with their inscribed bases. The greater part, however, of the bases was sawn into slabs and employed to pave the Byzantine church in the fifth century A.D. The statues are larger than life. They fall into two sets, namely (1) those which represent members of the imperial family and were set up by Herodes Atticus; (2) those which represent Herodes Atticus himself and his family and were set up by the city of Elis. The statues of the first set, representing members of the imperial family, were set up in the eight round niches; the statues of the second set, representing Herodes Atticus and his family, were set up in the

seven oblong niches, two pedestals with their statues being placed in each oblong niche. Thus there were eight pedestals set apart for the statues of the imperial family, and fourteen for those of the family of Herodes Atticus. But the number of statues did not correspond to that of the pedestals, for in each set a single pedestal supported two statues of young children (a brother and a sister). Among the statues of the imperial family were portraits of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus (afterwards the Emperor Verus), the elder Faustina (wife of Antoninus Pius), the younger Faustina (wife of Marcus Aurelius), and two children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina. Probably there was a statue of Marcus Aurelius, but neither the statue nor its pedestal has been found. It is conjectured that the statues of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius were placed in the two little rotundas at each end of the lower tank. A clue to the date of the erection of the Exedra is furnished by the fact that two and only two children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina were represented by statues. For the marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina took place in 145 A.D. (Th. Mommsen, in *Hermes*, 8 (1874), p. 205); hence the Exedra cannot have been built before 147 A.D. On the other hand it was probably not built later than 150 or 151 A.D., since in one or other of these years was born to Marcus Aurelius and Faustina another child, Anna Lucilia by name, who married her uncle, the emperor Lucius Verus, in 164 A.D. Thus the Exedra would seem to have been built between 147 and 151 A.D. Dr. Adler, however, would date it between 154-157 A.D. on the ground that Herodes probably built it to testify his gratitude for the honour conferred on his wife Regilla, who had been made priestess of Demeter in Ol. 131 (153 A.D.) But it does not seem to be made out that the priesthood of Regilla fell in Ol. 131 (153 A.D.), though certainly it cannot have fallen in the subsequent Olympiad, Ol. 132 (157 A.D.), since the name of the priestess for that year, Antonia Baebia, is known to us from an inscription (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 456). The latest possible date for the completion of the Exedra is 161 A.D., since Regilla, in whose name the Exedra was dedicated, died in that or the preceding year, and Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded Antoninus Pius on the throne in 161 A.D., is mentioned as a private man in one of the inscriptions of the Exedra. Thus the Exedra must have been completed at least thirteen years before Pausanias wrote his description of Olympia (see note on v. 1. 2). The haste and negligence of the masonry betray the decline of art. Only the capitals of the Corinthian columns of the two little rotundas are carefully and tastefully carved.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. plates lxxxiii.-lxxxvi.; *id.* Tafelband 3. plates lxv.-lxix.; F. Adler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 134-139; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 3 (1877-1878), p. 32, with plates v., xxi., xxxvii.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 26 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 401-410; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, pp. 43-47; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 E *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 343 *sq.* For the inscriptions on the bases of the statues, etc., see *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, pp. 615-640, Nos. 610-628; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 35 (1877), pp. 101-104; *id.*, 36 (1878), pp. 94-97.

The aqueduct of Herodes is mentioned by Philostratus (*Vit. Soph.* ii. 1. 9) and Lucian (*De morte Peregrini*, 19 *sq.*) Lucian tells us how the mountebank Peregrinus denounced Herodes and his aqueduct for pandering to the luxury and effeminacy of the day. It was the duty of the spectators, he said, to endure their thirst, and if need be to die of it. This doctrine proved unacceptable to his hearers, and the preacher had to run for his life pursued by a volley of stones.

20. 1. **Mount Cronius.** This is the hill which rises immediately on the north of the Altis to a height of over 450 feet (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 12). Its steep sides are thickly clothed with bushes and trees (firs, holly oaks, etc.) The view from the top is pleasing, embracing the valley of the Alpheus with the low soft wooded hills of Elis all round. The mountains of Arcadia are seen on the eastern horizon. To the west the view of the sea is cut off by the hill which rises on the other side of the valley of the Cladeus. It was Hercules who gave the hill its name; it had been nameless before (Pindar, *Olymp.* xi. 49 *sqq.*; cp. *id.*, *Ol.* i. 114, v. 17, vi. 64, viii. 17).

20. 1. **On the top of the mountain the Basilae** etc. As to these sacrifices, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.* i. 34) speaks of "the Cronian hill in Elis, which hill is in the land of Pisa near the river Alpheus. The people of Elis esteem the hill sacred to Cronus, and they assemble and do homage to it with sacrifices and other marks of honour at set times." The title (Basilae) of the priests who offered the sacrifice to Cronus seems clearly connected with *basileus*, 'king.' Hence, as Curtius suggested, the priesthood probably dated from the old regal days and may have been held by the kings themselves (*Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy (Berlin), 1894, p. 1111). The vernal equinox, the season when the Basilae sacrificed on the top of the mountain, has been celebrated with religious rites elsewhere. Thus in Nepaul "on the 8th (Ashtami) the Gorkhas observe a festival, for that one day only, in honour of the vernal equinox" (H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, 2. p. 314). "Another festival is not only observed by the Parsis in India and elsewhere, but is common to Persians, Arabs, and Turks, it being the day fixed for the computation of the incoming solar year, and also for the collection of revenue. It corresponds with the vernal equinox and falls about the third week in March. It is called Jamshedi Naoroz, and strictly speaking is 'New Year's Day,' but in India it is simply a day of rejoicing, and is observed in honour of a Persian king named Jamshed, who first introduced the principles of cultivation, and the proper method of reckoning time on the solar system" (A. F. Baillie, *Kurrachee (Karachi), past, present, and future*, (Calcutta, 1890), p. 190).

20. 2. **Sosipolis** etc. See note on v. 17. 3. On the slope of Mount Cronius, immediately above the treasuries, there is a broad level space, through which a road now runs. Here may have stood the joint temple of Sosipolis and Ilithyia. Immediately to the west of the row of treasuries, between the treasury of the Sicyonians and the Exedra of Herodes, there is a tiny temple consisting of a single chamber with a narrow portico. The temple, like the treasuries, faces south. The

chamber is built of squared blocks of marly limestone; the foundations of the portico are of stone, but the upper portion seems to have been of wood. In the chamber is a square foundation, probably the base of an image. In front of the temple is a large altar. Prof. C. Robert proposes to identify the temple as the temple of Sosipolis, and the altar in front of it as the altar of Ilithyia. But this cannot be right. For Pausanias says that the temple was divided into two parts, an inner and an outer, and that Sosipolis was worshipped in the inner part, while the altar of Ilithyia stood in the outer part. Now the temple which Prof. Robert would identify as that of Sosipolis has only a single chamber, and the altar which he identifies as the altar of Ilithyia is not in the temple at all, but outside of it. The altar is probably the altar of Hercules, which was near the Sicyonian treasury (Paus. v. 14. 9). Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that the little temple was a temple of Hercules. See Dörpfeld, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 44 *sq.*, 164.

Prof. C. Robert further conjectures that Sosipolis was the infant Zeus, whose shrine would appropriately be at the foot of the hill which was named after his father Cronus. At Magnesia on the Maeander Zeus was worshipped under the title of Sosipolis ("saviour of the city"), as we learn from Strabo (xiv. p. 648). See C. Robert, 'Sosipolis in Olympia,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), pp. 37-45; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. p. 38. The temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia on the Maeander was discovered and excavated by members of the German Archaeological Institute in 1892. The temple, a small edifice of the Ionic order and of fine workmanship, is situated in the middle of the "sacred market-place" (see note on vi. 24. 2), immediately to the west of the great temple of Leucophryenian Artemis (see note on i. 26. 4). The temple opens to the west, and is *prostyle* in front, and *in antis* behind —an arrangement hitherto unknown in Greek temples. Though the temple lies in ruins, its remains are so complete that it might be rebuilt almost entire. In the *cella* were found some pieces of the image and its pedestal. A long inscription carved on the north-west *anta* of the temple identifies the edifice as the temple of Zeus Sosipolis, and furnishes important details as to his worship. At the beginning of sowing, which fell at the new moon in the month Cronion, a bull was dedicated to Zeus. On this occasion the sacred herald, attended by the priest, the priestess of Leucophryenian Artemis, nine boys, and nine maidens, offered up prayers for the welfare of the city and country, for peace, riches, good harvests, and the increase of the herds. On the 12th day of the month Artemision the consecrated bull was sacrificed, and the images of the Twelve Gods were brought to the sacred market-place, where a wooden rotunda was erected and three couches for the gods set up beside the altar of the Twelve Gods. Then a ram was sacrificed to Zeus, a she-goat to Artemis, and a he-goat to the Pythian Apollo. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), p. 1049 *sqq.*; *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 76 *sqq.*

20. 5. the child was changed into a serpent. Heroes (as to

whom see note on vi. 6. 7) appear to have often assumed the shape of serpents. See i. 24. 7; i. 36. 1 note. Plutarch (*Cleomenes*, 39) says that "the ancients thought that the serpent, of all animals, was most akin to the heroes."

20. 7. **at the processional entrance is —— the Hippodamium.** The site of the Hippodamium has not been identified. It has already been mentioned by Pausanias (v. 22. 2) in connexion apparently with the entrance to the stadium. In the present passage he describes it immediately after describing the treasuries and the sanctuary of Sosipolis at the foot of Mt. Cronius, and immediately before he comes to the entrance into the stadium. We should naturally therefore, with Dr. Dörpfeld and Mr. Bötticher, look for the Hippodamium at the north-east corner of the Altis. This view, however, seems contradicted by Pausanias's statement that the Hippodamium was at the processional entrance, for this was the gate at the south-west corner of the Altis (see note on v. 15. 2). Hence Prof. Flasch would place the Hippodamium in the south-west corner of the Altis, where however, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, there is absolutely no room for it. Dr. Adler, on the other hand, thinks that the Hippodamium can have been nowhere but at the south-east corner.

See Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 13 (1888), p. 334 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1097; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 192 *sq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 24; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 40.

20. 7. **the death of Chrysippus.** Chrysippus, a bastard son of Pelops, was murdered by Atreus and Thyestes at the instigation of their mother Hippodamia (Hyginus, *Fab.* 85).

20. 8. **statues which they made from the fines** etc. See v. 21. 2 *sqq.*

20. 8. **the Secret Entrance.** This is the tunnel leading from the north-east corner of the Altis through the embankment which bounds the stadium on the west. The tunnel is 32.10 metres (100 Olympic feet) long, 3.70 metres broad, and 4.45 metres high. The sides are lined with masonry, and it was roofed with a stone vault, of which part has been rebuilt by the Germans. Much importance was formerly attached to the vault as the supposed earliest known example of a Greek arch. But the vault has proved to be Roman. Bricks were found in it. It is supposed to be later than the casing walls at the sides, and to have been necessitated by the raising of the embankment. Mr. R. Borrmann thinks it was probably constructed in the first century B.C. or a little earlier. The stone with which the sides of the tunnel are lined is the ordinary coarse shell-conglomerate of Olympia. The blocks are squared and are bound together with iron clamps of the ⊓ shape, run with lead.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xlvi.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 37 *sq.*, with pl. xxxv.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 66-68; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 22; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 31; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 G; Baedeker,[3] p. 345.

The west end of the tunnel opens on a sort of lane about 6.50 metres wide, bounded on the north by the terrace on which the treasuries stand, and on the south by the north wall of the Echo Colonnade. In this lane, a little to the west of the mouth of the tunnel, are the remains of a gateway which served as a sort of ornamental entrance to the tunnel. Two Corinthian columns, flanked by two half-columns, supported an entablature (architrave and frieze). The entrance was through the central opening, between the two columns. The socket-holes in the stone threshold of this opening prove that it was closed by a gate. On the other hand the two side openings between the columns and the half-columns were closed with permanent stone barriers, of which there are some remains. The columns have twenty flutes. Their capitals resemble those of the little round temple at Tivoli that overlooks the falls of the Tibur. Well-preserved remains of colours (red, green, and yellow) prove that originally the whole surface of these capitals was painted. The entablature is remarkably low in comparison with the height of the columns. It is executed in a hasty and careless style. There are traces of red paint on it. The gateway probably dates from the first century of our era.

See F. Adler, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), p. 50, with pl. xxxviii. (where the columns are wrongly restored as Ionic); R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 68-70; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xlviii.; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 G.

20. 8. the stadium. Only a small portion of the stadium has been excavated by the Germans, enough however to determine its dimensions and plan. It extended in a north-easterly direction from the north-east corner of the Altis, from which it was divided by an embankment. The level portion of the stadium is a quadrangle 212$\frac{3}{4}$ metres long by about 29.70 metres wide. The width, however, is not uniform. At the west end it is 28.60 metres; at the east end it is 29.70; and at an intermediate point, where some trial trenches were made, it seems to have been 30.70 metres. The level of the stadium is about 10 feet lower than that of the Altis. It is enclosed on all sides by slopes of earth. On the long north side the slope of Mount Cronius and the adjoining hills formed the natural boundary. On the other three sides (the long south side and the short east and west sides) the stadium is enclosed by artificial embankments. On the earthen slopes which thus surrounded the racecourse the spectators sat; there were no tiers of stone seats. A stone sill is believed to have run all round the racecourse, just at the foot of the earthen slopes. This sill exists at the western end of the racecourse, but has not been found at its eastern end. On the inner side of this sill and about a metre (3 feet 3 inches) distant from it an open stone gutter extends all round the racecourse, with numerous small basins at regular intervals along it. The water which circulated in it was doubtless intended for the refreshment of the spectators, and probably too for that of the athletes in the intervals of competition.

The racecourse, thus bounded by the gutter on all sides, is quadrangular at both ends. The discovery of this was a surprise; for from what was previously known of Greek stadiums archaeologists had

expected to find the racecourse quadrangular at one end only and semicircular at the other. But recent excavations at the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius have proved that there also the stadium, *i.e.* the level part of it, was similarly quadrangular at both ends and, like the Olympic stadium, surrounded by a stone gutter. (See Addenda, at the end of vol. 5.) As these are, so far as I know, the only two Greek stadiums as yet excavated which have been found in tolerable preservation, it becomes probable that this was the universal arrangement ; that, in other words, the actual racecourse was always laid out as a long rectangle, though the slope of earth, natural or artificial, which bounded the racecourse, would seem to have always curved round in the form of a semicircle at one end of the stadium. At least this semicircular slope is to be seen in a number of existing Greek stadiums, including those of Athens, the Isthmus, and Sicyon.

There is evidence that at some period the artificial embankments which enclose the stadium on three sides were raised very considerably. The object of the change was no doubt to provide room for more spectators. The height of the embankments, as thus raised, was over 6.50 metres ; and the number of spectators who could find room on the slopes is estimated at from 40,000 to 45,000. Before the alteration it is calculated that the number of spectators who could be accommodated was from 20,000 to 30,000. The change necessitated at least two others. The Secret Entrance at the north-west corner, which had hitherto been an open passage, was now vaulted over (see above, p. 77) ; and the Echo Colonnade had to be shifted a little to the west, as its back wall threatened to give way (if it did not actually give way) under the increased 'thrust' or pressure caused by the raising of the embankment (see note on v. 21. 17). Dr. Dörpfeld was formerly of opinion that the shifting of the colonnade and the roofing over of the Secret Entrance took place in Macedonian times ; and he conjectured that the raising of the embankment, which is supposed to have been the cause of both these changes, may have been carried out by Philip of Macedonia as a means of propitiating the Greeks after his victory at Chaeronea. But if Mr. R. Borrmann is right in holding that the roofing of the Secret Entrance was a work of about the first century B.C., it would seem that we must date the raising of the embankments of the stadium at the same time.

It is not quite clear from Pausanias's description whether the starting-point was at the west or the east end of the course. But probably it was at the west end. For the runners entered the stadium through the Secret Entrance at the west end, and it seems more likely that they should at once have taken their places at the line, than that they should have had to traverse the whole length of the stadium to reach them. Moreover, the umpires' seats, which must of course have been beside the goal, would seem to have been at the east end of the stadium, since Pausanias tells us (§ 10 of this chapter) that in passing over the embankment of the stadium at the point where the umpires sit you came to the hippodrome. The position of the hippodrome has not, indeed, been ascertained ; but the most probable hypothesis seems to

be that it lay immediately to the east of the stadium. If these views are right, it follows that the starting-point of the race was at the west, and the goal at the east end of the stadium.

Both starting-point and goal have been laid bare by the German excavations, but as they are almost exactly alike we cannot by inspection of them tell which is which. Each consists of a stone sill, about 18 inches broad, extending across the racecourse at right angles to its length. The western sill or starting-point (if it is so) is distant about 11 metres from the west end of the stadium; the eastern sill or goal (if it is so) is distant about $9\frac{1}{2}$ metres from the east end of the stadium. Each sill extends nearly but not quite across the full breadth of the racecourse, and consists of a row of slabs of white limestone laid carefully together, end on, but not united by clamps. In each sill are a number of square holes at intervals of about 4 feet. These holes seem to have been meant for the reception of wooden posts. The whole of the western sill is divided by these holes into twenty sections; the eastern sill is similarly divided into twenty-one sections, of which, however, the most northerly is much shorter than the rest. Each runner doubtless had a section allotted to him. Further, between each pair of holes two straight parallel grooves are cut in the stone about 6 or 7 inches from each other. These grooves are V-shaped or triangular in section, but the side of the groove towards the course slopes more than the other. They were probably intended to give each runner a firm foothold at starting. He would place one heel on the one groove, and the other heel on the other.

The reason why the starting-place and the goal are thus alike would seem to be as follows. The umpires appear from Pausanias's description to have had a fixed seat at one end, probably the east end, of the course. In the single race the runners started at the west end, raced to the east end, and stopped. But in the double race, as it was necessary that the race should finish up beside the umpires at the east end, the runners started from the east end, raced to the west end, then turned and raced back to the east end. Hence a starting-place was needed at the east end as well as at the west end. Thus, whereas the goal was always at one end (probably the east end), the starting-point was at one end or the other according as the race was single or double. It is to be observed that when Pausanias speaks of the starting-place of the runners (§ 9) he is speaking strictly only of the runners in the single race (*σταδιοδρόμοι*).

With regard to the mode in which the double race was run, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that when it was run all the wooden posts in the western sill were removed except the one in the middle, which then served as a turning-post, the runners racing round it on their way back to their starting-point at the eastern end of the course. He points out that the central hole in the western sill is in fact larger than all the rest, so that it must have held a larger and more conspicuous post, which might very well serve as a turning-post. But, as Prof. Flasch has pointed out, such an arrangement would entail a serious disadvantage on the runners who at starting stood farthest from the centre, as they

would have more ground to traverse than the competitors who started from nearer the centre, and hence nearer the turning-post. We may conjecture, then, either that all the posts were left standing in the western sill and that each runner raced round a separate post, or that without turning round a post at all they merely raced to the western sill, touched it, and turned back. The former is the view advocated by Prof. Flasch, but the latter view is to some extent supported by vase-paintings of runners in the armed race. See above, note on vi. 10. 4.

The distance between the starting-point and the goal, measured from the middle point between the two grooves at one end of the course to the corresponding point at the other end, is 192.27 metres. Hence, as the stadium measured 600 feet, the Olympic foot was equivalent to 0.32045 metre. The Olympic foot was thus considerably larger than the ordinary Greek foot, which, as determined by Dr. Dörpfeld's measurement of the Hecatompedon of the Parthenon, was only .2957 metre. See Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), pp. 277-312; and vol. 2. p. 13. We have seen (vol. 3. p. 498) that the Olympic foot was the unit of measurement employed in several of the buildings at Olympia. The reason why the Olympic foot was longer than the ordinary Greek foot was said to be that Hercules had measured the Olympic stadium with his own feet, which were larger than the feet of ordinary mortals; and hence the Olympic stadium was longer than all other stadiums, though every stadium measured 600 feet (Aulus Gellius, i. 1).

See F. Adler and W. Dörpfeld, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), pp. 23, 36-38, with plates xxxv. and xxxvi.; *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pl. xlvii.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 63 *sqq.*; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 21; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 29 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 230-235; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 F *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 345 *sq.* For the testimony of ancient writers as to the double race see J. H. Krause, *Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*, p. 344 *sqq.*

Many ancient articles of bronze, such as small tripods, small figures of animals, pieces of large kettles, basins, nails, weights, and, above all, fragments of weapons, were found by the Germans in the embankments of the stadium. It is conjectured that whenever soil had to be removed from any portion of the Altis to make room for a new building or for any other purpose, it was dumped down on the embankments of the stadium. Hence, as the soil of the Altis was almost saturated with old bronze votive offerings which had been thrown away, it was natural that these objects should reappear in large numbers in the embankments of the stadium. The most interesting of these discoveries is a series of round bronze shields, most of them entire, which were found in the south embankment, under the mass of earth which was heaped up at the time when the embankments were raised considerably. See A. Furtwängler, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 4. ('Die Bronzen'), p. 6.

20. 9. **the priestess of Demeter Chamyne.** The marble base of a statue bearing the following inscription was found at Olympia by the Germans (21st October 1876) to the north-east of the temple of Zeus:

ιλάαν
[τὴν ἱέ]ρειαν τῆς
[Χα]μυναίας Φλάβ(ιος)
Ἀρχέλαος τὴν γυναῖκα.

"Flavius Archelaus (dedicated this statue of) his wife the priestess of the Chamynaean goddess" (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 485; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 225 *sq.*, No. 30). The husband of this priestess, T. Flavius Archelaus, held the office of priest (θεηκόλος) at Olympia for the third time in 245-249 A.D., and for the fourth time in Ol. 261 (265 A.D.) (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, Nos. 121, 122). In Ol. 256 (245 A.D.) he was *alutarchos* (*op. cit.* No. 483). A statue of him, of which the inscribed pedestal is preserved, was erected by the city of Elis (*op. cit.* No. 484). As to Demeter Chamyne, see vi. 21. 1.

20. 9. **they do not hinder maidens from beholding the games.** Married women were not allowed to witness the games (v. 6. 7). Hence some have questioned Pausanias's statement in the present passage that maidens were permitted to witness them. See Krause, *Olympia*, p. 54 *sqq.* Both matrons and maidens seem to have been allowed to witness the games in Cyrene (Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 97 *sqq.*; Boeckh, *Explic. Pindar*, p. 327 *sq.*) Amongst the Ionians women were free to witness the Ephesian games down to the time of Thucydides (Thucyd. iii. 104).

20. 9. **Endymion.** See v. 1. 3 *sqq.*; v. 8. 1 *sq.*

20. 10. **the horse-races.** The Olympic hippodrome is supposed to have lain to the south-east and east of the stadium, but to have been so completely washed away by the Alpheus in the course of ages that it is impossible to determine its exact situation and dimensions (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 30 *sq.*; A. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 119; Baedeker,[3] p. 346). It seems perfectly possible, however, that the hippodrome is preserved under the deep accumulation of alluvial soil, and that excavations might bring it to light. The stadium is similarly buried except at its two ends.

20. 10. **the starting-place of the horses.** The following description of the mode of starting the chariot-races and horse-races is explained by the subjoined ground-plan, drawn by Hirt from Pausanias's description and accepted by the writers in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Hippodrom,' and Smith's *Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*,[3] *s.v.* 'Hippodromus.' See A. Hirt, *Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, 3. pp. 148-150, with pl. xx. 8. Hirt, however, appears to be wrong in the position which he assigns to Taraxippus. See note on § 15. A different ground-plan is given in Guhl und Kohner's *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*,[5] p. 147. But it contradicts the description of Pausanias in placing the stations for the chariots at starting on one side only of the 'prow.' It must therefore be rejected. The subject is discussed at length and a new ground-plan proposed by Mr. E. Pollack, *Hippodromica* (Leipsic, 1890), p. 54 *sqq.* He differs from Hirt in placing the 'prow,' with all the stations for the chariots, on one side

only of the Hippodrome. The subject has also been discussed by Godfrey Hermann (*Opuscula*, 7. pp. 388-404, 'De hippodromo Olym-

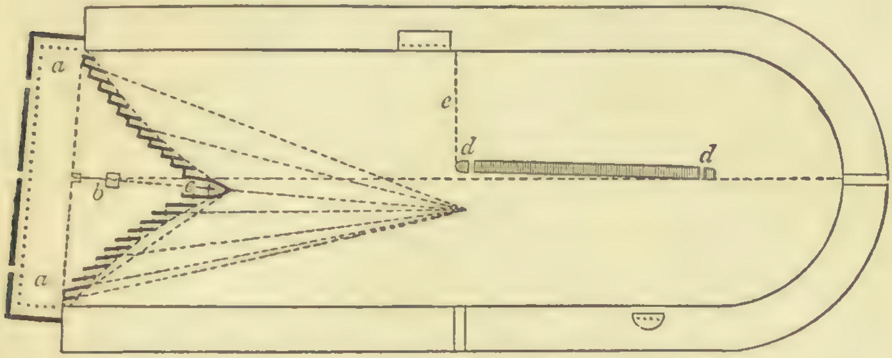


FIG. 6.—GROUND-PLAN OF HIPPODROME AT OLYMPIA (CONJECTURAL RESTORATION).

piaco'). In Hirt's plan, as here reproduced, *a a* is the Colonnade of Agnaptus, *b* is the altar of unburnt brick set up in the middle of the 'prow,' *c* is "the tip of the beak" where the bronze dolphin stood, *d d* are the turning-posts, on one of which stood statues of Pelops and Hippodamia (§ 19 of this chapter), and *e* is the goal, with the seats of the umpires beside it.

20. 11. **In front of the chariots or race-horses stretches a rope as a barrier.** This barrier of rope is mentioned, in very similar language, in a metrical inscription which celebrates a victory won by Attalus, the father of the first king of Pergamus, in the chariot-race at Olympia. The inscription was found at Pergamus. See Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 10; E. Pollack, *Hippodromica*, p. 73 *sqq.* The language of the inscription seems to imply that there was only one rope, and that on its being let down all the chariots rushed out simultaneously. From Pausanias's description, on the other hand, we infer that separate ropes were stretched in front of each stall, and that these ropes were let down, not simultaneously but successively. From this discrepancy Mr. Pollack infers (*l.c.*) that in the time of Attalus I., who reigned 241-197 B.C., the method of starting the chariots described by Pausanias was not yet introduced, and hence that its inventor Cleoetas cannot be the artist of that name who would seem to have flourished in the fifth century B.C. (see note on v. 24. 5). But this is to press the poetical language of the inscription too hard. It is not to be expected that a poet, celebrating the glories of his royal patron, should describe the mode of starting the chariots with the minuteness appropriate in an antiquary like Pausanias.

20. 11. **An altar of unburnt brick.** Besides this temporary altar there were a number of permanent altars at or near the starting-place of the hippodrome. See v. 15. 5 *sq.* What Pausanias in that passage calls the Wedge he here compares to the prow of a ship.

20. 12. **a bronze eagle** etc. The hoisting of the bronze eagle and the lowering of the dolphin were apparently the signal given to the spectators that the race was about to begin. Whether it could have

been seen by the charioteers is doubtful. Perhaps the signal to start was given by the trumpet at Olympia as elsewhere (Sophocles, *Electra*, 711; Statius, *Theb.* vi. 404 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 652 *sq.*) Mr. Pollack suggests that the eagle was chosen as the symbol of Zeus, and the dolphin as the symbol of Poseidon, the horse-god, who had an altar at the starting-place of the chariots (v. 15. 5); and that as the hoisting of the eagle represented the bird's flight, so the lowering of the dolphin represented the fish's dive into the depths (E. Pollack, *Hippodromica*, p. 71).

20. 14. **Cleoetas.** See note on § 11 'In front of the chariots,' and note on v. 24. 5.

20. 15. **the terror of the horses, Taraxippus.** Dio Chrysostom says (*Or.* xxxii. vol. 1. p. 426, ed. Dindorf): "In the middle of the hippodrome at Olympia there is an altar of Poseidon Taraxippus, at the place where the horses used to be most frightened and where most chariots were broken. So the Eleans, thinking there was some demon at the bottom of it, resolved to found an altar. And they say that since then the place has been safe from him." Lycophron speaks of "the steep hill of Cronus, where is the grave of the earth-born Ischenus, which scares horses" (*Cassandra*, 42 *sq.*) On this passage Tzetzes remarks (*Schol. on Lycophron's Cassandra, l.c.*): "A famine having arisen, an oracle declared that the only way of ending the famine was for one of the nobles to be sacrificed. When all hesitated, Ischenus volunteered to be sacrificed. And sacrificed he was, and his grave is shown at what they call the hill of Cronus, near the turning-point of the course at Olympia. And they bestowed many honours on him the day on which he was sacrificed, and they held games. They call him Taraxippus because he startles and confuses the horses in the race, either by some secret and inexplicable power, or because a laurel grows on the grave and when it shakes the horses are startled by the shadow of the leaves." Hesychius tells us (*s.v.* Ταράξιππος) that, according to some people, Taraxippus was a name of Pelops himself, whose grave was at Olympia. A jesting allusion is made to Taraxippus by Aristophanes (*Knights*, 247). A poet of the Anthology refers to "the sanctuary of Taraxippus" at Olympia (*Anthol. Palat.* xiv. 4. 5).

It will be observed that whereas Pausanias describes Taraxippus as being situated on the embankment which formed the longer side of the hippodrome, Dio Chrysostom speaks of it as "in the middle of the hippodrome." But this is probably only a loose rhetorical way of speaking and proves nothing as to the exact situation of Taraxippus. Hirt, therefore, seems to be certainly wrong in supposing that the round altar of Taraxippus formed one of the turning-posts in the racecourse (*Geschichte der Baukunst bei den Alten*, 3. p. 146). The subject of Taraxippus is discussed at length by Mr. E. Pollack (*Hippodromica*, pp. 85-102). Following a suggestion of Prof. C. Wachsmuth he thinks that what startled the horses was the sight of their own shadows suddenly revealed to them by morning light when they rounded the post at the eastern end of the hippodrome.

With Taraxippus we may compare some similar superstitions in

other places. "When I was nearly dashed to pieces by restive horses, one of which broke away from my carriage and was precipitated over a precipice on the Ghāt between Poona and Mahābaleśvar, I was told by a wise-looking native who witnessed the accident that the road in that district was infested by demons who often caused accidents, and that if I had taken care to propitiate Gaṇeśa before starting I should have escaped all molestation and all risk of being upset" (Monier Williams, *Religious thought and life in India*, p. 216). A story is told of a Breton carter, whose cart always stuck in the mud at the same place. He found that this was caused by a devil, whom he was about to thrash, when the devil promised never to do it again. See Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1. p. 182 *sq*. There is a place in a pass in East Africa which is especially difficult for cattle. Every native who passes it anoints a certain rock with butter or fat (Hildebrandt, 'Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn,' *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 10 (1878), p. 384). With the sacrifices offered to Taraxippus we may also compare the sacrifices offered before a boat-race by Burmese boatmen to the spirits (*nats*) of the stream to ensure that they will cause no accident to the boat in the race (Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 223; Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1. p. 285, 2. p. 59).

In the cemetery at Bir-el-Djebbana, near Carthage, some ancient leaden plates were found a few years ago, on which are engraved prayers in Greek and Latin addressed to demons, imploring them to hinder the rival horses and charioteers in the race. The horses and charioteers are named, and the demon is adjured to bind fast their limbs and dim their eyes, so that they may not be able to run or to see, etc. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 12 (1888), pp. 294-302.

20. 18. **Orpheus.** On Orpheus as a magician, see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 235 *sq*.

20. 19. **At Nemea —— there was no hero** etc. Pausanias speaks as if the Nemean games had ceased to be celebrated in his time. Probably, however, he only means that the chariot-races had fallen into desuetude. Cp. ii. 15. 3; vi. 16. 4.

20. 19. **a bronze statue of Hippodamia holding a ribbon** etc. From Pausanias's description of the statue C. Bötticher inferred that the ribbon was bound upon the victor's brows in the racecourse, whereas the crown of wild olive was presented to him in the temple of Zeus (see v. 12. 5). Further Bötticher argued that the ribbon was the original badge of victory at Olympia, and that the olive crown was introduced later. He thought that at the Pythian games also the ribbon preceded the crown as a badge of victory. He refers to Pausanias, vi. 14. 10; x. 7. 5. See C. Bötticher, 'Das Bild der Hippodameia im Hippodrom zu Olympia,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 5 (1853), pp. 7-13 (with plate li. 1 and 2). Thucydides tells us (iv. 121) that the Scionians, to mark their gratitude to Brasidas, tied ribbons on him "as if he were an athlete." On a vase-painting figured by Daremberg and Saglio (*Dict. des Antiquit.* 1. p. 1084, fig. 1335) we see a victorious athlete with long ribbons or rather sashes tied round his left arm and left leg and streaming down behind him; in his hands he holds two

wreaths, and on his head he wears a curious peaked cap with a long pennon hanging from it. Cp. iv. 16. 6; vi. 1. 7; vi. 2. 2. On the ancient custom of fastening ribbons to persons, animals, and things as a mark of esteem, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1874, pp. 137-174. Stephani rejects Bötticher's views mentioned above.

As Pausanias does not describe the other turning-post in the race-course, we may infer that it was a simple column, such as we see depicted in a vase-painting of a horse-race. See Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*,[3] 1. p. 964.

21. 1. Demeter surnamed Chamyne. The name Chamyne is doubtless connected with χαμαί, 'on the ground,' and signified 'the earth goddess.' From the same root comes the Lithuanian *Źemyna*, 'the earth goddess.' See G. Curtius, *Grundzüge d. griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 197. This aspect of Demeter is illustrated by the story that she was embraced by Iasion or Iasius among the furrows of a ploughed field and had by him a son Plutus ('wealth') (Homer, *Odyssey*, v. 125 *sqq.*; Hesiod, *Theog.* 969 *sqq.*) Cp. Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 776; W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 238 *sqq.*

21. 1. Pantaleon —— tyrant of Pisa. Cp. 22. 2. According to another account Pantaleon was an insolent and cruel king of Elis. See Heraclides Ponticus, *De rebus publicis*, 6 (*Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 2. p. 213). But Strabo (viii. p. 362) agrees with Pausanias in making him king of Pisa and says that he helped the Messenians in their second war with Sparta. Cp. B. Niese, in *Hermes*, 26 (1891), p. 30.

21. 2. the gymnasium. The great gymnasium lay just outside the north-west corner of the Altis. Only a small part of it has been excavated. It may be described as an immense open court surrounded, probably on three, perhaps on four, sides by colonnades. Remains of the colonnades on the south and east sides have been excavated. Both are of the Doric order. The south colonnade was 5.23 metres deep; its back was formed by the north wall of the Wrestling-School or Palaestra (see below, p. 88 *sqq.*) But it was of later date than the Wrestling-School, as may be seen by the way in which the east wall of the colonnade merely abuts on the wall of the Wrestling-School, without being jointed into it. This south colonnade had but one row of columns along the front; there was not a second row of columns down the middle of it. On the east the colonnade ended flush with the west front of the gateway of the gymnasium. How far the colonnade extended to the west we cannot tell, as on this side it has been swept away by the Cladeus.

The east colonnade ran north and south for a distance of 210.51 metres. Only its southern and northern ends have been excavated. Its depth from front to back was 11.78 metres. It opened to the west, and had two rows of columns, one along the front, the other down the middle. Both rows of columns were of the Doric order. The interval between the columns, measured from axis to axis, is 3.14 metres. The strong east wall of the colonnade is built of great squared blocks of shell-limestone; the upper part was probably built of bricks. At the back, that is on the east side, this wall is strengthened by solid

buttresses at intervals of about 9.25 metres. Of the drums of the columns some are fluted, others unfluted. The Doric capitals are very small; the echinus is low and almost straight. None of the entablature has been found. The slenderness of the columns (the inner are .55 metre and the outer .53 metre in diameter) and the wide interval between them justify us in assuming that the entablature and roof were of wood, or of wood and tiles. The walls were coated with plaster, the remains of which show traces of red paint. At the foot of the third column of the inner row, counting from the south, there are two square holes or notches on opposite sides (east and west) of the column, and corresponding to these holes are two similar square holes in the east and west walls of the colonnade. (The southern end of the west front of the colonnade was closed by a wall as far as the third column from the south.) It is conjectured that in these holes were fastened wooden sills, and that in these wooden sills in turn were fastened the stone sills or rows of stones from which the runners started to race. Several blocks of the stone sills were found close to the colonnade. They resemble the stone sills of the stadium (see above, p. 80) in having each two straight parallel grooves with sides at different angles to the perpendicular. It is conjectured that there may have been similar holes at the foot of the third column from the north end of the colonnade, and that they may have served to attach similar sills which formed the goal. If so, the distance between the marked columns being almost exactly equal to an Olympic furlong (192.27 metres), it becomes probable that the athletes practised running in this colonnade when the weather was either too rainy or too hot to admit of practising under the open sky. The south and east colonnades are probably contemporary; they seem to be somewhat later than the Palaestra, and may therefore be ascribed to the second century B.C.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. pl. lxxviii.; P. Graef, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. p. 127 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 41 *sq.*, with pl. xxxvi.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 18; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 21 *sq.*; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 373 *sq.*; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 P; Baedeker,[3] p. 349 *sq.*

A stately portal, mentioned by Pausanias as "the entrance into the gymnasium," led into the gymnasium from the east. It stood in the angle between the extremities of the southern and eastern colonnades of the gymnasium, facing the north-west gate of the Altis. Only the foundations and pavement are standing, together with just enough of the walls to allow us to make out the ground-plan; but remains of the columns, half-columns, entablature and gables have been found. The eastern and western façades of the portal consisted respectively of four Corinthian columns supporting an architrave and a frieze adorned with rosettes, festoons and ox-heads carved in relief, the whole being surmounted by a gable. The central portion of the structure, between the façades, was flanked on the north and south by walls terminating at their eastern and western ends in half-columns. Two rows of four or, if we include the columns of the façades, six Corinthian columns, ran

parallel to the flanking walls, dividing the portal into a broad central passage and two narrower aisles on the north and south. The doorway proper was in the middle of the central passage, between two short cross-walls ending in half-columns. The columns have twenty flutes. Their height could not be exactly determined. No traces of colour were detected on the capitals, architrave, and frieze; but traces of red and blue were observed on a block of the *geison*. The basement which supported the portal is raised upon three steps. Measured on the lowest step the whole structure is 15.50 metres long by 9.81 metres broad. The material of which the portal is constructed is mostly the coarse shell-limestone of Olympia; but for the steps of the two fronts and for the inner pavement a soft whitish-grey limestone is employed. From the proportions and some of the details of the building (especially the rough and hasty style in which the rosettes, festoons and ox-heads are carved) it appears that the portal is of the Roman period; it may date from the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C. The Corinthian capitals, however, are carefully modelled and well executed.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. pls. lxxvi., lxxvii.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 121-126; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 42 *sq.*, with pl. xl.; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 P.

21. 2. **another smaller enclosure** etc. This is the Palaestra or Wrestling-School, immediately to the south of the great gymnasium. It is a square measuring about 66 metres (72 yards) on each side. The structure consists of an open square court measuring about 41 metres on the sides and surrounded by a Doric colonnade about 4.70 metres deep, with rooms opening off the colonnade on the west, north, and east sides. On the south side there are no rooms opening off the colonnade, but the colonnade is here about twice as deep as on the other three sides and is divided into two aisles by an inner row of fifteen Ionic columns running down its whole length from east to west. Some of the rooms opening off the colonnade on the other three sides have simple doorways, but most of them are entered through rows of Ionic columns. Five of the rooms had stone benches running round the walls, and were probably used for the lectures and discussions of philosophers and rhetoricians (cp. Vitruvius, v. 11. 2). In one of these rooms on the west side of the court these benches still remain entire: in the others their former existence is proved by marks on the pavement or by the stone supports which still stand in their original places. In two of these bench-encircled rooms there are remains of altars or of the bases of statues. In the room at the north-east corner there is a well-preserved bath about 1.40 metres deep, its sides built of bricks. The floor of the lecture-rooms was of concrete: that of the other rooms was of earth. From the central room on the north side a simple doorway led into the great gymnasium. But the two chief entrances into the Palaestra were at the two ends of the south side. They consist of small vestibules entered through two Corinthian columns between

antae. Thus all three Greek orders of architecture (Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian) are represented in the Palaestra. Stone benches lined two of the walls of each of the vestibules for the convenience of persons passing through or waiting for admission. Each vestibule led into a small anteroom. In the eastern of these anterooms are the foundations of a hearth or altar, and the ground about it was full of ashes. The Doric columns of the Palaestra have the slender proportions of the later Greek architecture; the proportion of the diameter to the height is 1 : 6.7. They are fluted only on the side next the court. Their capitals are very small, the abacus low, and the echinus almost straight. The number of columns on each side of the court was nineteen, the corner columns being reckoned twice. Some of the Ionic columns in the south colonnade are, like the Doric columns, fluted only on the side next the court; others are fluted above but unfluted below. Many traces of colour have been observed on the capitals; red and dark blue are the prevailing colours. The Palaestra seems early to have been sanded up; hence it has been better preserved than some of the other buildings at Olympia. Most of the columns were found just as they had fallen. Some of them have been set up again. The lower part (socle) of the outer walls was built of regularly hewn and accurately jointed stones; the upper part was probably of brick or of rubble bonded with mortar. The roof and entablature were probably of wood, since they have wholly disappeared. The masonry is very careful and good; in particular all the architectural members are finely chiselled. To judge from its style, the Palaestra may have been built at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. The woodwork of the building seems to have been destroyed by fire, for charred wood and ashes were discovered in many places lying under the fallen stones on the ancient floor.

A water-channel, supplied with water by a conduit which entered the Palaestra near its north-east corner, ran round the four sides of the open court. In the north part of this open court there is a peculiar pavement, the purpose of which is uncertain. The pavement is composed of earthenware tiles, of which some are smooth, others are ribbed, that is, covered with a number of small ridges arranged in straight parallel lines close together. There are two belts of the ribbed tiles extending east and west, each belt consisting of four rows of tiles placed side by side. The two belts of ribbed tiles are separated by a double row of smooth tiles, of the common roof-tile sort, that is, flat with flanged edges. The north belt of ribbed tiles is bounded on its northern edge by a single row of smooth tiles of the sort described. Each belt of ribbed tiles is 1.60 metres broad; the breadth of the whole pavement is 5.44 metres, and its length 24.20 metres.

Mr. P. Graef formerly supposed that the pavement was used for wrestling on; sand, he thought, was strewed on it, and the ribbed tiles afforded the wrestlers a firm footing. But a hard pavement is unsuitable for wrestling, as the Greeks themselves knew. For when the Ten Thousand held games at Trapezus, they objected to wrestle on a hill because the ground was hard and rough (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. 8. 26).

Professor Fedde's explanation of the pavement is much more plausible. He thinks that the two belts of ribbed tiles were 'leaping-paths,' the ribbed tiles affording the leaper a firm footing.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 2. pls. lxxiii.-lxxv.; P. Graef, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 113-121; *id.*, in *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 40 *sq.*, with pls. xxxviii., xxxix.; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 18; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 22; Ad. Boetticher, *Olympia*,[2] pp. 366-373; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 f. sq.; Baedeker,[3] p. 349; Fedde, *Der Fünfkamp der Hellenen* (Breslau, 1888), p. 13 sq.

21. 2. **Abutting on the wall of the eastern colonnade of the gymnasium are the houses of the athletes.** These houses could not have been back to back with the colonnade, otherwise they must have faced east, whereas Pausanias tells us that they faced south-west. We must suppose that the houses stood in a row running north-west and south-east, the north-west house of the row abutting on the back of the colonnade. The houses fronted south-west, and the line of their fronts formed an acute angle with the back wall of the colonnade. Their remains may lie in the still unexcavated ground to the north of the Prytaneum. The building marked 'Roman Baths' on the plan, east of the gymnasium and north of the Prytaneum, may have been attached to the houses of the athletes. Cp. Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 F.

Before we quit Olympia to resume, with Pausanias, the itinerary of Greece, a few words may be given to a building which he has omitted to notice. This is the great colonnade immediately to the south of the Council House. Its ancient name is unknown; the Germans have called it the South Colonnade. It faced south, and was probably built for the convenience of the crowds who assembled outside the sacred precinct between the Altis and the Alpheus. A road led past the east end of the colonnade to the Roman triumphal gateway of the Altis. Only the two ends of the colonnade have as yet been excavated, but this is enough to allow us to determine its plan and dimensions. Raised on a basement of three steps of white limestone, very carefully wrought and jointed, the colonnade measured 80.65 metres in length from east to west by 14.08 metres in depth from north to south. The foundations of the steps are built very carefully and durably of 'headers and stretchers,' *i.e.* of blocks laid lengthwise and crosswise in alternate courses. The blocks of each course are bonded together with iron clamps of the ⊏⊐ shape, run with lead; and they are attached to the blocks of the next course by dowels. On three sides (west, south, and east) the colonnade was open: on the north side it was closed by a wall. The outer columns were of the Doric order; there were thirty-four of them on the long south front and six at each of the narrow east and west ends. The distance between each pair of columns, measured from axis to axis, was 2.38 metres on the south front, but 2.40 metres on east and west ends. The echinus of the capitals is straight, and there are four rings under the neck. In each of the drums of the columns there are two holes for dowels, which were run

with lead. The Doric entablature, comprising as usual an architrave and a triglyph frieze, is hewn out of a brownish and rather soft sandstone which is quarried near Olympia. The roof ended in gables at the east and west ends. The *sima* or overhanging edge of the roof is of terra-cotta; its decoration, which includes a scroll and a maeander pattern, with lions' heads projecting as gargoyles at intervals, is an inferior copy of the *sima* of the Leonidaeum, with which it agrees in dimensions as well as in pattern. In the interior of the colonnade a row of seventeen Corinthian columns, set at wide intervals which do not correspond to those of the outer Doric columns, extended along the whole length of the building and served to support the roof. The bases of these Corinthian columns are low and ugly; the number of flutes of each column is twenty; the capitals are of very unequal workmanship, some being very rough and hasty, others more careful in style.

The date of the colonnade can be determined only from its style. It belongs to the later group of buildings of which the Leonidaeum is the earliest example. Amongst the marks of a late date are the low capitals with their straight lifeless echinus, and the negligent style of the decoration of the *sima*. The building apparently dates from the third or second century B.C. This does not, however, apply to the Corinthian columns of the interior, which are clearly still later. Their capitals exhibit all the characteristics of the age of Hadrian, and their drums are fastened together quite differently from the drums of the outer Doric columns. It is possible that these Corinthian columns replaced an original row of wooden supports which had decayed through time.

See *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Tafelband 1. pls. lix.-lxi.; *id.*, Tafelband 2. pl. cxxiii.; R. Borrmann, in *Olympia: Ergebnisse*, Textband 2. pp. 79-83; *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, 4 (1878-1879), p. 50 *sq.*, with pl. xxxix.; *id.*, 5 (1879-1881), p. 31; *Die Funde von Olympia*, p. 20; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 85; Ad. Bötticher, *Olympia*,[2] p. 398; Flasch, 'Olympia,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1104 K; Baedeker,[3] p. 347.

21. 3. **the boundaries between Arcadia and Elis** etc. Pausanias has now finished his long description of Olympia and resumes his itinerary. He continues the route from Heraea in Arcadia to Olympia, which in his account of Arcadia he carries from Heraea as far as the Erymanthus and the boundary between Arcadia and Elis (see viii. 26. 3). It is worthy of note how often Pausanias carries his itinerary of a route up to the border of the province he is describing, then drops it, but only to resume and continue it across the border when he comes to deal with the next province. For other examples compare ii. 25. 1 *sqq.* with viii. 6. 4 *sqq.*; ii. 38. 7 with iii. 10. 6; iii. 26. 11 and iv. 1. 1 with iv. 30. 1; iv. 36. 7 with v. 5. 3 (see the Critical Note on the latter passage, vol. 1. p. 583); vi. 26. 10 with vii. 17. 5. This piecing together of the routes, this picking up of the thread of description exactly at the point where the plan of his book had compelled him to drop it, shows how carefully Pausanias planned and edited his work.

Supposing himself to be coming from Heraea in Arcadia, Pausanias now crosses the Erymanthus at its junction with the Alpheus and pur-

sues his route westward down the valley of the Alpheus in the direction of Olympia.

21. 3. Across the river Erymanthus —— at the ridge —— of Saurus. The Erymanthus, descending from the lofty mountains of north-western Arcadia, flows between hills into the broad open valley of the Alpheus and joins that river on its northern bank. At its junction with the Alpheus it flows over gravel between abrupt cliffs of pudding-stone. Its water, seen at least from the southern side of the wide valley on a sunny day, is of a bright blue colour. After fording the river and climbing the farther bank, the path leads through open pastures, and then, to avoid a great bend of the river, ascends a pass or *col* to the north of the hills of *Aspra Spitia* (a modern village). This pass would seem to be what Pausanias calls the ridge of Saurus. It is a wooded gorge, in which fine oaks and pines, now singly now in clumps, are scattered in wild variety. When we have reached the summit and begin to descend again towards the Alpheus, a series of magnificent views of the river winding between wooded hills opens up before us.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 128; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 264; Baedeker,[3] p. 312.

21. 4. Diagon. This is now the *Tzemberoula* river; it flows into the Alpheus from the south exactly opposite the Erymanthus on the north, as Pausanias says (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 128). Beyond this meeting of waters the valley of the Alpheus assumes a softer and gayer aspect. Moderate heights rise on the right bank, their gentle slopes thickly wooded with trees and shrubs of the most varied sorts. Pine-trees, maples, planes, and tall lentisk bushes succeed each other, varied here and there by fields and green pastures. Across the Alpheus lie the beautiful wooded hills of Triphylia, where many a picturesque village is seen nestling among pine woods, and many a height, crowned by church or ruins, stands out abruptly and precipitously above the river. The whole country, with its woods and streams, and the broad river flowing majestically through the middle of the landscape, is like a great park. The illusion, however, is broken by the path, which scrambles up hill and down dale, struggles through thickets, and splashes through streams and torrents, in a fashion which resembles anything rather than the trim, well-kept walks and avenues of an English park. Such is the scenery and such the path by which Pausanias is now moving westward towards Olympia.

See Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 281 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 461, 463; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 264 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 316.

Dio Chrysostom has described (*Or.* i. vol. 1. p. 11 *sq.* ed. Dindorf) how he lost his way in this charming country and fell in with an old dame of the Meg Merrilies type who professed to have the gift of second sight. He says: "Going on foot from Heraea to Pisa by the side of the Alpheus, I was able, up to a certain point, to make out the path. But by and by I found myself in a forest and on broken ground, with many tracks leading to sheepfolds and cattle-pens. And meeting with

no one of whom I could ask the way I strayed from the path and wandered up and down. It was high noon; and seeing on a height a clump of oaks, as it might be a grove, I betook myself thither, in the hope that from thence I might spy some path or house. Here then I found stones piled carelessly together, and skins of sacrificed animals hanging up, with clubs and staves, the offerings, as I supposed, of shepherds; and a little way off, seated on the ground, was a tall and stalwart dame, somewhat advanced in years, in rustic attire, with long grey hair. Of her I asked what these things might be. She answered, very civilly, in a broad Doric accent, that the spot was sacred to Hercules, and as for herself, she had a son a shepherd and often minded the sheep herself; that by the grace of the Mother of the Gods she had the gift of second sight, and all the herdsmen and farmers of the neighbourhood came to ask her about their crops and cattle."

21. 4. **a temple of Aesculapius.** This would seem to have stood on a hill which rises on the right (north) bank of the Alpheus, a little to the west of the village of *Louvrou.* The path to Olympia runs at the foot of the hill, between it and the river. See Curtius und Kaupert, *Olympia und Umgegend*, Map i.

21. 5. **a river Leucyanias.** Leake (*Morea*, 2. p. 210) identified this with the torrent of *Bakireïka*, which descends from the woody heights of *Lala* and joins the Alpheus, to the west of the khan of *Mouria* ('mulberry tree'), nearly opposite *Palaeo-Phanaro.* But it is perhaps rather the stream which descends from below the hamlet of *Nemouta* and, after a course of five miles, joins the Alpheus to the east of *Mouria.* This is the view of Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 128), Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 50), and Kaupert (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, Map. i.)

21. 5. **you will cross the Alpheus and be in the territory of Pisa.** Pausanias has been pursuing the regular route to Olympia on the right (north) bank of the Alpheus. He now crosses over to the left (south) bank to visit Phrixa. As he has told us (§ 4) that the Diagon, falling into the Alpheus from the south, formed the boundary between Arcadia and Pisa, we knew already that the territory of Pisa extended to the south of the Alpheus. There is therefore nothing to surprise us in the statement that, crossing to the left bank of the Alpheus at Phrixa, the traveller finds himself in the territory of Pisa. But what is surprising is the seeming implication that the territory which the traveller has just quitted on the north bank of the Alpheus did not belong to Pisa. For from another passage (viii. 26. 3) it appears that all the district west of the Erymanthus belonged to Elis, that is (in former days) to Pisa. Perhaps, however, all that Pausanias means is that after crossing to the left of the Alpheus the traveller will *still* be in Pisan territory. But if that had been his meaning, we should have expected him to say καὶ ἐντὸς γῆς ἔσῃ <ἔτι> τῆς Πισαίας. See Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 589.

21. 6. **Phrixa.** This town occupied the singular conical mountain on the south bank of the Alpheus, which forms a conspicuous object viewed both from the neighbourhood of Olympia and from the side of

Heraea. Its steep wooded sides rise picturesquely from the bed of the river. The modern village of *Palaeo-Phanaro* stands on the south-eastern slope of the hill. An hour's climb from the bed of the Alpheus up a narrow and dangerous path, hemmed in between the precipitous banks of the river on one side and rugged rocks on the other, takes us to the top. Here, in the early part of the century, some large square blocks still marked the site of Phrixa. The ancient remains are now reduced to a single cistern. The prospect from the hill-top embraces the green, rolling hills of Pisa, the Alpheus meandering through the plain of Olympia, and on the western horizon a streak of the Ionian Sea.

According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Φρίξα, cp. *s.v.* Μάκιστος), Phrixa lay 30 furlongs from Olympia. In reality the distance is 35. It was said to be one of the towns founded by the Minyans when they were expelled from Laconia (Herodotus, iv. 148). The Eleans were forced by the Spartans to grant Phrixa its freedom in 399 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 30). The town is mentioned by Polybius (iv. 77 and 80).

See Dodwell, *Tour through Greece*, 2. p. 340 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 136 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 210; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 90; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 286; Baedeker,[3] p. 312.

21. 6. **Clymenus.** Cp. v. 8. 1; v. 14. 8.

21. 6. **the river Jardanus.** Homer speaks of the Cydonians who dwelt about the streams of the Jardanus in Crete (*Odyssey*, iii. 292). The name Jardanus is identical with the Semitic Jordan. It is natural to find the Semitic river-name in Crete, where Phoenician influence must have been strong. We have already seen (v. 5. 9 note) that Jardanus was the old name of a river in Elis, which in like manner points to Phoenician influence in the west of Greece. See Olshausen, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 8 (1853), p. 324 *sq.*

21. 7. **the water of Parthenias.** We must assume that, after visiting Phrixa on the left bank of the Alpheus, Pausanias recrosses to the right bank and pursues his way westward along it. The Parthenias is probably the torrent of *Bakireïka*, to the west of the khan of *Mouria*. See note on § 5, "a river Leucyanias." It is so identified by Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 129), Curtius (*Pelop.* 2. p. 50), and Kaupert (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, Map i.) Leake, however, identified it with the stream which joins the Alpheus to the east of *Miraka* (*Morea*, 2. p. 211; see note on § 8). Strabo mentions the Parthenias (viii. p. 357). Note that while the name of the mare was Parthenia, the name of the river was Parthenias. In the translation the name of the river should be corrected accordingly.

21. 8. **the Harpinates —— Harpina.** From the order in which Pausanias mentions the river and the town, we infer that the ruins of the latter were to the west of the river. Considerable remains of walls, supposed to be those of Harpina, were seen by Major Harriott in 1831, on the river of *Miraka*, a little to the north of the village of that name. This would agree fairly with Lucian's statement that Harpina was 20

furlongs to the east of Olympia, as you went by the hippodrome. It was at Harpina that the mountebank Peregrinus is said to have publicly burned himself upon an immense pile of wood. See Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 35 *sq.* Cp. also Strabo, viii. p. 357; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἅρπινα.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 129 (who looks for Harpina near the village of *Viliza*); Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 211; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 218; *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, London, 5 (1835), p. 366; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 50; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 287. As to Harpina, mother of Oenomaus, see v. 22. 6.

21. 9. **the grave of the suitors of Hippodamia.** This is identified with an eminence called the Suitors' Hill beside the Alpheus, about a mile or more to the west of the hamlet of *Saraki*. It is on the left of the path as you go to Olympia. See Baedeker,[3] p. 313; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, Map i. Lists of the suitors of Hippodamia are given by scholiasts on Pindar (*Olymp.* i. 114 and 127). They agree only partially with that of Pausanias.

22. 1. **the kordax, a dance in vogue among the people of Mount Sipylus.** The *kordax*, as danced by the mountaineers of Mt. Sipylus, was probably one of those wild religious dances which are common in the East. Transferred to the stage it became a mere ballet. Cp. Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 3 (1882), p. 54.

22. 1. **a bronze coffer wherein the bones of Pelops are preserved.** Cp. v. 13. 4-6. According to Pliny (*N. H.* xxviii. 34) the famous ivory shoulder-blade of Pelops was shown at Elis. If we may believe the historian Dionysius of Miletus (referred to by Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 42, ed. Potter), the Palladium was made of the bones of Pelops. The bones of other famous men have been supposed to act as talismans, ensuring the safety of the land in which they are laid. See note on viii. 47. 5, "some of the hair of Medusa."

22. 1. **vines were planted over all the ground where Pisa once stood.** No remains of Pisa have been found in modern times. But as we infer from Pausanias's description that it lay to the east of Olympia, and as the distance, according to a scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.* xi. 51), was 6 furlongs, we can fix its site with tolerable certainty. It probably stood on the eastern side of the brook of *Miraka*, where it falls into the Alpheus. Here an isolated height rises up, closing the valley of Olympia on the east. It may have been the acropolis of Pisa. The path from the valley of the Alpheus to the neighbouring village of *Miraka* skirts the northern foot of the height. That Pisa was close to Olympia may be inferred from Pindar, who uses the two names as synonymous; and Herodotus (ii. 7) speaks of Olympia and Pisa as the same place when he says that it was 1485 furlongs "from the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens to Pisa and the temple of Olympian Zeus." According to Polemo (cited by a scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* i. 28) Pisa was "a place in Elis surrounded by high banks." Strabo tells us (viii. p. 356) that the site of Pisa was pointed out on a height between two mountains called respectively (like the two Thessalian mountains) Ossa and Olympus. From the eminence, just to the south of the village of *Miraka*, on which

the citadel of Pisa may have stood, a beautiful view is to be had of the whole plain of Olympia. "The eye embraces the broad and sinuous course of the Alpheus, with the green and finely feathered hills, decorated with the elegant umbrella pine and flowering evergreens. Another view towards the east overlooks a variegated valley bounded by the Elean hills, surmounted by the loftier summits of Arcadia, from whose sequestered labyrinths the Alpheus is seen eliciting its yellow current, which glides in a broad channel, along the projecting base of a pointed hill, where the ruins of Phrixa meet the eye" (Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 33[illegible]). Some traces of ancient walls have been observed at the foot of the height, beside the Alpheus, especially at the place called *Frangonisi*.

Some people in antiquity derived the name of the city from a fountain called Pisa; others denied that there ever had been such a city at all, maintaining that the name Pisa had always designated only the fountain (Strabo, viii. p. 356). In Strabo's time the fountain was called Bisa, and was pointed out near the town of Cicysium. The brook of *Miraka* is formed by the union of two arms which descend from the hills and meet in a pool, whence the united stream flows between steep slopes of earth to join the Alpheus. Its water is copious and clear as crystal. Where it crosses the road to Olympia it forms a natural basin, now called *Bakali*. Curtius believed that this basin was the fountain or water-basin (κρήνη) from which, according to some, the city took its name.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 211 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 6 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 126 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 51; *id.*, reported in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), p. 448, and in *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 41; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 289 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 313; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 317.

22. 2. **in the eighth Olympiad they called in the Argive Phidon.** The eighth Olympiad fell in 748 B.C. Herodotus says (vi. 127) that Phidon's son was one of the suitors of Agariste, daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. This would make Phidon a contemporary of Clisthenes who flourished in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. There is thus a discrepancy of over 150 years between the dates assigned to him by Pausanias and Herodotus respectively. The historians Thirlwall, Clinton, K. O. Müller, Grote, Duncker, Holm, and Th. Reinach accept the earlier date assigned to Phidon by Pausanias. On the other hand, the numismatists, Prof. Gardner and Mr. Head, incline to accept the Herodotean date of Phidon. For Phidon appears to have been the first to coin money in Greece (Pollux, ix. 83; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 613 *s.v.* ὀβελίσκος; Strabo, viii. p. 358; *Marmor Parium*, line 45 *sq.*), and the evidence of the early Greek coins is in favour of the later date assigned to Phidon by Herodotus. Others have supposed that there were two tyrants of Argos named Phidon. Some have altered the text of Pausanias to reconcile him to Herodotus; while on the other hand others have altered the text of Herodotus to reconcile him to Pausanias.

See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 247 *sqq.*; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, 1. p. 408 *sq.*; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, 2. p. 315 *sq.*; K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 1.

p. 157; Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 5. p. 384 *sqq.*; Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 1.[2] p. 611 *sqq.*; Holm, *Griech. Geschichte*, 1. pp. 244, 255 *sq.*; Curtius, *Griech. Geschichte*,[6] 1. p. 660 *sq.*; Gardner, *Types of Greek coins*, p. 6 *sq.*; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 331; Hultsch, *Metrologie*,[2] p. 521; Mähly, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 9 (1854), pp. 614-616; G. F. Unger, 'Die Zeitverhältnisse Pheidons,' *Philologus*, 28 (1869), pp. 399-424; *ib.* 29 (1870), pp. 245-273; W. Ridgeway, *The origin of metallic currency and weight standards* (Cambridge, 1892), p. 211 *sqq.*; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, 2. p. 544 *sqq.*; J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1. p. 282; Th. Reinach, 'Le date de Pheidon,' *Revue Numismatique*, 3me Série, 12 (1894), pp. 1-8.

That Phidon on one occasion took the conduct of the Olympic festival out of the hands of the Eleans and celebrated it himself is related also by Herodotus (vi. 127) and Strabo (viii. p. 358), but they do not mention the number of the Olympiad.

22. 3. **These Olympiads, together with the hundred and fourth** etc. According to Pausanias, Ol. 8 (748 B.C.), Ol. 34 (644 B.C.), and Ol. 104 (364 B.C.), were not celebrated by the Eleans, the two former being celebrated by the Pisans, the last by the Arcadians (see vi. 4. 2 note; vi. 8. 3). On the other hand, Strabo says (viii. p. 355) that the Eleans presided over the games for the first twenty-six Olympiads; but that after Ol. 26 (676 B.C.) the Pisans got the management of the festival into their own hands till the fall of Pisa. Eusebius, like Strabo, takes no notice of the celebration of Ol. 8 by the Pisans, but says that they celebrated Ol. 28 (668 B.C.), Ol. 30 (660 B.C.), and Ol. 104 (364 B.C.) See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. pp. 198, 206, ed. Schöne. Cp. Busolt, *Griech. Geschichte*, 1.[2] p. 615 note 2.

22. 4. **Macistus.** See note on v. 6. 1.

22. 4. **Dyspontium.** This town was in the plain, on the road from Elis to Olympia. In Strabo's time it was deserted; most of the inhabitants had emigrated to Epidamnus and Apollonia (Strabo, viii. p. 357). Cp. Stephanus Byzant. *s.v.* Δυσπόντιον. Leake thought that Dyspontium was probably situated "at the foot of the hills between *Paleópoli* (*Elis*) and the ridge (ending in Cape *Ichthys*) which separates the plain of Gastúni from that of Pyrgo" (*Morea*, 2. p. 193). Boblaye thought that the ruins near the village of *Mertia* or *Myrtia* (situated on the south side of the ridge mentioned by Leake) might be those of Dyspontium (*Recherches*, p. 131). Prof. Curtius conjectures that the modern town of *Pyrgos* may occupy the site of Dyspontium (Curtius und Adler, *Olympia*, p. 8). Prof. Curtius's former conjecture that Dyspontium might be at *Skaphidi* seems inadmissible, as that village lies too far west of the road from Olympia to Elis (Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 73).

22. 4. **Pisa and all the towns —— were destroyed** etc. This seems to have happened in or soon after Ol. 52. 1 (572 B.C.) (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 1. p. 236; Curtius, *Griech. Gesch.*[6] 1. p. 217; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1.[2] p. 239).

22. 5. **Pylus in Elis.** Pausanias tells us that the Elean Pylus was 80 furlongs from Elis, and at the junction of the Ladon with the Peneus. (This tributary of the Peneus is, of course, not to be confounded with the more famous Ladon, the tributary of the Alpheus.)

The distance of Pylus from Elis is given by Diodorus (xiv. 17) as 70 furlongs, and by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iv. 14) as 12 or 13 Roman miles (the reading of the MSS. of Pliny varies between xii. and xiii.) The description of Pausanias seems to show that Pylus must have been situated near the modern village of *Agrapidochori*. The village stands on a wooded hill on the left bank of the Peneus, at the point where it is joined by a river from the south. This tributary is probably the Ladon. Its delta contains some traces of an ancient town, probably those of Pylus. Leake and Boblaye, however, identified Pylus with some ruins near the village of *Koulougli*, about 5 miles higher up the valley of the Ladon. Here, on the summit of a height about a mile to the east of the village, are remains of massy walls, built of rough fragments of stone mixed with mortar. An ancient fortress seems to have stood here, but it was rebuilt in the Middle Ages. Between the height and the river is a small cultivated plain. More probably, however, the ruins near *Koulougli* are those of Oenoe (or Boenoa, as the natives called it), which Strabo identified with the Homeric Ephyra on the river Selleeis. For Strabo, as emended by Meineke, says that Oenoe was 120 furlongs from Elis on the way to Lasion, and this is exactly the distance of the ruins at *Koulougli* from Elis. This Ephyra was the seat of Augeas, king of the Epeans, whose daughter Agamede was skilled in all drugs. See Strabo, vii. p. 328, viii. p. 338; Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 659, xi. 740 *sq.*; *Odyssey*, i. 259 (with Mr. Merry's note), ii. 328 *sq.* On this hypothesis the Ladon was the Homeric Selleeis. The scenery of the district for a good many miles in all directions is rich and pleasantly diversified. Low wooded hills, clothed chiefly with pines, rise out of luxuriant valleys, watered by winding streams, and interspersed with villages.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 3 *sq.*, 2. p. 226 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 219; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 122 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 39 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 306 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 333.

Pausanias has omitted to mention an ancient town that lay in the wild upper valley of the Peneus, in the heart of the Elean highlands, not far from the Arcadian frontier. This was Lasion, a place which, from its proximity to the Arcadian boundary, was the subject of border feuds, the Arcadians claiming possession of it, though in fact it appears to have belonged properly to Elis. It changed hands several times in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 30, vii. 4. 12; Diodorus, xiv. 17, xv. 77; Strabo, viii. p. 338. The ruins of this secluded little town were discovered by G. F. Welcker in 1842 near *Koumani*, a village at the head waters of the Peneus. They may be visited on the way from Olympia to Psophis, though the visit necessitates a short detour to the west. The route first follows the valley of the Cladeus through soft woodland scenery of the richest and most charming kind, between low hills crowned with clumps of pines. Then, still following the glen of the Cladeus, we ascend through romantically beautiful forests of pines and ancient oaks, and emerge on a wide breezy tableland, backed on the north by the high mountains of

northern Arcadia. In the middle of the plateau, which is open and well cultivated, lies the scattered village of *Lala*. Crossing the northern end of the tableland, which is here carpeted with ferns, we again ascend a steep slope, and find ourselves on a still higher tableland, covered with fine oak forests. After traversing the forest for some time we quit the path to Psophis, which continues to run northward, and take a path which strikes westward. The time from *Lala* to the parting of the ways is about two hours. Another half-hour's ride through the forest, which grows denser as we advance, brings us to *Koumani*, a trim well-to-do village, beautifully situated among oak-woods. The time from Olympia is about six hours.

The ruins of Lasion, now called *Kouti*, are to the north of the village, apparently on the same level with it, but a profound ravine divides them from the village, and half-an-hour's laborious descent and ascent of its steep sides are needed to bring us to the ruins. The site is an exceedingly strong one. Two tributaries of the Peneus, coming from the higher mountains to the north-east, flow in deep ravines, which meet at an acute angle. Between them stretches a long, comparatively narrow ridge or tongue of land, which on three sides falls steeply down to the glens; only on the east the ascent is gentle. The top of the ridge is quite flat, and well adapted to be the site of a city. At one point it narrows to a mere isthmus or neck which divides the level summit into two parts, an eastern and a western. The western and smaller part measures about 110 paces in length and half that in breadth; it was doubtless the ancient citadel. A finely-built wall of ashlar masonry, extending across the narrowest point of the neck, divides the citadel from the rest of the city. In the citadel there is a ruined church of St. Demetrius, and on its extreme western edge the ruins of a square Greek tower. At other points also ancient walls may be observed.

The eastern and larger part of the ridge is more or less covered with ruins, of which two groups may be distinguished. At the west end are the foundations of a small square building between two long walls which run at an oblique angle towards each other. The foundations, lying east and west, may be those of a temple within a sacred precinct. More towards the middle of the plateau, but nearer its southern than its northern edge, lie five considerable ruins close to each other. Two of them are foundations of small quadrangular buildings lying east and west. They were probably temples. Among the ruins Vischer observed a fragment of an Ionic column and several pieces of an entablature. Finally, at the eastern end of the ridge, where the ascent is easiest, a very fine piece of the city wall is still standing. Square towers, about 7 feet broad, project from it at intervals. Walls and towers are built of well and regularly cut blocks; the masonry resembles that of Messene. There seem to be no traces of fortification-walls on any other side of the plateau; perhaps none existed, the inhabitants thinking the deep ravines a sufficient defence.

The situation of Lasion is not only strong but beautiful. Tall plane-trees overhang the streams in the deep glens far below the ruins.

To the north and north-east rises at no great distance the grand and massive range of Mount Erymanthus; while westward the view extends, between the heights that hem in the narrow valley of the Peneus, away over the lowlands of Elis to the distant sea.

See Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 285-289; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 41; Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke*, pp. 473-476; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 306 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 362 *sq.*

22. 5. **Pylon, son of Cleson.** See iv. 36. 1, where Pausanias calls him Pylus.

22. 6. **a verse of Homer.** See *Iliad*, v. 544 *sq.*

22. 7. **Heraclea.** According to Strabo (viii. p. 356) Heraclea was distant about 40 furlongs from Olympia. He, like Pausanias, mentions the river Cytherus, the sanctuary of the Ioniad (*sic*) nymphs, and their healing waters. The site of Heraclea is conjectured to be near *Brouma*, a village on the hills about 5 miles north-west of Olympia. The stream which runs past it to join the Alpheus would then be the Cytherus. Leake identified Heraclea with the modern *Strephi*, a village to the south of *Brouma*. But *Strephi* could hardly be said to be on the hill road to Elis which Pausanias is now describing See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 192 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 129; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 72; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 288. For other healing waters, with their kindly nymphs, see v. 5. 11. Pliny has a long dissertation on medicinal waters (*Nat. hist.* xxxi. 4 *sqq.*) Hercules seems to have been especially associated with warm or healing springs. See Diodorus, v. 3. 4; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[3] 2. p. 269. This was the point of Jugurtha's exclamation when they thrust him down into the cold clammy dungeon. "Hercules, how cold your bath is!" (Plutarch, *Marius*, 12).

22. 7. **Gargettus.** There was an Attic township of this name (Stephanus Byz. *s.v.* Γαργεττός).

22. 8. **to Elis by the plain.** The road to Elis by the plain, as distinguished by the road across the hills (§ 5), seems to have been 'the Sacred Way.' See v. 25. 7. It must have descended the vale of the Alpheus into the plain of *Pyrgos*, and thence have skirted the foot of the hills to Elis. The distance is 3 or 4 miles greater than across the hills. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 187.

22. 8. **Letrini.** This is supposed to have been situated at the village and monastery of St. John (*Hagios Joannes*), which stand at the southern foot of an isolated range of heights, 3 miles to the west of *Pyrgos*, on the way to the port of *Katakolo*. Here have been found ancient wells, fragments of columns, and walls built of squared stones coated with stucco. The salt-water lagoon of *Mouria*, which stretches to the south of the village for about 4 miles, has probably absorbed in itself the small lake of which Pausanias speaks (§ 11).

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 187 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 130 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 73; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 289; Curtius und Adler, *Olympia und Umgegend*, p. 7; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 333.

22. 8. **Alpheaean Artemis.** Strabo (viii. p. 343) speaks of the sacred grove of this goddess at the mouth of the Alpheus, 80 furlongs

from Olympia. In her sanctuary there were paintings by two Corinthian artists, Cleanthes and Aregon. One painting represented Artemis soaring on the back of a griffin. In another painting, by Cleanthes, Zeus was depicted in the pangs of childbirth, bringing forth Athena, while Poseidon offered him a tunny-fish. See Athenaeus, viii. p. 346 b c, compared with Strabo, *l.c.* As to Alpheaean Artemis, cp. schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 12, and *Nem.* i. 3. Cp. v. 14. 6; Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 309 *sq.*

22. 9. **daubed mud on her own face.** The myth may have originated in a practice, observed by her worshippers, of smearing their faces with mud at one of her rites. The custom was practised at some Bacchic and purificatory rites (Demosthenes, *De corona*, p. 313; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 653 *sqq.*) It is also practised by savages at their initiatory rites. See Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*,[1] p. 40; and for the same custom among South African tribes, see the Rev. James Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, p. 157; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 19 (1890), p. 268.

22. 11. **called Artemis Elaphiaean from the hunting of the deer.** On the relation of Artemis to deer, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg), for 1868, pp. 7-30. He enumerates a few vases, coins, etc., on which Artemis is represented riding on a deer or stag. Much more commonly, as in the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae, she is portrayed driving in a car drawn by two or four deer or stags. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xxviii. No. 123 b; 2. pl. xvi. Nos. 171, 171 a, 171 b; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 1465; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in Brit. Museum*, 1. p. 280. Hence at the festival of Artemis at Patrae the priestess, who probably represented the goddess, drove in a chariot to which deer were yoked (Paus. vii. 18. 12). In the sanctuary of Demeter and Proserpine at Lycosura, Artemis was represented clad in a deer-skin (viii. 37. 4). In Corcyra many terracotta figurines have recently been discovered, which appear to have been votive offerings in a temple of Artemis. Many of these figurines represent the goddess with a stag or, still oftener, a doe in her arms or at her side. See Lechat, 'Terres cuites de Corcyra,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 15 (1891), pp. 1-112, with plates iii.-viii. Deer were sometimes sacrificed to Artemis. See vii. 18. 12 and note on x. 32. 16. Cp. A. B. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14 (1894), p. 134 *sqq.*

23. 1. **the city of Elis.** The northern part of the province of Elis consists of a level coast-land in the west and a hilly region in the east. This hilly region was known in antiquity as Acroria ('highlands'); the level coast-land was called 'Hollow Elis,' though this name seems to have been extended so as to include the whole northern part of Elis, highlands and lowlands alike. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 20, 96 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 275, 301. (For the name 'Hollow Elis,' see v. 16. 6; Strabo, viii. p. 336; Thucydides, ii. 55. For the name Acroria, see Diodorus, xiv. 17; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, iii. 2. 30, iv. 2. 16, vii. 4. 14.)

The city of Elis stood on the border between these two districts, on

the edge of the plain where the river Peneus issues from the hills. The village of *Palaeopolis* ('old city'), at the south-western foot of the hills, a mile or more to the south of the river, occupies the site, or part of the site, of the ancient Elis. Between the village and the river rises the ancient acropolis, a hill about 460 feet high, conspicuous by its peaked form and by a ruined Frankish tower which crowns its summit. This hill is now called *Kaloskopi* ('fair view'); the Venetians called it *Belvedere*.

The ancient remains of Elis are insignificant. They consist of several masses of Roman brick and mortar, with many wrought blocks of stone and fragments of sculpture scattered over a space of two or three miles in circumference. The most remarkable of the ruins is a sort of tower or square building measuring about 20 feet on the outside, which within is in the form of an octagon with niches. Like most of the other remains it is built of alternate courses of Roman brick and rubble. It is said that towards the end of last century some statues were excavated in the soil below the niches. The foundations of the Frankish castle on the acropolis are built of the large squared blocks of the ancient city. It is possible that in the plain many ancient remains may be buried, as formerly at Olympia, under a deposit of alluvial soil. Excavations might prove fruitful.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 316 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 4 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 219 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 122; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 22 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 301 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 333; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 331 *sq.*

Strabo says (viii. p. 337) that the Peneus flowed through the city of Elis, beside the gymnasium. As Pausanias, however, does not speak of the city being built on both banks of the river, and as the remains are on the left (southern) bank, we may infer that only a small part of the city can have occupied the north bank of the river.

The city of Elis was not founded till 471 B.C. Previously the population had lived in dispersed villages or townships. But in that year the capital was built and the scattered population collected into it. See Strabo, viii. p. 336 *sq.*; Diodorus, xi. 54. This tradition is probably more trustworthy than the legend mentioned by Pausanias (v. 4. 3) that Elis was founded in prehistoric times by Oxylus.

23. 1. **an old gymnasium.** The gymnasium was beside the river (Strabo, viii. p. 337).

23. 1. **the customary training before they repair to Olympia.** This training lasted thirty days (Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* v. 43; Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homil. in princip. actor.* i. vol. 3. p. 59, ed. Montfaucon).

23. 3. **Hercules, surnamed Assistant.** Cp. v. 8. 1; v. 14. 7.

23. 3. **he whom —— the Athenians call Love Returned.** See i. 30. 1.

23. 3. **when the sun is declining in the west.** Sacrifices are said to have been offered to the dead at sunset and to the heavenly gods at sunrise (schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 587).

23. 3. **it is their wont to bewail him.** So at the sanctuary of

Lacinian Hera in southern Italy the women, clad in black, mourned for Achilles (Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 856 *sqq.*, with the scholium of Tzetzes on *v.* 857). As to the sanctuary of Lacinian Hera see note on vi. 13. 1.

23. 4. **boxing with the softer gloves.** See viii. 40. 3.

23. 4. **Sosander —— and Polyctor.** See v. 21. 16 *sq.*

23. 5. **Love holds a palm-branch** etc. A group such as Pausanias describes is represented on a Roman relief which has come down to us. Love and Love Returned are seen contending for a palm-branch. See Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1368.

23. 8. **the army of Oxylus.** See v. 3. 6 - v. 4. 4.

24. 1. **the contests called heavy.** Gymnastic exercises were divided by the ancients into two classes, the light and the heavy. The light exercises were running, javelin-throwing, and leaping; the heavy exercises were wrestling, boxing, quoit-throwing, and the pancratium. See Philostratus, *De arte gymnastica*, 3; Pollux, iii. 148; Diodorus, iv. 14; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 4. 4; Dionysius Halicarn. *Antiquit. Rom.* vii. 72. 2; Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*, iii. 1.

24. 2. **The market-place of Elis is not constructed after the fashion which prevails in Ionia** etc. Excavations conducted in 1891-1893 by the German Archaeological Institute at Magnesia on the Maeander have revealed the ground-plan of an Ionian market-place. It is an oblong, not exactly quadrangular space, measuring 188 metres in length by 95 metres on one side and 99 metres on the other. This space is regularly and neatly paved with flagstones, and is bounded on each side by a double colonnade, to which three marble steps lead up from the open space. The first or outer row of columns in each colonnade is of the Doric order; the second row, extending along the axis of each colonnade, is of the Ionic order; but the interval between each pair of Ionic columns is double that between each pair of Doric columns. The back of the eastern colonnade is a simple wall. On the other hand, in the northern and western, and apparently also in the southern colonnade, there are in the back wall a number of doors leading into chambers, most of which perhaps served as shops or warehouses, though two of them were certainly sanctuaries. All these edifices are built of a bluish-white marble. In the open space surrounded by the colonnades are the ruins of a small but elegant Ionic temple, the temple of Zeus Sosipolis (see note on vi. 20. 2). Three openings lead from the market-place, one at the south-west, one at the south-east, and one in the middle of the eastern side. This last led to the temple of Leucophryenian Artemis (see note on i. 26. 4). Dr. Kern, who assisted at the excavation, is of opinion that the market-place is not an ordinary commercial market-place, but was a "sacred market-place," such as is known from an inscription (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 7 (1882), p. 75) to have existed at the Thessalian Magnesia. Religious assemblies and festivals were probably held in it. See *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 9 (1894), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 76 *sqq.*; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 14 (1894), pp. 987 *sqq.*, 1049 *sqq.*

24. 2. **It is built in the older style.** Elsewhere Pausanias notices

market-places built in the old style at Pharae in Achaia (vii. 22. 2), Tithorea in Phocis (x. 32. 10), Abae in Phocis (x. 35. 4), and Hyampolis

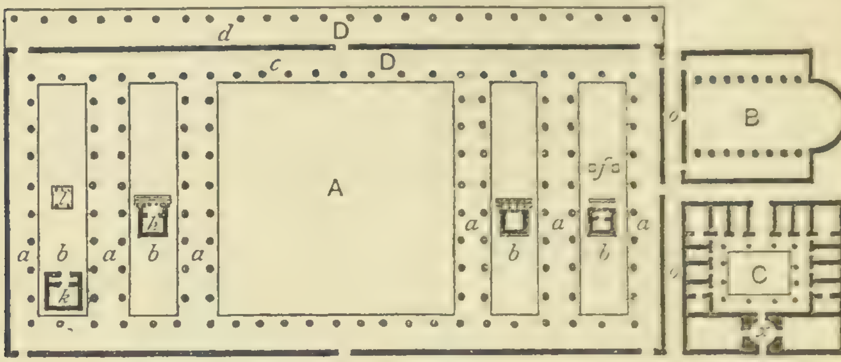


FIG. 7.—GROUND-PLAN OF MARKET-PLACE AT ELIS (CONJECTURAL RESTORATION).

in Phocis (x. 35. 6). The annexed ground-plan (fig. 7) is a conjectural restoration of the market-place of Elis made by Hirt from Pausanias's description.

24. 3. **the Guardians of the Laws.** These officials are mentioned under the title *thesmophulakes* in the treaty of 420 B.C. between Elis, Athens, Argos, and Mantinea (Thucydides, v. 47). Pausanias calls them *nomophulakes*.

24. 5. **a statue of Pyrrho, son of Pistocrates.** According to Diogenes Laertius, the father of the sceptic Pyrrho was named Plistarchus. Pyrrho was a native of Elis. In his youth he had been a painter. In the gymnasium at Elis there was one of his paintings: it represented the torch-race, and was only moderately well painted. He was highly honoured by his fellow-citizens, who made him chief priest, and granted to philosophers an immunity from all burdens for his sake. See Diogenes Laertius, ix. 11, §§ 61, 62, 64.

24. 6. **Averter of Evil.** See i. 3. 4 note.

24. 8. **Drunkenness —— giving him wine.** See ii. 27. 3 note.

24. 8. **a tomb of one Silenus in the land of the Hebrews.** Reland conjectured that Silenus is here a Greek corruption of Shiloh (*Palaestina*, p. 1017). The Greeks believed that the Hebrews worshipped Dionysus. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 6. Hence they would expect to find in Palestine a worship of Silenus, his attendant divinity.

24. 9. **the roof being supported by oaken pillars.** The structure must, from Pausanias's account of it, have been ancient. It thus, with the oaken column in the temple of Hera at Olympia (v. 16. 1), points to a time when the Greeks built their houses and temples of wood. Professor Helbig inclines to ascribe the use of this primitive style of architecture in Elis to the conquering Aetolians (see v. 4), a rude race who, secluded in their native mountains, remained in a semi-barbarous state even down to the palmy days of Greek civilisation, like the Highlanders of Scotland down to last century. His view is countenanced by the tradition which connected this wooden structure in the market-place

of Elis with the name of Oxylus, the Aetolian chieftain, who had led his highland host to the conquest of Elis. There was a statue of Oxylus in the market-place of Elis with an inscription setting forth that he was a descendant of Aetolus and had founded the city of Elis (Strabo, x. p. 463 *sq.*) See Helbig, *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmäler erläutert*,[2] p. 65.

24. 10. **the women called the Sixteen.** See v. 16. 2.

25. 1. **the goddess stands with one foot on a tortoise.** This statue of Aphrodite by Phidias is mentioned by Plutarch (*Isis et Osiris*, 75; *Conjug. Praecept.* 32), who interprets the tortoise as a symbol that women should stay at home and keep silence. There are two ancient bronzes, one Greek and one Etruscan, in which Aphrodite is represented with one foot on a tortoise (Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 412). She is so represented also on an ancient bronze candelabrum (E. Curtius, *Religious character of Greek coins*, p. 13 *sq.*; but the candelabrum may be one of the two bronzes referred to in Roscher, *l.c.*) In the Madrid copy of the statue of 'the crouching Aphrodite,' one foot of the goddess rests on a tortoise (Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 150 (note 2), 323). In a silver relief from Tarentum, now in the British Museum, the left hand of the goddess rests on a tortoise (Bernouilli, *op. cit.* p. 150 note 2). It is said that the Thessalian women, jealous of the seductive charms of Lais, beat her to death with wooden tortoises in a sanctuary of Aphrodite (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 179; Athenaeus, xiii. p. 589 a). Two vases in the shape of tortoises have been found in the island of Melos. They are now in the British Museum (Bernouilli, *op. cit.* p. 150 note 2).

25. 1. **Aphrodite seated on a bronze he-goat.** This statue is represented on coins of Elis belonging to the reigns of Hadrian, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla (fig. 8). The goat is depicted galloping from left to right. The goddess is seated on his back sideways, facing the spectator. A flap of her mantle is drawn over her head like a veil. The rest of the mantle wraps her sides and back completely, and extends nearly to her feet, leaving, however, her head, breast, and upper body exposed. The breast and upper body of the goddess seem to be clothed in a close fitting tunic, which also appears again at her feet, from beneath the mantle. Her right hand is on her breast, her left on the neck of the goat. See R. Weil, in *Histor. u. philolog. Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, p. 134 *sq.*, with plate iii. 8; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 72 *sq.*, with pl. P xxiv. Representations of Aphrodite riding on a goat are not very uncommon on ancient monuments (reliefs, vases, etc.); several have been discovered in recent years. Some of them, from their resemblance to the coins of Elis described above, are probably copies, more or less indirect, of the group by Scopas at Elis. The monuments in question include two painted vases, two terra-cotta reliefs (both found in the Crimea), a



FIG. 8.—APHRODITE ON THE GOAT (COIN OF ELIS).

marble relief of the fourth century B.C. found on the southern slope of the Acropolis at Athens, another marble relief of Roman date found at Sparta (*Bulletino dell' Instituto*, 1873, p. 183; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 420 *sq.*), two reliefs on mirror-cases, several engraved gems, etc.

See *Archäolog. Zeitung*, 9 (1851), p. 375 *sq.*, with pl. xxxiv.; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 129 *sq.*, with Atlas, pl. iv. 1; *id.*, for 1869, p. 84 *sqq.*; Bernouilli, *Aphrodite*, p. 110 *sq.*; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 7 (1883), p. 91; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 419; R. Weil, *l.c.*; and especially Max Boehm, 'Aphrodite auf dem Bock,' *Jahrbuch d. archäolog. Instituts*, 4 (1889), pp. 208-217. A vase-painting of a woman clad in a star-spangled robe and carrying a lyre, whom Lajard and Gerhard took to be Aphrodite, seems undoubtedly to be a Bacchante, as Stephani was the first to point out. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 12 (1854), pp. 263-273; *ib.* pp. 273-276, with plate lxxi.; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 130 note 1.

It is said that when Theseus was about to sail for Crete to slay the Minotaur, the Delphic oracle commanded him to invoke the help of Aphrodite; and as he was sacrificing to her beside the sea, the victim was changed from a she-goat into a he-goat. So he called Aphrodite 'the Goddess on a he-goat' (*Epitragia*) (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 18). But Aphrodite appears also to have been called simply 'the goat goddess' (*Tragia*). See Boehm, *op. cit.* p. 210. Hence it would seem that the goddess was formerly conceived in goat-form, and that the representation of her riding on a goat is a later rationalisation of the old conception. Mr. L. v. Schroeder has suggested that Aphrodite conceived as a goat may have been a mythical figure analogous to the Swan-maidens of fairy tales, who have power at certain times to divest themselves of their swan-skins and to appear as fair maidens. Indeed, from the association of Aphrodite with the swan, upon which she is often represented riding (A. Kalkmann, 'Aphrodite auf dem Schwan,' *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 1 (1886), pp. 231-260), he infers that Aphrodite, in one of her aspects, was originally a Swan-maiden. See L. v. Schroeder, *Aphrodite, Eros und Hephästos* (Berlin, 1887), p. 30 *sqq.* As to the Swan-maidens of fairy tales see S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, pp. 561-578; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 1. pp. 182-191; M. R. Cox, *An Introduction to Folk-lore*, pp. 120-122. Tales of this type "are found in Sweden, Russia, Germany, in the Shetland Islands—in short, almost throughout Europe, as well as in Asia and Africa. In Finland the maidens are geese; elsewhere they are more appropriately described as ducks; or they may be doves, as in Bohemia, Persia, and the Celebes Islands; or pigeons, as amongst the Magyars and in South Smaland. In the guise of a vulture the bird maiden is found in Guiana, and American Indians tell their version of her widespread story" (Miss M. R. Cox, *op. cit.* p. 121).

On Vulgar (*Pandemos*) Aphrodite in her relation to oriental religion, see Mr. Ph. Berger, in *Gazette archéologique*, 6 (1880), p. 24 *sqq.*

25. 2. **when Hercules was leading an army against Pylus** etc. Cp. v. 3. 1; and for the war waged by Hercules against Pylus and his wounding of Hades, see Homer, *Iliad*, v. 395 *sqq.* (cp. *ib.* xi. 689 *sqq.*);

Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 357 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 29 *sqq.*; Apollodorus, ii. 7. 3. There seems to have been an idea that Pylus was the gate (*pule*) of Hell. Perhaps Hercules's expedition against Pylus formed part of the legend of his descent to Hell to recover Alcestis or bring up Cerberus. See Mr. Leaf's note on *Iliad*, v. 395 *sqq.*

25. 3. **Homer —— says in the Iliad.** See *Il.* v. 395 *sqq.*

25. 4. **Sosipolis.** See vi. 20. 2 *sqq.*

25. 6. **gave it the name of Satrap.** At the village of *Ma'âd*, between *Batroun* (Botrys) and *Djebaïl* (Byblus) in Phoenicia, a Greek inscription was found, which Renan read as follows: Ἔτους κγ̅ νίκης Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀκτιακῆς, Θαμὸς Ἀβδουσίβου ἀνέθηκεν Σατράπῃ θεῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν. "Dedicated to the Satrap god by Thamus son of Abdusibus, out of his own property, in the twenty-third year after the victory of the emperor Augustus at Actium." The inscription thus dates from 8 B.C. The name Satrap, being the Persian title of the viceroys or lieutenant-governors of the provinces of the Persian empire, seems to show that the god whose statue stood in the most crowded quarter of Elis was of Asiatic origin. This is confirmed by his identification with Corybas, who was also an Asiatic divinity. Mr. Clermont-Ganneau has developed an elaborate and somewhat fanciful hypothesis to account for the existence of an image of the Satrap god at Elis. It is possible, however, as he suggests, that the Satrap god is Adonis, whose name, like Satrap, is an Oriental word signifying 'lord' or 'master.' See Clermont-Ganneau, 'Le dieu Satrap,' *Journal asiatique*, 7me Série, 10 (1887), pp. 157-236.

25. 6. **after the extension of Patrae.** The emperor Augustus increased the territory and the population of Patrae by making some of the Achaean towns dependent on it and by transporting to it the inhabitants of others. See vii. 17. 5; vii. 18. 7; vii. 22. 1 and 6. Attis and the Dindymenian Mother were worshipped at Patrae (vii. 20. 3), and they had a sanctuary at Dyme (vii. 17. 9). Dyme was one of the towns absorbed in Patrae; hence the people of Patrae may have borrowed the worship of these deities from Dyme. Further, the Corybantes were associated with the worship or the myth of Attis (Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, 12). Hence it is possible, as Pausanias seems to indicate, that the worship of Corybas or Satrap may have been borrowed by Elis directly from Patrae and indirectly from Dyme. Lobeck suggested that the worship of these oriental deities may have been introduced at Dyme by the Cilician pirates who were settled in that city by Pompey (Strabo, xiv. p. 665; Plutarch, *Pompey*, 28). See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 1152.



FIG. 9.—DIONYSUS (COIN OF ELIS).

26. 1. **the Menius.** See v. 1. 10; Theocritus, xxv. 15.

26. 1. **Dionysus: the image is by Praxiteles.** On a coin of Elis (fig. 9), belonging to Hadrian's time, Dionysus is represented standing;

in his raised right hand he holds a drinking-horn, in his left a thyrsus; on his right side is a panther, on his left a tambourine. This is believed to be a copy of the statue of Dionysus by Praxiteles. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 73 *sq.*

26. 1. **No god is more revered by the Eleans than Dionysus.** Dionysus was worshipped at Elis as a bull. See note on v. 16. 2. As to Dionysus in bull form see *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 325 *sq.* In the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 9 (1851), pl. xxxiii. there is a representation of the child Dionysus with clusters of grapes round his brow, and a calf's head, with sprouting horns, attached to the back of his head. See Gerhard, *ib.*, pp. 371-373. Again, on a red-figured vase Dionysus appears as a calf-headed child seated on a woman's lap. See *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), pl. 3, with the article of Fr. Lenormant, 'Dionysos Zagreus,' pp. 18-37. On a Greek vase from the Cyrenaica, now in the Louvre, young Bacchus, crowned with ivy, is represented driving a car which is drawn by a bull, a winged griffin, and a panther. See *Monuments grecs*, No. 8 (1879), pl. 3, with the remarks of Mr. Heuzey, pp. 55-58. The Eleans are said to have identified Dionysus with the sun (*Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 277, *s.v.* Διόνυσος).

26. 1. **Three empty kettles are taken into a building** etc. The following religious miracle, or rather pious fraud, is also told by the pseudo-Aristotle (*Mirab. auscult.* (123 [134]), and more shortly, on the authority of Theopompus, by Athenaeus (i. p. 34 a). Cp. Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 41 *sq.* The ancients were perfectly familiar with a variety of devices for breaking seals and then resealing them in such a way as not to show that they had been tampered with. See Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haeres.* iv. 34. We may compare a similar imposture which is practised in Mingrelia. On the eve of the feast of St. George, the prince of Mingrelia, surrounded by a train of courtiers, places his seal upon the door of the church of St. George. Next day (20th October) he goes again to the church door and examines the seal to see that it has not been broken. Having done so, he opens the door, and inside the church is always found an ox. The people think that St. George has introduced the ox into the church by a miracle, and they draw omens from the manner in which the animal behaves. The fact, however, is that the priests drag the ox into the church with ropes, and screen themselves from prying eyes by giving out that it is as much as a man's life is worth to peep at the church while they are about this business. See Lamberti, 'Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrellie,' *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, 7 (Amsterdam, 1725), pp. 168-170, 294-298.

26. 2. **The people of Andros also say** etc. Similarly Pliny tells us, on the authority of Mucianus who was thrice consul, that every year, on the 5th of January, a certain fountain in the temple of Dionysus in Andros tasted of wine, but that if the liquid were taken out of sight of the temple it tasted like water again. The day on which this miracle happened was called Theodosia. See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 231, xxxi. 16. Cp. L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 295 *sq.* Thus, according to Mucianus, the miracle was annual, according to Pausanias it was biennial.

26. 2. the Table of the Sun. See i. 33. 4 note.

26. 3. a sanctuary of Athena. Pliny tells us (*Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 177) that the walls of the temple of Minerva (Athena) at Elis were coated with stucco to receive paintings by Panaenus, brother of Phidias, and that the stucco was tempered with milk, mixed with saffron. This last ingredient was probably intended "to tone down the white of the marble [, the stucco being composed of powdered marble mixed with lime,] and give a creamy tint to the stucco" (J. H. Middleton, *The remains of Ancient Rome*, 1. p. 73). Pliny reports a saying that if you wetted your thumb and rubbed it on the wall, you could smell and taste the saffron.

26. 3. They say it is by Phidias. Pliny, however, says (*Nat. hist.* xxx. 54) that the image of Athena at Elis was by Colotes, a pupil of Phidias who had helped his master to execute his great statue of Zeus at Olympia. The inside of Athena's shield was painted by the same artist, Panaenus, who painted the frescoes on the walls of the temple (Pliny, *l.c.*) Cp. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 136.

26. 3. A cock. Cp. note on v. 25. 9.

26. 4. Cyllene. Strabo (viii. p. 337) agrees with Pausanias that Cyllene was 120 furlongs from the city of Elis. Ptolemy (iii. 14, p. 236 *sq.*, ed. Wilberg) and Strabo (viii. p. 338) mention that the river Peneus flowed into the sea between Cyllene and the promontory of Chelonatas. This promontory, stated by Strabo (viii. p. 337) to be the most westerly point of Peloponnese, is undoubtedly the rough, hilly promontory on which stands the castle of *Chlemoutzi* or *Tornese*. The Peneus at present flows into the sea *south* of this promontory; hence from Strabo's description we should expect that Cyllene lay still farther to the south. But from Ptolemy (*l.c.*) it appears that in antiquity the Peneus flowed into the sea to the *north* of this promontory. Cyllene must therefore have been still farther to the north of Chelonatas, and this is confirmed by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iv. 13). Cyllene is perhaps to be sought north of the lagoon of *Kotiki*, in the marshes of *Manolada*, which are at present separated from the sea by a broad sand-dune dotted with pine-trees. The convenient harbour, mentioned by Pausanias, would appear to have been gradually sanded up in the course of ages. Leake and Boblaye, indeed, identified Cyllene with the modern *Glarentza*, a small trading-town at the northern foot of the Chelonatas promontory, because "there is no other harbour on this coast, except that of *Kunupéli*, which is too far to the north to have been the port of Elis (iv. 23. 1); whereas *Glaréntza*, in its distance from *Paleópoli*, agrees exactly to the 120 stades [furlongs] which Strabo and Pausanias agree in stating to have been the interval between Elis and Cyllene." But this identification of Cyllene is inconsistent with the evidence of Strabo and Ptolemy that the mouth of the Peneus was between Chelonatas and Cyllene.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 283; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 174 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 120 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 33 *sq.*, 102 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 308; Baedeker,[3] pp. 316, 318. Professor von Duhn would place Cyllene at *Kounoupeli* still farther to the north than *Manolada* (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 76).

26. 4. a later passage etc. See Homer, *Iliad*, xv. 518 *sq.*

26. 5. **In Cyllene there is a sanctuary of Aesculapius.** There was a fine ivory statue of Aesculapius at Cyllene by the sculptor Colotes (Strabo, viii. p. 337).

26. 5. **The image of Hermes** etc. This image is mentioned also by Artemidorus (*Onirocr.* i. 45), Lucian (*Jupiter Tragoedus*, 42), and Hippolytus (*Refut. omn. haeres.* v. 7. p. 144, and 8. p. 152). Cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 20; W. Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*, p. 75 *sqq.* In India the god Siva is commonly represented by a similar symbol (Monier Williams, *Religious thought and life in India*, pp. 68, 83).

26. 6. **fine flax.** The Greek word is *bussos.* See note on v. 5. 2.

26. 6. **the threads of which the Seres make their garments** etc. This is one of the chief passages in ancient writers on silk and silk-worms. The first Greek writer to describe the silk-worm is Aristotle. He says (*Hist. anim.* v. 19, p. 551 b, ed. Bekker), without, however, mentioning the name *Ser* or the Seres, that the insect is a large worm with horns, which changes first into a caterpillar, then into a *bombulios* (cocoon ?), and then into a *nekudalos* (moth ?); the women (he goes on) undo the cocoons, reel off the threads, and then weave them. Aristotle adds that in Cos a woman named Pamphile was the first to weave silk. Silk, both raw and manufactured, was brought from China to the Roman empire by two routes. On the one hand, it came by the overland route from northern China through Samarcand to the Caspian; on the other hand, it came through India, down the Ganges (or Brahmaputra ?) to Malabar (Limyrice or rather Dymirice, *i.e.* the Tamul country), and so by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. See *Periplus Erythraei Maris*, § 64 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. Müller, 1. p. 303 *sq.*); Ptolemy, i. 11. Silk-worms were first introduced into Europe about 530 A.D. in the reign of Justinian. The eggs were brought by some monks to Constantinople from Serinda, which appears to have been Khotan, in Turkestan. See Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, iv. 17.

Pausanias appears to have been better informed as to silk and silk-worms than many classical authors who wrote before him and some of those who wrote after him. Many ancient writers, for example, thought that silk was gathered from trees. See Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 121; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* vi. 54; Solinus, 50. 2; Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio*, 752 *sqq.*; Seneca, *Hercules Octaeus*, 666 *sq.*; *id.*, *Hippolytus*, 389; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 6. 67; Martianus Capella, vi. § 693. Pausanias alludes to this view when he says that silk was not made from bark. But the ancient authors just referred to do not, in point of fact, assert that silk was made of bark; they only speak of it being gathered or combed from trees. And it appears that the wild silk-worm does spin long threads from trees and bushes, which threads are gathered to make a coarse kind of silk. See Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, p. 207 *sqq.* But Pausanias is right in affirming that the true silk is produced by insects which are kept and fed in houses. He also appears to be the first ancient writer who calls the silk-worm *Ser.* This is the Chinese word for silk or the silk-worm. In Chinese the word is *Sec* or *Szu*, in Corean *Sir*, in Mongol *Sirkek*, in Manchu *Sirghé*. The name for silk

in some modern European languages is derived from the same word, with the substitution of *l* for *r*; as English *silk*, Danish *Silcke*, Slavonian *Chelk*. See Yates, *op. cit.* p. 245 *sq.*; Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 1. p. xliv. note 1; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*,[2] p. 492.

It has been suggested that Pausanias derived his information, directly or indirectly, from a member of the Roman embassy which was sent by the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to China, and reached the Chinese court in October 166 A.D. This embassy is not mentioned by Greek and Roman writers, but it is recorded by Chinese historians. The embassy went by sea, for it entered China by the frontier of Jih-nan (Annam), bringing presents of rhinoceros' horns, ivory, and tortoise-shell. The Chinese themselves seem to have been surprised at the nature of these presents. Perhaps, as Col. Yule has suggested, the ambassadors had lost their original presents by shipwreck or robbery, and replaced them with trumpery purchased in eastern bazaars. It is a plausible conjecture that the embassy was sent with a view to open up or stimulate the trade with China by sea, when the overland route through Persia was closed by the Parthian war (162-165 A.D.) See Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 1. pp. xlv., lxii.; Richthofen, *China*, 1. p. 512; Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 42, 47, 82, 94 *sq.*, 173 *sqq.*; Th. Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, 2. p. 31 *sq.*

But Pausanias's account contains a number of errors. "It looks," according to Col. Yule, "as if it had come originally from real information, though afterwards misunderstood and perverted. The 'shelter adapted to winter and summer' seems to point to the care taken by the Chinese in regulating the heat of the silk-houses; the 'five years' may have been a misunderstanding of the five *ages* of the silk-worm's life marked by its four moultings; the reed given it to eat when the spinning season has come may refer to the strip of rush with which the Chinese form receptacles for the worms to spin in" (Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 1. p. clviii.) Pausanias is also wrong in saying that the silk-worm has eight feet. It has fourteen, namely six proper feet before and eight holders behind (Yates, *Textrinum antiquorum*, p. 188 note *).

As to the houses in which the silk-worms are reared, in China "the houses in which the worms are kept should be wide and clean, and free from all noxious smells" (Gray, *China*, 2. p. 226 *sq.*) In Burma "the whole operations [of silk-growing] are carried on in the rickety bamboo hut of the cultivator" (Shway Yoe [J. G. Scott], *The Burman*, 1. p. 324). In India the rearers of the variety of silk-worm known as *Bombyx fortunatus* "prefer a south aspect for the rearing-house, but all rearing-houses do not face the south: they are covered with specially thick thatch, and generally have but one small window and a door. The window is always kept shut at night, and during the cold season in the daytime also; the door is always kept shut at night, and in the cold weather all chinks are carefully filled up, the fermenting refuse from the trays being often piled up inside the rearing-house to further raise the temperature" (*Indian Museum Notes*. Issued by the Trustees. Vol. 1. Nr. 3 (Calcutta, 1890), p. 150).

As to silk in antiquity and the relations of Greece and Rome with China, see Yates, *Textrinum antiquorum*, pp. 160-249; Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 1. p. xxxiii. *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Introductory Essay' to Gill's *River of Golden Sand*, 1. p. [40] *sq.*; Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*,[2] p. 491 *sqq.*; Blümner, *Technologie*, 1. p. 190 *sqq.*; Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, 1. p. 2 *sqq.*; Bunbury, *History of ancient geography*, 2. pp. 476 *sq.*, 529 *sqq.*; Richthofen, *China*, 1. p. 512 *sq.*; H. Nissen, 'Der Verkehr zwischen China und dem römischen Reiche,' *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, 95 (1894), pp. 1-28. Fragments of silk have been found in ancient Greek tombs in the south of Russia (*Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1878-79, p. 134 *sq.*)

Chinese intercourse with the West would have to be dated very much earlier than is commonly supposed if the porcelain bottles, inscribed with Chinese verses, which are said to have been found in ancient Egyptian tombs near Thebes, had really been deposited there when the tombs were made. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 8 (1836), pp. 321-326, with tav. d' Agg. G. But it has been proved that these bottles were not really found in the graves; further that they were imported into Egypt from the East in recent times; and that the Chinese verses on them are from the works of poets who flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. See Wilkinson, *Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians* (ed. 1878), 2. pp. 152-154; Nissen, *op. cit.* p. 4 *sq.*

26. 10. the river Larisus. This river is now called the *Mana* or *Stimana*, a stream which does not fail in summer, and after rain in winter often does mischief. It flows through an oak forest, which here covers the country for many miles. Towards the sea the river loses itself in a wide swamp, which makes the neighbourhood unhealthy. The distance of 157 furlongs from Elis to the Larisus, as given by Pausanias, is fairly correct; Leake took five hours to travel the distance. Dodwell, however, took eight hours and forty minutes. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 165 *sq.*, 170; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 314; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 20; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 309; Baedeker,[3] p. 331; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 277. The scenery about this part of the country is thus described by Mure: "The road for more than half-way to Patras was still through the same beautiful woodland scenery. I seldom remember to have seen finer oaks, never, perhaps, so great a number of equal dimensions in continued succession. The whole country, for miles around, recalled to mind the wilder parts of Windsor Park. At intervals of a mile or two occurred pastoral settlements, of the usual romantic character, in the midst of the extensive glades of green pasture or ferny heath, which opened up from time to time through the mazes of the forest" (*Journal*, 2. p. 298).

26. 10. Cape Araxus. This is now Cape *Papa*. But the name may have included the range of hills now called the *Mavro Vouno* ('Black Hill'), which forms the north-western extremity of Peloponnese and is a conspicuous feature in the landscape. On the most southerly height of this range, where the chain of lagoons begins that stretches southward along the coast of Elis, there are remains of an ancient fortress which belonged to the people of Dyme in Achaia. In antiquity it was known simply as the Fortress (*Teichos*); it is now called the

Castle of Kallogria. Wide and deep marshes, communicating with the sea and abounding in fish and wild fowl, nearly surround the hill on which the ruins stand; some islands, clothed with trees and bushes, rise above the level of the swamp. The fortress seems to have had only one entrance, which faces the sea, and is approached by a difficult and winding path. The summit of the rocky hill, about 100 yards long, is enclosed by a thick wall faced with great unhewn stones, put together without cement; the core of the wall, between the facings, is composed of rubble and mortar. On the side of the sea this wall is 15 feet thick. On the opposite or land side a wall extends from the summit to the foot of the hill, ending in the marsh. There are also some remains of walls and towers built entirely of small stones, but they seem to belong to a later age. In antiquity the walls were nowhere less than 30 cubits high, and their circuit was a furlong and a half. The fortress was said to have been built by Hercules in his wars with the Eleans. Perhaps it is to be identified with the city of Larisa, which, according to Theopompus, stood near the river Larisus, at the border between Achaia and Elis (Strabo, ix. p. 440).

See Polybius, iv. chs. 59, 65, and 83; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 312 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 163-165; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 19 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 426 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 321 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 329.

BOOK SEVENTH

ACHAIA

1. 1. **Aegialus.** Another form of the name was Aegialia. See Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 575; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Αἰγιαλός; *Etymolog. Magnum*, p. 28, *s.v.* Αἰγιάλεια. Herodotus tells us (vii. 95) that the Ionians of Achaia were called Aegialian Pelasgians. On the legendary history of the Achaeans, see Strabo, *l.c.*; Apollodorus, i. 7. 3; Conon, *Narrationes*, 27. On the Achaean race there is a dissertation by Gerhard, 'Ueber den Volksstamm der Achäer,' in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1853, pp. 419-458.

1. 2. **his son Xuthus.** According to Euripides (*Ion*, 63 *sq.*) Xuthus was a son, not of Hellen, but of Aeolus, who was a son of Zeus. The common legend seems to have been that Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus (Apollodorus, i. 7. 3; Strabo, viii. p. 383; Conon, *Narrationes*, 27).

1. 2. **a daughter of Erechtheus.** Her name was Creusa (Apollodorus, i. 7. 3; Conon, *Narrationes*, 27; Euripides, *Ion*, 10 *sq.*)

1. 3. **Achaeus —— returned to Thessaly.** According to another legend, Achaeus, being banished from Athens on account of an accidental homicide, went to Lacedaemon, the people of which were hence called Achaeans after him (Strabo, viii. p. 383). According to others, Achaeus, after his banishment, went to Peloponnese and founded the tetrapolis of Achaia (Conon, *Narrationes*, 27).

1. 3. **Xuthus' other son, Ion.** According to the Attic legend Ion was a son of Apollo by Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus (Euripides, *Ion*, 10 *sqq.*)

1. 4. **Homer, in his list of the forces** etc. See *Iliad*, ii. 575.

1. 5. **his tomb is in the township of Potamus.** See i. 31. 3 note.

1. 6. **Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus.** Cp. ii. 6. 5. According to Herodotus (ii. 98) Archander was a son of Phthius, and a grandson of Achaeus. Another legend represented Archander and Architeles as sons of Acastus and as having driven Peleus from Phthia (Schol. on Euripides, *Troiades*, 1128).

1. 7. **Being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon** etc. Cp. ii. 18. 8; ii. 38. 1; iii. 1. 5.

1. 8. **Tisamenus fell in the battle.** According to another legend Tisamenus was slain by the Dorian invaders (Apollodorus, ii. 8. 3).

2. 1. **Nileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony** etc. With the following account of the colonisation of Ionia from Greece, compare Herodotus, i. 145 *sqq.*; Hellanicus, cited by a scholiast on Plato, *Symposium*, p. 208 d; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* viii. 5; Eusebius, *Chronic.*, ed. Schöne, vol. 1. p. 185; *id.*, vol. 2. p. 60; Strabo, xiv. p. 632 *sqq.*; Vitruvius, iv. 1. 3 *sqq.* The leaders of the colonists were, according to the Attic legend, Athenians of the royal house of Codrus. But Codrus himself was said to be of Messenian descent, his father Melanthus having been king of Messenia. Again, Nileus, one of the leaders of the colony and described by Pausanias as a son of Codrus, was, according to Strabo (xiv. p. 633), a native of Pylus in Messenia. Again, the founder of Colophon, one of the Ionian cities, is said to have been Andraemon, a native of Pylus (see Mimnermus, cited by Strabo, xiv. pp. 633, 634). From this and other evidence the late J. Töpffer argued that Melanthus and Codrus were interpolated in Attic legend for the purpose of representing Attica as the metropolis of the Ionian cities, whereas in truth the ancestors of the Ionian nobility had gone direct from Messenia to Ionia without ever settling in Attica at all. See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 225-240: also the notes on i. 3. 3, ii. 18. 8.

2. 2. **Iolaus.** On the Sardinian expedition led by Iolaus, cp. i. 29. 5; x. 17. 5; Diodorus, iv. 29 *sq.* Iolaus was said to have built the curious round towers, now known as *nouraghes*, many of which still exist in Sardinia. See [Aristotle,] *Mirab. Auscult.* 100 (104). As to the *nouraghes*, see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 4. p. 22 *sqq.* According to Fr. Lenormant, Iolaus is a Semitic god, Iol. See *Gazette archéologique*, 2 (1876), p. 126 *sqq.* Cp. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, 1. 536 *sqq.*

2. 2. **the Minyans who had been expelled from Lemnos.** See Herodotus, iv. 145.

2. 2. **Theras, son of Autesion** etc. Cp. iii. 1. 7 *sq.*; iii. 15. 6.

2. 5. **Anax.** He was said to be a son of Earth and Sky (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Μίλητος).

2. 5. **Miletus.** As to this legendary founder of the city of the same name see Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 186. According to some he was a son of Apollo by Aria, daughter of Cleochus.

2. 5. **the Carians, the former inhabitants of the land.** The Carian inhabitants of Miletus are mentioned by Homer (*Iliad* ii. 867). Prof. G. Meyer argues that the Carian language was a branch of the Aryan or Indo-European family of speech. See his article, 'Die Karier,' in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogerm. Sprachen*, 10 (1886), pp. 147-202. Prof. Sayce had previously come to the same conclusion from an examination of the Carian inscriptions. See his article in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd series, 10 (1874), pp. 546-564.

2. 6. **the wives and daughters of the Milesians they married.** Herodotus tells us (i. 146) that the Ionians who emigrated from Athens to Asia and deemed themselves the noblest of the Ionians, took no women with them, but married the Carian women whose husbands they

had slain. Therefore the women bound themselves by an oath never to eat with their husbands nor to mention their husbands' names, because their husbands had slain their fathers and their former husbands and their children. And the women taught their daughters to observe the same rules. The rules that a wife shall not eat with her husband nor utter his name are commonly observed by barbarous tribes. "The wives of the Caribs never eat with their husbands; they never name them by their name; they serve them as if they were their slaves; and what is still more remarkable is that they have a language quite different from that of their husbands, just as the Carian women probably had" (Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages Amériquains*, 1. p. 54 *sq.*) The difference of language between husbands and wives, which occurs among some savage tribes, is not, however, to be accounted for by the custom of capturing wives of a different tribe. See F. Fleming, *Kaffraria*, p. 96 *sq.*; *id.*, *Southern Africa*, p. 238 *sq.*; Kranz, *Zulus*, p. 114 *sq.*

2. 7. **the Amazons.** It has been suggested that the traditions of the Amazons in Asia Minor originated in recollections of the warlike women of barbarous tribes like the Cimmerians, who forced their way into Asia Minor from the north, and maintained themselves there for longer or shorter periods. See O. Klügmann, 'Ueber die Amazonen in den Sagen der kleinasiatischen Städte,' *Philologus*, 30 (1870), pp. 524-556.

2. 7. **from Ephesus the city took its name.** On Ephesus, see E. Curtius, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens,' *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1872, pp. 1-44; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1. pp. 233-265.

2. 8. **Androclus.** Cp. Strabo, xiv. pp. 632, 640; Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Βέννα. Androclus was supposed to be of Messenian descent through his father Codrus (see notes on i. 3. 3, ii. 18. 8), and there is reason to believe that some at least of the founders of the Ionian cities were Messenians (see note on vii. 2. 1). Hence it is natural to connect Androclus with the Messenian king whom Pausanias calls Androcles (iv. 4. 4 etc. See Index). Moreover, there was an Athenian family of Androclids (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἀνδροκλεῖδαι), who doubtless traced their descent from an ancestor named Androclus or Androcles. But whether this Athenian family was connected with Androclus, king of Ephesus, or Androcles, king of Messenia, or with both, we cannot say. See J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 244-247. The descendants of Androclus at Ephesus retained the title of king and some of the insignia of royalty down to Strabo's time (Strabo, xiv. p. 633). For a legend of the foundation of Ephesus see Athenaeus, viii. p. 361; cp. P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian coins*, p. 81 *sq.*

2. 9. **the tomb is shown to this day.** In the course of his excavations at Ephesus Mr. J. T. Wood discovered what he took to be the tomb of Androclus in the situation described by Pausanias. The Magnesian gate was discovered by him, at the south-eastern foot of Mt. Coressus (see note on vii. 5. 10, 'Pion'), and consequently at the south-east corner of Ephesus. From this gate a road led on the eastern side of Mt. Coressus to the temple of Artemis, which was outside the city,

to the north-east. On this road many tombs were found by Mr. Wood, and about half-way between the gate and the temple he discovered what he believed to be the lower part of the tomb of Androclus. "These foundations consisted of several courses of cushioned masonry composed of immense blocks of white marble, mounted on a plinth which formed a base 42 feet square. There was a doorway on the east side" (J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 126 *sq.*)

2. 10. **the Prienians —— had for their founders Philotas** etc. Cp. § 3; Strabo, xiv. pp. 633, 636.

2. 11. **the river Maeander, which choked up the mouth with mud** etc. As to the alluvial soil deposited by this river see viii. 24. 11. The extent to which soil was brought down by the Maeander is illustrated by the statement of Strabo (xii. p. 580) that whenever the river in one of its winding reaches had swept away a corner, the owner of the land was allowed to bring a lawsuit against the Maeander, and if the river was cast in the suit the plaintiff recovered damages, which were paid out of the tolls levied at the ferries. With regard to Myus, which, according to Pausanias, was deserted by its inhabitants on account of the swarms of gnats that infested it, Strabo says (xiv. p. 636) that its population was so reduced that it was incorporated with Miletus. Vitruvius (iv. 1. 4) attributes the destruction of Myus to inundations. When Chandler visited the ruins of Myus last century, he found that the gnats still swarmed there and were very troublesome (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 167). In modern times the inhabitants of the village of *Karditsa* in Boeotia were forced by swarms of gnats to shift the site of their village (Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 106).

3. 1. **Colophon —— Clarus.** The exact site of Colophon was long uncertain, but in recent years Dr. C. Schuchhardt claims to have discovered it. He identifies Colophon with the extensive ruins which he found between the Turkish villages of *Tratscha* and *Deirmendere*, about 8 miles from the sea. From near the ruins a stream flows southward to the sea, through a valley hemmed in by mountains on the east and west. This stream is now called the *Awdschi-tschai* ('hunter's river'). According to Dr. Schuchhardt it is the cold river Ales, mentioned by Pausanias (vii. 5. 10; viii. 28. 3). Colophon was known from ancient writers to be an inland town; its port was Notium. See Scylax, *Periplus*, 98; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* v. 116. Notium, the port of Colophon, is identified by Dr. Schuchhardt with the considerable remains which occupy a hill beside the sea. The hill stretches in a crescent shape from east to west, the two horns of the crescent running into the sea as promontories. Immediately to the west of the hill, the *Awdschi-tschai* stream falls into the sea. Towards the western end of the hill are the remains of a temple, which was formerly supposed to be the temple of Apollo at Clarus. But Dr. Schuchhardt places Clarus farther inland, in a side valley to the south-east of the village of *Giaurköi*. Here in the face of a cliff there is a cavern, in the bottom of which fine clear water is said to lie all the year through. A few hundred paces in front of the cave Dr. Schuchhardt found a broken Corinthian capital and some foundation-walls. He thinks that the

place tallies with the account which Tacitus has given of the mode of consulting the oracle of Clarus. According to Tacitus (*Annals*, ii. 54) the priest of Apollo, before giving the oracular responses, retired to a cavern and drank of a mysterious spring. (Cp. Paus. ix. 2. 1 note.) A draught of the prophetic water was believed to shorten the life of the prophet (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 232). See C. Schuchhardt, 'Kolophon, Notion, und Klaros,' *Mittheilungen d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 11 (1886), pp. 398-434. There is a paper on the same subject by Mr. A. M. Phontrier, in Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς, Smyrna, 3 (1878-1880), pp. 185-221. Prof. W. M. Ramsay considers it highly probable that Dr. Schuchhardt's identification of the site of Colophon is right (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 431). The legend of the foundation of the oracle, as it is here narrated by Pausanias, has been examined at length by Mr. Otto Immisch ('Klaros, Forschungen über griechische Stiftungssagen,' in Supplem. 17 of *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Leipzig, 1889). As to the oracle see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 3. pp. 249-255.

3. 1. **Manto.** See ix. 33. 1 *sq.*; Apollodorus, iii. 7. 4. A different story of Manto's relations to Rhacius is told by a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 308), who names as his authorities "the writers of the *Thebaid*." The story is this. Manto, on going forth from Delphi at the bidding of Apollo, fell in with Rhacius, a Mycenaean, who married her and went with her to Colophon. There she wept over the devastation of her native land; her tears formed a spring of water, and an oracle of Apollo was established on the spot. The scholiast, it will be observed, calls Rhacius a Mycenaean, whereas Pausanias apparently represents him as a Cretan. But, as Siebelis points out, there was a Mycenae in Crete (Velleius Paterculus, i. 1. 2). Cp. K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*,[2] 1. pp. 114 *sq.*, 227 *sqq.*; O. Immisch, 'Klaros,' in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, Suppl. 17 (1889), p. 134 *sqq.*

3. 4. **I have already told how —— Colophon was laid waste.** See i. 9. 7.

3. 5. **The city of Lebedus was destroyed by Lysimachus** etc. See i. 9. 7 note. Horace speaks of Lebedus as "a village more deserted than Gabiae and Fidenae" (*Epist.* i. 11. 7 *sq.*)

3. 5. **its warm baths are the most numerous** etc. Chandler says: "We left Hypsile at eight in the morning, and in about an hour descended into a narrow bottom, which was filled with a thick smoke or mist, occasioned, as we discovered on a nearer approach, by steam arising from a small tepid brook, called Elijah; the bed of a deep green colour. The current, which tasted like copperas, is confined in a narrow channel below, and turns two over-shot mills, falling soon after into a stream, then shallow, but flowing from a rich vale between the mountains, in a very wide course; the bed of stone and white sand. We are now in the territory of Lebedus, which was noted, beyond any on the sea-coast, for hot waters. . . . The stream now supplies two mean baths on the margin, one with a large cross carved on a stone in the pavement" (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 101).

3. 6. **Teos.** The topography of Teos was specially studied by the

late G. Hirschfeld. See his paper 'Teos,' in *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 31 (pub. 1876), pp. 23-30. Cp. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 95 *sqq.*; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 2. p. 11 *sqq.* The temple of Dionysus at Teos has been described and illustrated in the *Ionian Antiquities*, published by the Dilettanti Society, part i. (1769), pp. 1-12, with plates i.-vi.; and in the *Antiquities of Ionia*, published by the same Society, part iv. (1881), pp. 35-39, plates xxii.-xxv. Teos was a great seat of the worship of Dionysus and of the dramatic association known as 'the artists of Dionysus.' See Strabo, xiv. p. 643; *C. I. G.* Nos. 3067, 3068; O. Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler*, pp. 20 *sq.*, 74 *sqq.*; P. Foucart, *De collegiis scenicorum artificum apud Graecos*, pp. 7 *sq.*, 19 *sq.*, 22, 26, 32; Fr. Poland, *De collegiis artificum Dionysiacorum* (Dresden, 1895), p. 10 *sqq.* Pausanias's statement that the Carian population was not expelled from Teos by the Greek settlers, but that the two races fused peaceably, is confirmed by an inscription which throws an interesting light on the social organisation of the Teian people. It appears from this inscription that the territory of Teos was distributed among a certain number of 'towers,' to each of which a section of the people was assigned. Each section had its common altar, its special religious rites, and sometimes its own legendary hero, from whom its name was supposed to be derived. Now the names of some of these 'towers' are Asiatic rather than Greek, and these Asiatic names seem to prove that the original Asiatic population was not extirpated by the Greek immigrants. See *C. I. G.* No. 3064, cp. 3065, 3066; Grote, *History of Greece*, 3. p. 186 *sq.*

3. 6. **Athamas —— Apoecus.** According to Strabo (xiv. p. 633) Teos was founded by Athamas, the Ionian colony was settled in it by Nauclus (*sic*), a bastard son of Codrus, and afterwards fresh settlers were introduced by the Athenians Apoecus and Damasus, and the Boeotian Geres.

3. 7. **Erythrae —— Erythrus.** The foundation of Erythrae by Erythrus, son of Rhadamanthys, is mentioned also by Diodorus (v. 79 and 84). In an inscription found near Erythrae the town is spoken of as 'the city of Erythrus' (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 904). On the history of Erythrae see H. Gaebler, *Erythrä* (Berlin, 1892), p. 3 *sqq.*

3. 7. **the Lycians came originally from Crete** etc. See Herodotus, i. 173, vii. 92. The supposed Cretan origin of the Lycians may have been simply inferred from the resemblance which Herodotus tells us (i. 173) subsisted between the manners and customs or institutions of the Cretans and Lycians. Cp. O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, p. 19 *sq.* One of the remarkable institutions of the Lycians was the custom of tracing descent through females (Herodotus, *l.c.*); and traces of female kinship are found in Crete (J. F. M'Lennan, *Studies in ancient history* (London, 1886), p. 236 *sq.*) Indeed Sarpedon, whom tradition pointed to as leader of the Cretan emigrants, himself afforded an example of the preference for the female line over the male: for in the Trojan war he commanded the Lycians by right of descent in the female line from Proetus, king of Lycia, being preferred to his cousin Glaucus, who was descended from Proteus in the male line. See Homer, *Iliad*,

vi. 144 *sqq.*; M'Lennan, *op. cit.* p. 207; Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, p. 394. Recent researches are said to have proved that the Lycian language was Aryan, and had close affinities with Zend (Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, § 122). Cp. Treuber, *op. cit.* p. 30. There is a series of articles on the Lycian language by Mr. W. Deecke in *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, 12 (1887), pp. 124-154, 315-340; *ib.* 13 (1888), pp. 258-289; *ib.* 14 (1889), pp. 181-242.

3. 7. **Pamphylians because they too are of Greek race.** The Pamphylian inscriptions, including the long one from Sillyon, are couched in a barbarous and scarcely intelligible dialect of Greek. See Prof. W. M. Ramsay and Prof. Sayce, 'On some Pamphylian inscriptions,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pp. 242-259; Kirchhoff, *Studien zur Gesch. d. griech. Alphabets*,[4] p. 50 *sqq.*; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 505. The people of Side in Pamphylia affirmed that their ancestors were Greeks from Cyme in Aeolis, who on settling in Pamphylia forgot the Greek tongue and picked up a barbarous language which differed from the neighbouring dialects (Arrian, *Anabasis*, i. 26).

3. 7. **Cleopus, son of Codrus.** He is called Cnopus by Strabo (xiv. p. 633), Polyaenus (vii. 43), Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ἐρυθρά), and the historian Hippias of Erythrae (cited by Athenaeus, vi. p. 258 *sq.*)

3. 8. **Scyppium.** It was also called Scypia or Scyphia (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σκυφία).

3. 9. **by carrying a mole from the mainland** etc. This mole or causeway, erected by order of Alexander the Great, is thus described by Chandler: "The mole was two stadia or a quarter of a mile in length, but we were ten minutes in crossing it; the waves, which were impelled by a strong Inbat, breaking over in a very formidable manner, as high as the bellies of our horses. The width, as we conjectured, was about thirty feet. On the west side, it is fronted with a thick, strong wall, some pieces appearing above the water. On the opposite is a mound of loose pebbles, shelving as a buttress, to withstand the furious assaults of storm and tempest. The upper works have been demolished, and the materials, a few large rough stones excepted, removed. We computed the island to be about a mile long, and a quarter broad" (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 87). The name Clazomenae (Κλαζόμεναι) appears to mean 'the screaming swans'; the delta of the Hermus, which faces Clazomenae across the bay, abounds in wild swans; and the swan appears on the coins of the city. See *Coins of the Ancients*, p. 38, pl. 19, Nos. 24, 25, 26; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. x., No. 50; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 491.

3. 10. **Philogenes.** Philogenes the Athenian is mentioned as the founder of Phocaea by Strabo (xiv. p. 633).

4. 3. **Samothrace.** According to Strabo (x. p. 457) the story of the colonisation of Samothrace from Samos was a vainglorious figment of the Samians. The legend is also mentioned by Antiphon (quoted by Suidas, *s.v.* Σαμοθρᾴκη; cp. Antiphon, ed. Blass, fragm. 49); Heraclides Ponticus (frag. 21, in Müller's *Fragm. hist. Graec.* 2. p. 218); and Scymnus Chius (*Orbis descript.* 693 *sqq.*, in Müller's *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 1. p. 223). The recent explorers of Samothrace, Messrs.

Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf, incline to accept the tradition; they attribute to the old Samian colonists the great gate and the massive walls of the city of Samothrace, of which they give photographs. See Conze, Hauser, and Benndorf, *Neue Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* (Wien, 1880), p. 106, with plates lxviii.-lxxii.

4. 4. **The sanctuary of Hera at Samos.** On the scanty remains of this famous sanctuary see Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage au Levant*, 1. p. 162 *sq.* (Amsterdam, 1718); L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln*, 2. p. 142 *sq.*; Guérin, *Description de l'île de Patmos et l'île de Samos*, p. 214 *sqq.*; Girard, 'L'Héraion de Samos,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 4 (1880), pp. 383-394. On the measurements of the temple, see F. Hultsch, *Heraion und Artemision* (Berlin, 1881), p. 7 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Die Maasse des Heraion zu Samos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 97-128.

4. 4. **the river Imbrasus.** The original name of this stream is said to have been Parthenius ('the maiden's river'). See Strabo, x. p. 457; *id.*, xiv. p. 637; Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 187, ii. 866; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* v. 135. Hence Hera was called the Imbrasian goddess (Apollonius Rhodius, i. 187). The stream flows about 400 paces to the east of the temple of Hera. Its banks are fringed with oleanders and *agnus castus*. In summer the bed of the river is nearly dry; in winter it is never full except after heavy rain. See Guérin, *Description de l'île de Patmos*, etc., p. 169 *sq.*; cp. L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griech. Inseln*, 2. p. 143 *sq.*

4. 4. **the willow which still grows in her sanctuary.** This was, according to Pausanias (viii. 23. 5), the oldest tree in existence. For another legend about Hera in which the willow appears conspicuously, see note on iii. 16. 11.

4. 4. **the image —— is a work of an Aeginetan, Smilis.** The Samian Hera was at first represented by a mere board, for which an image in human shape was substituted in the reign of Procles (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 46, p. 40, ed. Potter; as to Procles see above § 2). In later times her image, doubtless the one by Smilis, represented a bride, and the rite of marriage formed part of her annual festival (Lactantius, *Instit.* i. 17). Her image by Smilis is represented on Samian coins of the imperial age from Hadrian to the younger Valerian. The goddess is portrayed standing stiffly upright, her upper arms glued to her sides, her lower arms, from the elbows downwards, stretched out (to the front, apparently). A long fillet, composed of a string of balls ending in a tassel, hangs from each hand. She is clothed in a long robe, which reaches to her feet; she wears a veil, which, however, leaves her face free; her head is crowned with a high *calathos*. See Overbeck, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 3. pp. 12-16; P. Gardner, *Samos and Samian coins*, p. 18 *sqq.* About 1875 a votive statue of Hera was found some 30 feet to the north of the sanctuary of Hera at Samos. The statue is in the archaic style. The goddess stands stiffly upright; a long robe descends to her feet, leaving the toes of both feet visible; the feet are close together; the right arm hangs by the side; the left hand is raised to the breast; the head is wanting. The

image bears the inscription: Χηραμύης μ' ἀνέθ[η]κ[ε]ν τἥρηι ἄγαλμα. "Cheramyes dedicated me as a pleasing gift to Hera." The type of the statue is not the same as that on the coins, and therefore presumably is not copied from the statue by Smilis. On the other hand, it somewhat resembles an archaic statue of Artemis discovered at Delos. See Girard, 'Statue archaique de Samos,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellén.* 4 (1880), pp. 483-493; Homolle, *De antiquissimis Dianae simulacris Deliacis* (Paris, 1885); Preller, *Griech. Mythologie*,[4] p. 172, note 1; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. pp. 162-164.

The date of the sculptor Smilis is uncertain. That he was an historical person there is no real reason to doubt, though Pausanias represents him as a contemporary of the fabulous Daedalus. He made the images of the Seasons, seated on chairs in the temple of Hera at Olympia (v. 17. 1). From the fact that these images are mentioned by Pausanias along with works by Doryclides and Theocles, pupils of Scyllis and Dipoenus, H. Brunn inferred that Smilis must have been a contemporary of Doryclides and Theocles, and that accordingly he probably flourished between Ol. 50 (580 B.C.) and Ol. 60 (540 B.C.) Overbeck assigned the same date to Smilis, though on somewhat different grounds. Formerly he was inclined to place him a good deal earlier, making him a contemporary of Rhoecus and Theodorus, the former of whom was the architect of Hera's temple at Samos (Herodotus, iii. 60; as to the date of Rhoecus and Theodorus, see note on viii. 14. 7). Prof. Furtwängler argues that Smilis was probably a Samian, not an Aeginetan artist. He points out that it is unlikely that the Samians would have employed an Aeginetan sculptor, since there was enmity between Samos and Aegina (Herodotus, iii. 59); that Pausanias is the only authority for calling Smilis an Aeginetan; and that in Pausanias the term 'Aeginetan' is applied to a particular class of archaic images to which the image of Hera at Samos appears to have belonged. Hence Prof. Furtwängler believes the statement of the Aeginetan origin of Smilis to be nothing more than a mistaken inference drawn from the 'Aeginetan' style of Smilis's statue of Hera.

See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 26 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 43 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Zur Chronologie der ältesten griech. Künstler,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), 1871, Philosoph. philolog. Cl., p. 542 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 340-344; *id.*, *Griech. Kunstmythologie*, 3. p. 185 *sq.*; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 92 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 180 *sq.*; A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 720-723. As to the 'Aeginetan' style of sculpture see note on v. 25. 13.

4. 5. **Daedalus came of the royal house of Athens, the Metionids.** According to one tradition he was a son of Metion. See note on ix. 3. 2.

4. 5. **He had slain his sister's son** etc. In societies where female kinship prevails with exogamy, the relation between a man and his sister's sons is in some respects closer than that which exists between him and his own sons. For his own sons belong to a different clan, namely to the clan of their mother; whereas his sister's children belong to his own clan. Therefore to slay his sister's children is, according to

the primitive rules of the blood-feud, a more heinous offence than to slay his own children. See J. J. Bachofen, *Antiquarische Briefe* (Strasburg, 1880), 1. p. 120 *sqq.*

4. 6. **as Homer signifies in the Iliad.** The reference is probably to *Iliad*, xviii. 591 *sq.*, where it is said that Daedalus wrought a representation of a dance for Ariadne in Cnosus.

4. 6. **Cocalus refused to surrender him** etc. Minos pursued Daedalus to Sicily, and there he was murdered by the daughters of Cocalus, who poured boiling pitch or boiling water on him. See Zenobius, iv. 92; Philostephanus and Callimachus, cited by a schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 145; Hyginus, *Fab.* 44; Diodorus, iv. 79; *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 56 *sq.*; Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 177 *sq.* According to Diodorus, Cocalus received Minos with a show of hospitality, but murdered him in a warm bath, and gave out that his royal guest had been accidentally drowned in it. In the time of Diodorus various remarkable natural objects, such as a cave filled with warm vapour, and a rocky caldron from which the river Alabon rushed into the neighbouring sea, were still pointed out as the works of Daedalus. See Diodorus, iv. 78 *sq.*

4. 9. **Amphiclus.** He is mentioned by the historian Hippias of Erythrae (cited by Athenaeus, vi. p. 259 b).

5. 1. **the Old City.** Smyrna stands on the south side of the gulf of Smyrna. The Old City according to Strabo (xiv. pp. 634, 646) was situated on a bay, 20 furlongs distant from the more modern city. The site of this Old City seems to have been on the opposite (northern) side of the gulf, on the southern slopes of *Iamanlar Dagh*, the western part of Mount Sipylus. Here at various points are very considerable ancient remains; a necropolis, two, or perhaps three, ancient acropolises, etc. But the maps of the district are very insufficient, and it is difficult to reconcile the descriptions of travellers.

See Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, etc. 1. p. 47 *sqq.*; G. Hirschfeld, 'Alt-Smyrna,' in E. Curtius's 'Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens,' *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1872, pp. 74-84; W. M. Ramsay, 'Newly discovered sites near Smyrna,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), pp. 63-74 (cp. Prof. Ramsay's sketch-map in *id.* 2. p. 274); W. Weber, 'Hiéron de Cybèle' etc. in Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελ. σχολῆς, Smyrna, 3 (1878-1880), pp. 105-118; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 5. p. 39 *sqq.* I regret that the larger work of Weber, *Le Sipyle et ses monuments* (Paris, 1880) is not accessible to me here in Cambridge.

5. 1. **Panionium.** See Herodotus, i. 143 and 148; Strabo, xiv. p. 639. Panionium, a sacred territory dedicated to Poseidon, where the Ionians held their national assemblies and festivals, appears to have been situated near the modern village of *Tshangli*, on the coast between Ephesus and Miletus. The spot, "situated in a delightful and well-watered valley between two projecting points of the mountain, was admirably suited to the Panionian festival: and here Sir William Gell found, in a church on the sea-shore, an inscription in which he distinguished the name of Panionium twice" (Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor*, p. 260). Cp. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 156 *sq.*

5. 2. **As he slept under the plane-tree** etc. Alexander's dream, as it is here described by Pausanias, is represented on coins of Smyrna. He is seen sleeping under a tree, with the two Nemeses standing beside him. See Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, 2. p. 548 *sqq.*; Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 510.

5. 3. **two Nemeses.** On coins of Smyrna the two Nemeses are sometimes depicted driving in a chariot drawn by griffins (see Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 2. pl. lxxiv. No. 954). On other coins of the same city the two Nemeses appear "each with right hand raised to her breast, the one holding in her left a bridle, the other a sceptre, and with a wheel at her feet" (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 510). Cp. preceding note. The Nemeses are mentioned in the plural in inscriptions of Smyrna. From one of these inscriptions we learn that games were celebrated in their honour, and from an inscription found at Halicarnassus it appears that games were held in their honour at that city also. See *C. I. G.* Nos. 2663 (with Böckh's comments), 3148. Cp. L. Fivel in *Gazette archéologique*, 4 (1878), p. 105. The sanctuary of the Nemeses at Smyrna is mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (ix. 35. 6; cp. i. 33. 7).

5. 3. **the father of the goddess (Nemesis) at Rhamnus was Ocean.** Cp. i. 33. 3. Nemesis was said to have transformed herself into a swan in order to avoid the importunities of Zeus (Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 25), and in art she is sometimes represented with a swan. Hence Mr. L. v. Schroeder argues that she was one of those Swan-maidens of popular tales who can doff and don their swan-form at pleasure (*Aphrodite, Eros, und Hephästos*, p. 43 *sqq.*) As to the Swan-maidens see above, p. 106.

5. 4. **Ionia enjoys the finest of climates.** Cp. Herodotus, i. 142, with Bähr's note. Some of the ancients maintained that the climate of Ionia was the finest in the world; others gave the preference to the climate of Attica (Aristides, 1. p. 402, ed. Dindorf). Hamilton says: "The soft Ionian climate must be felt before it can be appreciated. . . There is an exquisite softness in the air of this climate at the commencement of spring, when the ground is enamelled with flowers, of which no description can convey an idea" (*Researches in Asia Minor*, 1. p. 59).

5. 4. **the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess.** See note on iv. 31. 8.

5. 4. **one at Branchidae.** This was the sanctuary of the Didymaean Apollo. The place itself is sometimes called Didyma, not Branchidae. See ii. 10. 5; v. 13. 11; vii. 2. 6. Elsewhere, as here, Pausanias speaks of the place as Branchidae (i. 16. 3; viii. 46. 3; ix. 10. 2, cp. v. 7. 5). Herodotus generally speaks of the temple at Branchidae, but once (vi. 19) he speaks of "the temple at Didyma," indicating at the same time that it was the same as the temple at Branchidae. Strabo (xiv. p. 634) speaks of the oracle of the Didymaean Apollo at Branchidae. The name Branchidae is said to be etymologically related to the Sanscrit *Brahman* and the Latin *flamen*. See A. Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*,[2] p. 159.

After its destruction by Xerxes the temple was rebuilt by the

Milesians on a very great scale (Strabo, *l.c.*; see Brunn, in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich) for 1871, Philosoph. philolog. Cl., p. 522 *sqq.*) Chandler has thus described the site: "The temple of Apollo was 18 or 20 stadia, or about 2½ miles, from the shore; and 180 stadia, or 22½ miles, from Miletus. It is approached by a gentle ascent, and seen afar off; the land toward the sea lying flat and level. The memory of the pleasure which this spot afforded me will not be soon or easily erased. The columns yet entire are so exquisitely fine, the marble mass so vast and noble, that it is impossible perhaps to conceive greater beauty and majesty of ruin. At evening a large flock of goats, returning to the fold, their bells tinkling, spread over the heap, climbing to browse on the shrubs and trees growing between the huge stones. The whole mass was illuminated by the declining sun with a variety of rich tints, and cast a very strong shade. The sea, at a distance, was smooth and shining, bordered by a mountainous coast with rocky islands. The picture was as delicious as striking" (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 150).

The temple is measured and delineated in the *Ionian Antiquities* (pt. i.), pub. by the Dilettanti Society (London, 1759), pp. 27-53, plates i.-x. The temple was connected with the port on the north by a Sacred Way, which was flanked on each side by a row of statues. In 1858 ten of these statues were removed under the direction of Sir Charles Newton. They are now in the British Museum. The statues are in the archaic style. They are seated in chairs, their hands resting on their knees, and draped in tunics which reach to their feet. With two exceptions they represent male figures. From inscriptions on them it is believed that these statues date from 580 to 540 B.C., so that they may have been already in position on either side of the Sacred Way, when the envoys of Croesus arrived at Branchidae to consult the oracle before he went to war with Cyrus. In type and style the statues remind us of Egyptian sculpture; they may have been executed by artists who had studied in Egypt.

See Sir C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2. p. 147 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Essays on art and archaeology*, p. 75 *sqq.*; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 116 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 100 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of ancient sculpture*, p. 179 *sq.* For the inscriptions from the Sacred Way, see Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 133-140.

5. 4. **the temple of Athena at Phocaea.** Cp. ii. 31. 6.

5. 5. **the temple of Athena at Priene.** The ruins of this temple have been examined and delineated for the Dilettanti Society first in last century and again in this. The temple occupied a platform of rock bounded by terrace walls. Immediately behind it rises a grand precipice to the height of 1000 feet; the summit of this height was the ancient acropolis. The temple was a small hexastyle (six columns at each end), of the Ionic order, measuring 121 feet 8 inches long by 64 feet wide. It "is one of the most complete and best proportioned of its class known to exist anywhere. The relative proportions of the *cella* to the *pronaos* and *posticum* and the arrangement of the peristyle are all typical, and unsurpassed for elegance by anything found elsewhere" (*Antiquities of*

Ionia, Pt. iv. p. 32). "The sculptured ornaments throughout the building, such as the honeysuckle pattern on the cymation, are delicately carved and of excellent style. The temple was constructed of a bluish marble quarried in the neighbouring mountain. It is of fine grain, and admits of a high polish. The capitals of the *antae* and a sculptured frieze . . . were of fine white marble. The masonry is of a superior character, the joints being so close that the eye hardly detects them" (*ib.* p. 30). The temple was built in the age of Alexander the Great, by whom it was dedicated to Athena Polias, as we learn from an inscription found on the site. The architect was Pytheus (Vitruvius, i. 1. 12; vii. 1. 12).

On the marble floor of the temple, when it was cleared by Mr. Pullan for the Dilettanti Society in 1868, were seen the lower courses of a large pedestal at the west end of the *cella*. On this pedestal no doubt stood the image of which Pausanias here speaks admiringly. Of the image itself some fragments were found, and are now in the British Museum. They consist of a colossal left foot, a fragment of a colossal left hand, and the whole of a colossal left upper arm (made up of 93 fragments). The statue would seem to have been about 20 feet high.

Since the temple was cleared by Mr. Pullan in 1868 it has become a quarry for the masons of the nearest Greek village, who have worked up into doorsteps, tombstones, etc., the fine marble blocks which were shaped and dressed by the workmen of Alexander's age.

See *Ionian Antiquities* (London, 1759), pp. 13-25, with plates i.-xii.; *Antiquities of Ionia*, Pt. iv. (London, 1881), pp. 21-34, with plates i.-xxi.; Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 160; Newton, *Essays on art and archaeology*, p. 90 *sq.*; E. L. Hicks, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 6 (1885), p. 264 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 283. For inscriptions found at Priene, see also *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4 (1884), pp. 237-242; Hicks, *Greek historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 123, 124; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 117, 241; Newton, *Essays*, p. 120; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1886, pp. 218-224.

5. 5. **the image of Hercules** etc. On coins of Erythrae, from the age of Augustus onward, there is often figured an archaic image of Hercules, probably the one here mentioned by Pausanias. The hero is represented naked and without the lion's skin, his usual emblem. He is standing upright in a stiff posture, resting equally on both feet. In his right hand, which is raised above his head, he holds his club; in his left a lance. See A. Furtwängler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 2137; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. No. 8; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 499. As the image was said to have come from Tyre, it may have represented the Tyrian Hercules or Melcart. From Pausanias's description of its style, Mr. Helbig infers that the image was a Phoenician work in the Egyptian manner (*Das*

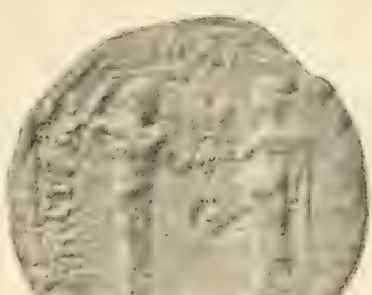


FIG. 10.—HERCULES AND NEMESES (COIN OF ERYTHRAE).

homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erlautert,[2] p. 418). The legend that the image floated to Erythrae on a raft is remarkably illustrated by a series of scarabs, on which Hercules is represented on his raft. He is portrayed as a naked man, of powerful build, lying on his back on a raft; in his right hand he grasps his club, in his left he holds the corner of the sail, which is bellying out in the wind. Under the raft are a number of earthen pitchers serving as floats. Similar rafts, consisting of rows of empty earthen pots fastened together and covered with palms and planks, are still in use in Egypt. Above Hercules, as he lies on his raft, are a star, the disc of the sun, and the crescent moon. Such emblems are common on Phoenician monuments, and go to show that the Hercules represented is the Phoenician Hercules or Melcart. At his back is his bow, which, with his club, serves to identify him as Hercules. Nine or ten such scarabs are known. See E. Courbaud, 'La navigation d'Hercule,' *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, École Française de Rome. 12 (1892), pp. 274-288.



FIG. 11.—HERCULES ON THE RAFT (SCARAB).

Hercules was worshipped at Erythrae under the title of Worm-Killer (*Ipoktonos*), because he killed a sort of worm (*ips*) which destroyed the vines; Erythrae was said to be the only place that was free from this pest (Strabo, xiii. p. 613). The sanctuary of Hercules at Erythrae is mentioned in an inscription found on the site (Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελ. σχολῆς, Smyrna, 2 (1876-1878), p. 58; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 160).

As to the Hercules of Erythrae, my friend the late W. Robertson Smith wrote to me as follows: "Why is he Tyrian? Pausanias comes back to him ix. 27. 8, but this leaves it unclear whether he was really Phoenician or only thought to be so from his cult. From the latter one would fancy him rather Thracian. Women, according to Silius [Italicus, iii. 22], were excluded from Hercules's temple at Gades, as they certainly were at Rome [see Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 12. 28; Aurelius Victor, *Or. gent. Rom.* 6; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 60; Gellius, xi. 6. 2]. But here those women who offer their hair are admitted. The rope, I suppose, is a rope of hair offerings, and as this in the *Dea Syria* [of Lucian, § 6] is in Phoenician ritual a substitute for the offering of one's chastity one can understand why only slave women and the like frequent the temple. Was there a similar reason for the exclusion of women from the worship of Hercules at Rome? All this wants looking into. What seems clear is that the legend is aetiological like those in Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.*, etc. etc., and that the Thracian women used to offer their hair at the temple. If I am right in thinking that the hair offering is a surrogate, the worship will be really Lydian. See Athenaeus, xii. p. 515 e *sq.*" Cp. the next note.

5. 7. **had lost his eyesight.** Bachofen thought that in Oriental religions blindness is a symbol of religious prostitution. He refers to the blindness of Ilus (Plutarch, *Parallela*, 17), of Anchises (Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 687), of Lamia (Diodorus, xx. 41; Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, 1. p. 476 *sq.*), and of Oedipus. See Bachofen, *Die Sage von Tanaquil*, p. 68 *sq.*; *id.*, *Das Mutterrecht*, pp. 146 *sq.*, 170 *sq.*, 246, 275.

5. 9. **There is also in Erythrae a temple of Athena.** This temple is mentioned in inscriptions (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Nos. 84, 160).

5. 9. **Endoeus.** See note on i. 26. 4.

5. 10. **the peculiar mountain of Pion.** It used to be supposed that this was the round mountain which bounded Ephesus on the east. But the researches of Mr. Wood at Ephesus have conclusively proved that this mountain was Coressus; and that consequently Mt. Pion must be the long serrated mountain which bounded Ephesus on the south, and which modern topographers, before Mr. Wood, had called Coressus. The city-wall can still be traced winding along the lofty and irregular ridge of Mt. Pion. See J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 2 *sqq.*, 79 *sqq.* (Mr. Wood adopts Prion as the form of the name. The name would then mean 'a saw,' and be well applicable to the serrated ridge. But this form of the name seems to rest on a false reading in Strabo, xiv. p. 633. The form Pion is confirmed by Pliny, *Nat. hist.* v. 115.) It is not known what the peculiarity of Mt. Pion was to which Pausanias refers. From the evidence of coins on which Zeus is represented seated on the top of Mt. Pion with a thunderbolt in his left hand, while with his right he pours out rain, E. Curtius conjectured that Zeus was worshipped as a rain-giver on the top of the mountain ('Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens,' p. 2 *sq.*; *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 233 *sqq.*) At the highest point of Mt. Pion, 1300 feet above the sea, a large area has been cleared and levelled in antiquity. Here Mr. Wood found several large cisterns sunk in the rock, and at the eastern extremity of the ridge he came upon the remains of a large earthenware water-pipe at a high level (*Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 7). These discoveries appear to confirm Curtius's conjecture that there may have been a sanctuary or precinct of Rainy Zeus on the top of the mountain.

5. 10. **the spring Halitaea.** "On the low dry ground to the north of the marsh or harbour, and which was covered with broken tiles and pottery, we found a beautiful spring flowing into the marsh close by" (W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 2. p. 25). Hamilton thought that this spring might be Halitaea. Pliny mentions a spring called Callippia in Ephesus (*Nat. hist.* v. 115).

5. 10. **Biblis.** Cp. vii. 24. 5. The tragic story of Biblis's love is told by Parthenius (*Narrat. Am.* 11).

5. 10. **the Ales.** See note on vii. 3. 1.

5. 10. **its wondrous and salubrious baths.** See vii. 3. 5 note.

5. 11. **Cape Macria.** The late G. Hirschfeld identified with Macria a cape in the district of Teos, off which there lies an island. The island he takes to be Macris, mentioned by Livy (xxxvii. 28).

There are still hot springs on the cape. See Hirschfeld, 'Teos,' *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 31. p. 23 *sqq*.

5. 11. **The Clazomenians have also baths.** Strabo (xiv. p. 645) mentions warm springs between Clazomenae and Smyrna. They are probably identical with the warm springs called the Agamemnonian springs which were situated 40 furlongs from Smyrna. There was a legend that warm baths had been prescribed by the soothsayers for the wounded Greeks in the Trojan war. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii. 35. Chandler believed that he had found the springs and the bath. "You descend by steps to the bath, which is under a modern vaulted roof, with vents in it for the steam; and adjoining to this is a like room now disused. The current, which is soft and limpid, is conveyed into a small round basin of marble, and runs over into a large cistern or reservoir beneath. Our thermometer rose in the vein to one hundred and fifty. . . . The warm rill emerges in two or more places in the bed of the river, and in cool weather may easily be discovered, a thick mist rising from it visible afar off" (Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 83 *sq*.)

5. 12. **the river Meles.** Chandler identified this with the river which flows near Smyrna; he describes it as a clear stream, shallow in summer, but swelling to a rapid and deep torrent in winter (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 69). Hamilton, on the other hand, calls the river near Smyrna "a dirty, muddy stream"; and identifies the Meles with the river at *Bournoubat*, near the ruins of Old Smyrna, at the north-eastern corner of the Gulf of Smyrna. The river at *Bournoubat*, according to him, is a "bright and sparkling river . . . celebrated for its agreeable and wholesome qualities" (W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 1. p. 51). The latter identification is confirmed by an ancient Greek inscription on a pillar in the mosque at *Bournoubat*, the translation of which is: "I sing the praises of the river Meles, the god who saved me from all pestilence and evil." See Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, 2. p. 406.

5. 12. **a grotto where they say that Homer composed his poems.** Chandler searched for this grotto at Smyrna. In the bank above the aqueduct he found "a cavern, about four feet wide, the roof of a huge rock cracked and slanting, the sides and bottom sand" (*Travels in Asia Minor*,[2] p. 72). Hamilton, who also visited this cavern, describes it as a long and narrow passage or gallery cut in the soft calcareous tuff; he thinks it is part of an ancient aqueduct and of no very great antiquity. He also visited some caves overhanging a ravine in the mountains above *Bournoubat*, which are popularly known as the Caves of Homer. "They are plain and unimportant, about five feet high, and extend from twelve to fifteen feet into the rock; they were probably sepulchral" (Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 1. p. 55).

5. 13. **Oenopion.** Cp. vii. 4. 8.

6. 1. **These cities —— were twelve in number.** Lists of the twelve Achaean cities are also given by Herodotus (i. 145), Polybius (ii. 41), and Strabo (viii. p. 385 *sq*.) The lists of Herodotus and Strabo tally exactly, but their list differs from the lists of Polybius and

Pausanias, and the lists of these two last authors disagree with each other. Rhypes and Aegae, mentioned by Pausanias, are mentioned also by Herodotus and Strabo, but not by Polybius. Cerynea, mentioned by Pausanias, is mentioned also by Polybius, but not by Herodotus and Strabo. Patrae is included in the list by Herodotus, Strabo, and Polybius, but is not included by Pausanias. Leontium is included by Polybius, but not by any of the others. In respect to the other cities, the lists all agree.

6. 4. **the Achaeans were warm allies of the Patreans.** In 419 B.C. Alcibiades, at the head of an Athenian force, persuaded the Patreans to connect their city with the sea by means of long walls (Thucydides, v. 52). When some one warned the Patreans that, if they did so, the Athenians would swallow them up, "Perhaps so," retorted Alcibiades, "but at least they will do it gradually and begin at your feet, whereas the Lacedaemonians will begin at your head and swallow you at one gulp" (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 15). From Pausanias's statement it would seem that the rest of the Achaeans sympathised with the Patreans in thus casting in their lot with Athens. But the Greek text of the passage is probably corrupt, and the meaning is somewhat uncertain.

6. 5. **the wrestler Chilon.** See vi. 4. 6.

6. 9. **the people were brought back by Cassander.** Cp. iv. 27. 10; ix. 3. 6; ix. 7. 1.

7. 1. **the Achaean League.** The history of the Achaean League or Confederacy and questions relating to it are treated of by Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, 8. p. 86 *sqq.*; E. A. Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, 1. p. 218 *sqq.*; M. Dubois, *Les ligues Étolienne et Achéenne* (Paris, 1885); Klatt, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des achäischen Bundes* (Berlin, 1877); *id.*, *Chronologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des achäischen Bundes* (Berlin, 1883); G. F. Unger, 'Das Strategenjahr der Achaier,' *Sitzungsberichte* for 1879 of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., pp. 117-192; A. Weinert, *Die achäische Bundesverfassung* (Demmin, 1881); Hill, *Der achäische Bund seit* 168 *v. J. Chr.* (Elberfeld, 1883); B. Baier, *Studien zur achaeischen Bundes-verfassung* (Würzburg, 1886); C. Wachsmuth, 'Ueber eine Hauptquelle für die Geschichte des achäischen Bundes,' *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, 10 (1887), pp. 269-298. The two last writers investigate the authority or authorities followed by Pausanias in his sketch of the history of the Achaean League. They both come to the conclusion that he followed, not Polybius, but some historian now lost, whose work was coloured by a strong bias in favour of the Achaean League.

7. 2. **the federal assemblies —— at Aegium.** Cp. vii. 24. 4; Livy, xxxviii. 30. See also note on vii. 24. 2.

7. 3. **Agis —— captured Pellene.** Cp. ii. 8. 5; viii. 27. 14.

7. 3. **Cleomenes —— gained a decisive victory over the Achaeans** etc. Cp. ii. 9. 1 *sq.*

7. 4. **subjugating Megalopolis.** See viii. 27. 15 *sq.*; viii. 28. 7.

7. 4. **I shall again have occasion to mention Cleomenes.** See viii. 8. 11; viii. 27. 15 *sq.*; viii. 29. 4 *sq.*

7. 5. **the poisoned cup.** See ii. 9. 4.

7. 6. **the keys of Greece.** According to other writers Philip called these three fortresses, not the keys, but the fetters, of Greece. See Polybius, xviii. 11. 5 ; Appian, *Macedon.* 8. p. 330, ed. Mendelssohn ; Livy, xxxii. 37 ; Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 10.

7. 7. **In my account of Attica** etc. See i. 36. 5 *sq.*

7. 8. **Otilius.** Pausanias means Publius Villius Tappulus. On the mistakes in Pausanias's account of his operations, see the paper of Prof. C. Wachsmuth (cited above in note on § 1), p. 277 *sq.* Hestiaea (Oreus) was captured by the Roman fleet under the command of Apustius in 200 B.C. (Livy, xxxi. 46). Anticyra was taken by Flamininus in 198 B.C. (Livy, xxxii. 18). Elsewhere (x. 36. 6) Pausanias repeats his statement that Anticyra was taken by Otilius.

8. 1. **sent to the Achaeans, desiring** etc. On this and what follows, see Livy, xxxii. 19-23 ; Appian, *Macedon.* 7. p. 329 *sq.*, ed. Mendelssohn ; C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 279 *sq.*

8. 3. **they had joined it before, when** etc. See ii. 8. 4 *sq.*

8. 5. **These walls had been hastily run up at the time of the invasion, first of Demetrius** etc. See i. 13. 6 note, and vol. 5. p. 524.

8. 6. **I shall treat of this topic** etc. See viii. 51. 3.

8. 9. **Ye Macedonians, who glory** etc. These Sibylline verses are also quoted by Appian (*Macedon.* 2. p. 327, ed. Mendelssohn).

9. 1. **They requested the officers of the League to summon a diet** etc. With this and the following section cp. Polybius, xxii. 13 and 15 *sq.*, ed. Hultsch (xxiii. 10-12, ed. Dindorf) ; Livy, xxxix. 33.

9. 3. **The Senate sent a commission, with Appius at its head** etc. For a fuller account of the affairs described in §§ 3 and 4 of this chapter, see Livy, xxxix. 33 and 35-37.

9. 5. **the Achaeans had despatched a counter embassy** etc. See Polybius, xxiii. 4, ed. Hultsch ; C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 285 *sq.*

9. 6. **they intrigued to have them restored** etc. See Polybius, xxiv. 10-12, ed. Hultsch ; C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 287.

10. 1. **the Samian captains —— deserted the Ionian fleet.** See Herodotus, vi. 13 *sq.*

10. 2. **Eretria —— betrayed by Philagrus** etc. See Herodotus, vi. 101.

10. 2. **Thessaly was betrayed —— by the Aleuads** etc. See Herodotus, vii. 6 and 130.

10. 2. **Attaginus and Timegenidas.** See Herodotus, ix. chapters 16, 38, 86-88.

10. 2. **Xenias, an Elean, tried to betray Elis.** See iii. 8. 4 ; v. 4. 8.

10. 6. **led an army against . . . Abrupolis, king of the Sapaeans** etc. The Sapaeans were a Thracian tribe in the neighbourhood of Abdera (Strabo, xii. p. 549 *sq.*) Abrupolis made a raid on the gold mines of Pangaeum, but was defeated and expelled from his kingdom by Perseus (Polybius, xxii. 8. 2, ed. Hultsch). As Abrupolis was an ally of the Romans, his expulsion formed one of the grounds on which Eumenes, king of Pergamus, accused Perseus before the Roman senate of being

an enemy of Rome (Livy, xlii. 13 and 40; Appian, *Macedonica*, xi. 2); and historians assigned it as the first of the causes which led to the rupture between Perseus and the Romans (Polybius, *l.c.*)

10. 7. **ten Roman senators were sent to settle the affairs of Macedonia** etc. See Polybius, xxx. 13. 8 *sqq.*; Livy, xlv. 31. 9 *sqq.*; C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 288 *sq.*; Baier, *Studien zur achaeischen Bundes-verfassung*, p. 5.

10. 12. **three hundred prisoners —— were released.** Cp. Polybius, xxxv. 6.

11. 1. **the Romans despatched a senator —— to arbitrate** etc. According to Polybius (xxxi. 9) two senators, Gaius Sulpicius and Manius Sergius, were sent by the senate to oversee the affairs of Greece and to arbitrate between Lacedaemon and Megalopolis (not Argos, as Pausanias says) in a dispute about a piece of territory. Cp. C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 289; Baier, *op. cit.* p. 6 *sq.* Mr. Baier remarks that Polybius must be right and Pausanias wrong, since the former was in Rome at the time referred to, and must have known the whole history of the dispute. A mutilated inscription found at Olympia perhaps refers to this dispute. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), p. 127 *sqq.*, Inscr. No. 259.

11. 3. **Pleuron.** On the ruins of Pleuron, see a paper by Mr. E. D. Colnaghi, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 7 (1863), pp. 239-244.

11. 4. **the Athenian democracy pillaged Oropus.** Cp. Aulus Gellius, vi. (vii.) 14. 8; Polybius, xxxii. 25, xxxiii. 2, ed. Hultsch. Although Pausanias and Aulus Gellius speak only of the devastation of Oropus by the Athenians, we know from an inscription, which refers to this affair (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. No. 411), that the whole native population was expelled from the country, but was afterwards restored through the intervention of the Achaean League (see below). This occupation of Oropus by the Athenians seems to have taken place in 156 B.C. Cp. F. Dürrbach, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro*, p. 63 *sqq.*

11. 5. **at the petition of the Athenians.** The Athenians sent as ambassadors to Rome Carneades the Academic philosopher, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic (Aulus Gellius, vi. (vii.) 14. 9; Plutarch, *Cato Major*, 22).

11. 7. **The Oropians then appealed for help to the Achaeans** etc. An inscription found in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus near Oropus throws some fresh light on these transactions (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. No. 411; Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1885, p. 97 *sqq.*) At an assembly of the Achaean League, held in Corinth, the cause of the Oropians was earnestly pleaded by a certain Hiero of Aegira. In consequence of his representations a special meeting of the League was called at Argos to consider the case. Here Hiero lodged the Oropian envoys in his own house, sacrificed on their behalf to Saviour Zeus, and advocated their cause so successfully against the Athenian representatives that he prevailed on the League to succour the Oropians and to restore them to their country with their wives and children. The grateful Oropians set up a bronze statue of Hiero, and made proclamation of having done so

at the great games of Amphiaraus. Cp. F. Dürrbach, *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro*, p. 63 *sqq*.

12. 4. **the Senate had ordered them to submit all cases, except capital ones** etc. See vii. 9. 5.

13. 1. **a revolt headed by Andriscus, son of Perseus.** According to Livy (*Epit.* 48. 49) this Andriscus was an impostor, a man of the lowest class, who falsely gave himself out to be a son of Perseus.

13. 7. **the town of Iasus.** This Laconian town is not otherwise known.

14. 1. **the Roman Senate deemed it fair** etc. Cp. Justin, xxxiv. 1 ; Livy, *Epit.* 51 ; Polybius, xxxviii. 7 ; Baier, *op. cit.* p. 7 *sqq*.

14. 5. **to wait for another assembly of the League** etc. It is generally supposed that the Federal Assembly of the Achaean League met twice a year, in spring and autumn. See Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, 1. p. 275 ; Dubois, *Les ligues Étolienne et Achéenne*. p. 115 *sq*. The present passage certainly seems to imply that the Assembly met only every half-year. However, Prof. G. F. Unger attempts to prove that the Assembly met four times a year. See *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 1879, p. 134 *sqq*. ; cp. Baier, *op. cit.* p. 14 *sqq*. With the present passage of Pausanias compare Polybius, xxxviii. 9.

14. 6. **Now when a king or a state goes to war** etc. The following argument to show that the downfall of the Achaean League could not properly be described as a misfortune, is a covert polemic against Polybius, who expressly refers to that event as an instance of misfortune. See Polybius, xxxviii. 3, § 1 *sqq*., and 5, §§ 5-7, xxxix. 9, § 9 ; C. Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 294 *sqq*.

15. 4. **Critolaus was not seen alive after the battle.** According to Livy (*Epit.* 52) Critolaus poisoned himself.

15. 10. **he paid the forfeit.** According to Polybius (xxxix. 9. 10) Pytheas retired with his wife and children to Peloponnese, and roamed up and down the country.

16. 9. **assessors.** These assessors were ten in number (Polybius, xl. 9 *sq*.) Statues of them and of Mummius were set up at Olympia. See vol. 3. p. 634 *sq*.

17. 3. **Nero —— set it free.** According to Plutarch (*Flamininus*, 12) Nero personally announced the liberation of Greece in a speech which he delivered to the people from a platform in the market-place at Corinth during the celebration of the Isthmian games. Suetonius says (*Nero*, 24) that the announcement was made by Nero in the stadium at Corinth, on the day of the Isthmian games, just before the emperor left Greece. Cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iv. 22 ; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* v. 41 ; Dio Cassius, lxiii. 11. The official text of Nero's speech was discovered a few years ago inscribed on a stone in the church of St. George at Acraephnium (Acraephia) in Boeotia. From this inscription we learn that the speech was delivered at Corinth on the 28th of November, when Nero held the tribunician power for the thirteenth time. This would seem to make the date of the speech 66 A.D. ; but if Suetonius is right (see above) the date was 67 A.D. The speech affords us

incidentally a glimpse of the decay of Greece; for Nero expresses a wish that he had been able to confer the boon on Greece in its palmy days, because then there would have been more people to share the benefit. See *Bulletin de Corr. hellénique*, 12 (1888), pp. 510-528; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1888, pp. 192-194.

17. 3. **Plato's saying.** See Plato, *Republic*, vi. p. 491 e.

17. 4. **Vespasian commanded that they should again pay tribute etc.** Cp. Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* v. 41, who agrees with Pausanias in saying that intestine strife furnished Vespasian with the pretext for withdrawing the freedom of Greece. Apollonius of Tyana is said to have written some uncomplimentary letters to the emperor on the subject, which Philostratus has preserved.

17. 5. **the river Larisus.** See vi. 26. 10 note.

17. 5. **Dyme.** The remains of Dyme are generally identified with the ruins in the neighbourhood of *Karavostasi*, a hamlet lying in low swampy ground among woods. To the north-west, a mile beyond the village, a narrow pass in the hills leads to the salt-water lagoon of *Kalogria*, which is well stocked with fish and is separated from the sea only by a low sandbank, through which there is an opening navigable by boats. Near the village, on its eastern side, Leake found several remains of ancient Greek masonry; others he found below the village, toward the lagoon; and in all the fields round the hamlet were fragments of wrought stone and broken pottery. About two miles to the east of *Karavostasi* is a hill with a chapel of St. George (not St. Constantine, as is usually stated). Here there were formerly some scanty ancient remains, mostly Roman, but they seem now to have disappeared. The hill may possibly have been the acropolis of Dyme. Its position agrees fairly with the distance of 60 furlongs from Cape Araxus mentioned by Strabo (viii. p. 337), and with the distance of 40 furlongs from Olenus mentioned by Strabo (viii. p. 386) and by Pausanias (vii. 18. 1), if we suppose that Olenus was at *Kato-Achaia*. But more probably we should identify Dyme with the remains near *Kato-Achaia*, and about 7 miles east of *Karavostasi*, which are usually supposed to be those of Olenus. See notes on § 8 and vii. 18. 1. The country between *Karavostasi* and *Kato-Achaia* is now covered with beautiful woods of ancient oaks. There is no underwood between the massive boles of the trees, but in spring the ground is carpeted with luxuriant grass, sprinkled here and there with asphodels. Scattered about in the woods are the tents of the wandering Albanian herdsmen, who pasture their flocks here in summer, but drive them to the hills when the grass withers up with the summer heat.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 311 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 160; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 20; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 423 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 321; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 76 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 329; A. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 297, 305.

17. 5. **Sulpicius allowed his army to sack it.** Livy, writing of the year 198 B.C., mentions that Dyme had recently been captured and sacked by a Roman army (xxxii. 22. 10). Appian speaks of the injuries

inflicted on Greece by Sulpicius (*Maced.* 7). In the year 208 B.C. Sulpicius sailed with a fleet from Naupactus and ravaged the coast between Corinth and Sicyon (Livy, xxvii. 31). An inscription found at Dyme and now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, proves that even after the conquest of Greece some attempt at rebellion was made at Dyme. A certain Sosus, aided by one of the magistrates, drew up a new constitution for the city and burned the public offices with the archives. For this he and his accomplice were condemned to death by the Proconsul Q. Fabius Maximus. The inscription seems to date either from 120 or 115 B.C. See *C. I. G.* No. 1543; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 320.

17. 5. **Augustus annexed it to Patrae.** This is doubted by Mommsen. Coins of Dyme show that a Roman colony was settled in the town first by Julius Caesar and afterwards by Augustus (Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 238, note 3), and it is spoken of as a colony both by Strabo (xiv. p. 665) and Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iv. 13). Cp. G. F. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 1. p. 496. Previously Pompey had settled at Dyme many of the pirates whom he had conquered (Strabo, viii. p. 387 *sq.*, xiv. p. 665; Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 28; Appian, *Mithrid.* 96). Some of these gentry afterwards betook themselves to their old trade and scoured the neighbouring sea (Cicero, *Ep. ad Atticum*, xvi. 1. 3).

17. 6. **Oebotas.** Cp. § 13 *sq.* and vi. 3. 8.

17. 7. **they call Amphiaraus and Adrastus Phoronids.** Amphiaraus and Adrastus were Argives, and the Argives are said to have been called Phoronids of old (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄργος) after Phoroneus, the first man born in the land (Paus. ii. 15. 5).

17. 7. **they style Theseus an Erechthid.** Theseus was descended from Erechtheus on his father's side (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3).

17. 8. **the grave of Sostratus.** At the village of *Kato-Achaia*, 7 miles to the east of *Karavostasi*, a Greek inscription has been found recording the epitaph of a youth named Polystratus, who had been greatly esteemed by Hercules; he was slain by the Molinids (Molionids); Hercules wept for him and cut off a lock of his hair in his honour. Probably this is the epitaph of the tomb described by Pausanias; if so, Pausanias has made a mistake in the name, and the ruins near *Kato-Achaia* are probably those of Dyme, not Olenus (see note on 18. 1). For the inscription see Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 790.

17. 8. **offered him some of the hair of his head.** It seems to have been customary in ancient Greece and Italy for a mourner to cut off some locks of his hair and to lay them on the grave. So Orestes laid a lock of his hair on the tomb of his father Agamemnon (Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 4 *sqq.*) Hecuba left a tress of her grey hair on Hector's grave (Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 427 *sq.*) Achilles shore a lock of his yellow hair and placed it in the hand of his dead friend Patroclus (Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 141 *sqq.*) At Lecce in Apulia the women who are hired to mourn tear out their hair and throw it on the corpse (R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallele und Vergleiche*, p. 150 *sq.*) Among the Servians

until comparatively recent times relations used to cut off their hair and fasten it to the grave (G. A. Wilken, *Ueber das Haaropfer*, p. 65). A similar custom still prevails among the Arabs. On one grave Captain Conder saw forty-five, on another thirty-three plaits of women's hair fastened on strings (Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 331). See also Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1. p. 248 *sq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 323 *sqq.* "The natives of many parts of Australia, when at a funeral, cut off portions of their beards, and singeing these, throw them upon the dead body; in some instances they cut off the beard of the corpse, and burning it, rub themselves and the body with the singed portions of it" (Sir George Grey, *Journals of two expeditions*, etc., 2. p. 335). For more examples of the same sort, see G. A. Wilken, *l.c.* Greek maidens sometimes cut off a lock of their hair before marriage and placed it on the tomb of some famous hero or heroine. See Paus. i. 43. 4 note.

17. 9. **Zeus —— sent a boar** etc. That Attis was slain by a wild boar sent by Zeus is mentioned also by a scholiast on Nicander (*Alex.* 8). On the Attis legend and ritual in general, see W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 291 *sqq.*; *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 296 *sqq.*

17. 10. **the Galatians of Pessinus abstain from swine.** Julian states generally that the worshippers of Attis abstained from swine's flesh (*Orat.* v. p. 177 b, ed. Spanheim). Pigs were not eaten in the city of Comana Pontica; indeed pigs were not even allowed to enter the town, much less the holy precinct (Strabo, xii. p. 575). Worshippers of the Asiatic deity called 'the Tyrant Men' abstained from pork (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 379, line 4; Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 219). In Crete, according to Agathocles of Babylon, the pig was esteemed very holy and no one would eat it (Athenaeus, ix. pp. 375 f-376 a). No part of a pig might be brought into the sanctuary and precinct of Alectro at Ialysus in Rhodes (Dittenberger, *op. cit.* No. 357, line 25 *sq.*) The worshippers of the Syrian goddess abstained from eating pigs, some because they thought pigs unclean, others because they thought them holy (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 54). A Jew or an Egyptian priest would rather have died than have tasted pork (Sextus Empiricus, Ὑποτυπ. iii. 123, p. 173, ed. Bekker; cp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 5). With regard to the pig in its religious aspect Prof. W. M. Ramsay says: "Whatever be its origin, the difference between western Asia Minor and Greece on the one hand, and eastern Asia Minor, beginning from Pessinus, on the other hand, is most striking. In the west the pig is used in the holiest ceremonies; its image accompanies the dead to their graves to purify them, and the living wash with their own hands (in Greece at least) the pig which is to be their sacrifice. In the east the very presence of a pig in the holy city is a profanation and an impurity. My theory of explanation is that the religion which prevailed throughout Asia Minor in early time was the religion of a northern race which had no horror of the pig, and that Semitic influence subsequently introduced that horror into the eastern parts of the country" (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*,

p. 32 *sq.*) Professor Ramsay thinks that the line of demarcation between the pig-haters and the pig-eaters was the river Halys. But the facts cited above show that pig's flesh was a forbidden food in Crete, Rhodes, and the western parts of Asia Minor, for the god Men was worshipped in Phrygia, Lydia, and Pisidia. The line of demarcation cannot therefore have been a very sharp one. Besides, the religious horror of an animal is only another side of the religious veneration for it: originally the conceptions of holiness and uncleanness are not differentiated from each other. Compare what Lucian says of the reasons why the worshippers of the Syrian goddess abstained from swine (see above). Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] pp. 152 *sqq.*, 448 *sqq.*; *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 50 *sqq.* Moreover abstinence from swine is practised not merely by southern people (as Prof. Ramsay thinks), but also by some northern peoples, as by the Yakuts of Siberia and the Votiaks of the Government of Vologda, neither of whom are Mohammedans (Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 1. p. 363). As to Pessinus, see Mordtmann, 'Gordium, Pessinus, Sivri Hissar,' in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), 1860, pp. 169-200.

17. 10. **they have a local story about him** etc. The following legend is given at greater length, with some variations, by Arnobius (*Adversus Nationes*, v. 5-7), who cites as his authority Timotheus "a theologian of some renown." As to Agdistis see note on i. 4. 5 (vol. 2. p. 74 *sq.*)

17. 11. **an almond-tree with ripe fruit** etc. Hippolytus also mentions that Attis was produced from an almond (*Refut. omnium haeres.* v. 9). The Phrygians, according to Hippolytus, even affirmed that the father of the universe was an almond. The account given by Arnobius is different. He says that from the severed genitals of Agdistis sprang a pomegranate tree, and that by putting in her bosom one of the pomegranates from this tree the daughter of the river Sangarius (Arnobius calls her Nana) conceived and bore Attis. Afterwards Attis, when about to wed the daughter of the king of Pessinus, was terrified by Agdistis, mutilated himself, and expired. Violets sprang from his blood. His disconsolate bride also slew herself and was buried, and an almond grew from her body (?). See Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 6 *sq.*

The idea that a virgin may conceive and bear a son, as Nana bore Attis, appears in the legends and folk-tales of many lands both of the Old and the New World. Such stories are told either for amusement or to exalt the marvellous character of some god or hero by representing him as the son of a virgin. To take examples. There is a Punjaub legend that "some *mandan* [*semen virile*] escaped one day from a Rishi, and he knew that if it fell on the ground a man would be born from it, so he put it into a flower and threw the flower into a river in which a Chamelî Râjpût princess was bathing. She took up the flower and smelt it, and so became impregnated" (*Indian Antiquary*, 11 (1882), p. 290). The Indians of the province of Huarochiri in Peru used to tell how there was a lovely virgin named Cavillaca, who was admired by the god Ceniraya. "He turned himself into a very

beautiful bird, and went up into the *lucma* tree, where he took some of his generative seed and made it into the likeness of a ripe and luxurious *lucma*, which he allowed to fall near the beautiful Cavillaca. She took it and ate it with much delight, and by it she was made pregnant without other contact with man" (*Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, translated by C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), p. 125). In the very ancient Egyptian tale of 'The two Brothers' a princess conceives and bears a son through having swallowed a chip of a Persea tree, which had sprung from the blood of a bull into which one of the two brothers had been transformed (G. Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 26; Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, Second Series, p. 64). In a tale told by a Turkish tribe of South Siberia a maiden picks up a piece of ice, breaks it and finds in it two grains of wheat, by eating which she is impregnated (W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, 1. p. 205). In a story told by the Mandan Indians of North America a virgin conceives by eating of a piece of buffalo flesh which she had taken from the side of O-kee-hee-da (the Evil Spirit) (Catlin, *North American Indians*, 1. p. 179). The Hottentot god or hero Heitsi-eibib is said to have been born of a virgin who conceived him by swallowing the juice of a certain grass (Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam, the supreme being of the Khoi-Khoi*, p. 69). In a Siamese story an apple tree is fertilised by a gardener with his urine. A virgin princess eats of the fruit of the tree and becomes pregnant (A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, 1. p. 354). In a Cambodian legend a maiden is impregnated by the beams of the sun (*ib.* p. 416; for other exampes of this sort, see *The Golden Bough*, 2. p. 235 *sqq.*) In another Cambodian legend a maiden conceives through drinking accidentally the urine of a holy hermit (Bastian, *ib.* p. 452 *sq.*) The Laosions tell of a girl who was impregnated merely by a look (*ib.* p. 169). Annamite stories tell how a virgin conceived by eating of a fish which had been washed in a man's urine; how another conceived by eating the rind of a water-melon, the rest of which had been eaten by a prince; and how a third conceived by eating a lovely flower (Landes, 'Contes et légendes annamites,' in *Cochinchine française, Excursions et reconnaissances*, Nos. 23 and 25, tales 62, 73, 102). In a Tjam story a girl is impregnated by drinking of a certain spring and bathing in its water; and in another Tjam tale the means of impregnation are almost the same as in the first of the Annamite stories cited above (Landes, 'Contes tjames,' *Cochinchine française, Excurs. et reconn.* No. 29, pp. 52, 75, tales 1 and 3). The Papuans of various parts of New Guinea tell how a virgin conceived through having the fruit of a certain tree thrown at her breast (A. Goudswaard, *De Papoewa's van de Geelvinksbaai*, p. 90; Otto Finsch, *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner*, pp. 111, 130; Bastian, *Indonesien*, 2. p. 35; C. Hager, *Kaiser Wilhelms-Land*, p. 29 *sq.*) The Manchu emperors of China are said to be descended from a young girl who conceived by eating some red fruit (Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 1. p. 269). In Aztec mythology the great god Huitzilopochtli was said to have been born of a woman who conceived by placing in her bosom a small ball

of feathers which she found floating in the air (Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par Jourdanet et Simeon (Paris, 1880), p. 201 *sq.*; Bancroft, *Native races of the Pacific States*, 3. pp. 296, 310 *sq.*; the woman, however, was not a virgin). In the mythology of the north-west coast of America a maiden is said to have conceived by swallowing a blade of grass into which the mythical hero Jeshl had transformed himself (Holmberg, 'Ueber die Völker des Russischen Amerika,' *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 4 (1856), p. 337). Many other stories of miraculous births have been collected by the Compte H. de Charencey (*Le folklore dans les deux Mondes* (Paris, 1894), pp. 121-256) and E. S. Hartland (*The Legend of Perseus*, vol. 1. (London, 1894), p. 71 *sqq.*)

17. 12. **that no part of Attis' body should moulder.** According to Arnobius (*Adv. Nationes*, v. 7) Jupiter granted that the body of Attis should never decay, that his hair should always grow, and that his little finger should live and be always in motion.

17. 13. **the runner Oebotas.** Elsewhere (vi. 3. 8; cp. above, § 6 *sq.*) we learn that the victory of Oebotas was won Ol. 6 (756 B.C.), and that his statue was set up Ol. 80 (460 B.C.) In the present passage Pausanias implies that between these dates no prize was won at Olympia by an Achaean. This, however, is a mistake. For in Ol. 23 (688 B.C.) a victory was won in the foot-race at Olympia by Icarus, who was a native of Hyperesia in Achaia (Paus. iv. 15. 1; Eusebius. *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 195, ed. Schöne; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ὑπερασία): in Ol. 67 (512 B.C.) Phanas of Pellene won victories in the foot-race, the double race, and the armed race (Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 201, ed. Schöne); and in Ol. 71 (496 B.C.) Pataecus of Dyme in Achaia won a victory in the trotting race (Paus. v. 9. 1). It would seem that in writing the present passage Pausanias had not a list of the Olympic victors before him. Cp. A. Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 130 *sq.*

17. 14. **To this day Achaeans** etc. The Greek is *διαμένει δὲ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ*. This impersonal use of *διαμένει* followed by an infinitive occurs below, vii. 24. 5; vii. 27. 8; viii. 44. 1; ix. 18. 7; ix. 36. 6 It is not noticed in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, and I do not remember to have met with it in any other Greek writer.

18. 1. **Pirus —— Olenus.** The river Pirus is now called the *Kamnitza*, a broad and deep river, not easily forded: it is in fact the largest river of Achaia. Strabo says (viii. p. 386), if his text be right, that Olenus stood beside a great river, which can hardly be any other than the Pirus. In our texts of Strabo, indeed, the river is called the Melas, but this name seems to be a clerical error, arising by dittography from the preceding word *μέγας*. Hence it is natural, relying on the joint testimony of Pausanias and Strabo that Olenus was beside the river Pirus, to identify it with the ruins at *Kato-Achaia*, a village about a mile to the west of the mouth of the Pirus (*Kamnitsa*) river. "Five or six yards behind the village there is a ridge in the plain, which seems to have been formed by the ruins of Olenus. There are traces also of its walls in the adjacent fields, and two or three pieces of Roman

masonry. The vestiges extend over a considerable space of ground, and are the more remarkable, as Pausanias tells us that Olenus was never a large city, and as neither he nor Strabo [viii. pp. 386, 388] speak of it but as a ruin" (Leake). "The acropolis occupied a small round hill. The few remains of the walls which are left are nearly of a regular construction" (Dodwell). "The ruins consist of the foundations of the city-walls placed on the top of a natural bank, now shaded by oaks" (Gell). The statement, in which Pausanias and Strabo (viii. p. 386) agree, that Olenus was distant 40 furlongs from Dyme, agrees fairly with the view that Olenus was at *Kato-Achaia* and Dyme at the hill of *St. George* (see note on vii. 17. 5), since the distance between these places is about 5 miles, or 45 Greek furlongs.

On the other hand there are some grounds for identifying the ruins at *Kato-Achaia* with those of Dyme rather than of Olenus. For the distance of Dyme from Patrae was 120 Greek furlongs ($13\frac{1}{3}$ miles) according to Pausanias and Strabo (viii. p. 386), or 15 Roman miles according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and these distances agree fairly with the actual distance ($12\frac{1}{2}$ English miles) of *Kato-Achaia* from Patrae; whereas Olenus, according to both Pausanias and Strabo (*l.c.*), was only 80 Greek furlongs, or about 9 English miles, from Patrae. Moreover the extent of the ruins, and still more the discovery of Latin inscriptions referring to the imperial family, seem to show that the place cannot be Olenus, which was already deserted in the time of Strabo (*l.c.*) And the epitaph of Polystratus, found at *Kato-Achaia* (see note on vii. 17. 8), is in favour of identifying the ruins as those of Dyme. At the same time it is to be remembered that the evidence of inscriptions is not decisive, since they can be easily transported from the place where they were originally set up. Thus at *Kato-Achaia* there is an inscription from an honorary monument erected by the city of Pharae (*C. I. G.* No. 1544); yet no one (except Pouqueville) has proposed on that account to identify the ruins at *Kato-Achaia* as those of Pharae, which was 70 furlongs from the sea (Paus. vii. 22. 1). But on the whole the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that the ruins at *Kato-Achaia* are those of Dyme, and that Olenus was situated on the coast some $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther to the east.

Strabo (viii. p. 386) mentions a sanctuary of Aesculapius at Olenus.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 5. pp. 374-379; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 310; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 155 *sqq.*, 160 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 23 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 16 *sq.*, 20 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 428 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 322 *sq.*; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 72 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 331; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 328 *sqq.* For inscriptions at *Kato-Achaia* see also *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 2 (1878), pp. 41 *sqq.*, 94 *sqq.*; *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, 5 (1880), pp. 320-325; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] Nos. 267, 268 (also p. 352); Collitz, *G. D. I.* 2. Nos. 1612-1623.

18. 1. Dexamenus —— and the reception he gave to Hercules. It is said that while Hercules was staying with King Dexamenus, the latter was about to give, much against his will, his daughter Mnesimache in marriage to the Centaur Eurytion; but Hercules slew the

Centaur and rescued the bride (Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5). According to another version of the story, the daughter of Dexamenus was named Hippolyte: she was to be married to Azan, and at the wedding feast the Centaur Eurytion attempted to do her violence, but was slain by Hercules (Diodorus, iv. 33. 1). In another version of the story the daughter of Dexamenus whom Hercules rescued from the Centaur was named Dejanira (Hyginus, *Fab.* 33); and she is so named on a vase on which the scene of the rescue is depicted (Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 999 *sq.*)

18. 2. **the river Glaucus.** This stream, now called the *Levka*, falls into the sea 3 miles to the south of Patrae (*Patras*). It divides the fertile maritime plain in two. Its bed, not less than half a mile wide, is strewn with large boulders, and shaded in many places by oleanders, agnus-castus, and other water-loving shrubs. When swollen with rain, the stream is very formidable; but in summer its bed is a stony desert. The glen from which it comes down is deep, wild, and narrow; oakwoods and pinewoods clothe some parts of the mountain-sides, but corn, maize, and vines are grown on their lower slopes.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 120; *ib.* 2. p. 309; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 123, 154; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 22; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 435; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 312, 324; Baedeker,[3] p. 331; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 327; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 266.

18. 3. **yoked the dragons to the car of Triptolemus** etc. The legend was that Demeter gave Triptolemus a car drawn by winged dragons or serpents, on which he flew about sowing the world with corn or distributing it to mankind. The dragon-car was sometimes feebly rationalised into a ship shaped like a dragon. See Sophocles, Frag. 538 (in Dindorf's *Poetae Scenici Graeci*); Philochorus, Frag. 28 (*Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 388); Apollodorus, i. 5. 2; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xiii. 194-196, xix. 84; Aristides, *Or.* xiii., vol. 1. p. 167, ed. Dindorf; Schol. on Aristides, vol. 3. p. 54, ed. Dindorf; Joannes Antiochenus, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 538 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metam.* v. 642 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Tristia*, iii. 8 (9). 1 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19. On ancient monuments, especially in vase-paintings, Triptolemus is represented riding in his car. Sometimes the car has wings attached to the wheels, but no serpents; sometimes it is drawn by serpents without wings; sometimes both the serpents and the wings are depicted attached to the car. See *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, Atlas, pl. ii.; *id.*, for 1862, Atlas, plates ii. iii. iv.; *id.*, for 1881, Atlas, pl. v. 11; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 23 (1865), pl. cciv., with Gerhard's note, pp. 113-116; *Annali dell' Inst.* 44 (1872), pp. 226-230; *Monumenti Inediti*, 9 (1872), pl. xliii.; Fr. Lenormant, 'Triptoleme en Syrie,' *Gazette archéologique*, 4 (1878), pp. 97-100; Gerhard, 'Bilderkreis von Eleusis,' *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Academy of Berlin, 1862, p. 267, with pl. ii.; *id.*, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pl. lxxvii.; Strube, *Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, p. 1 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Supplem. zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis*, pl. i. A list of the works of ancient art in which

Triptolemus or Demeter is so depicted is given by Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, p. 82 *sqq.* The legend that Triptolemus was the first who taught the people in this part of Arcadia to sow and plough is mentioned also in the *Etymol. Magnum* (*s.v.* Ἀρόη, p. 147).

18. 4. **the plots of the Titans.** The story was that the Titans amused the youthful Dionysus with toys, and while he was playing they seized him, tore him limb from limb, boiled his flesh in a kettle, roasted it on spits over the fire, and devoured it. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 17 *sq.* p. 15, ed. Potter; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 19; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profan. relig.* 6; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 555 *sqq.*

18. 6. **in consequence both of the unspeakable reverses** etc. According to Polybius (xl. 3, ed. Dindorf; xxxix. 9, ed. Hultsch) the Patreans suffered a great reverse in Phocis shortly before 146 B.C. The reverses to which Pausanias refers must, if he is right, have taken place in 279 B.C., the year of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece. Bursian thought Pausanias must have mistaken the date of the disaster (*Geogr.* 2. p. 326, note 2). Pausanias, however, refers to the subject in other passages (vii. 20. 6; x. 22. 6) in such a way as to show apparently that he had exact information as to the expedition of the Patreans against the Gauls.

18. 7. **But Augustus —— brought back the people from the other towns to Patrae.** Cp. v. 23. 3; x. 38. 4. Strabo says (viii. p. 387) that after the victory at Actium the Romans settled a large part of their army at Patrae, and that in his time the city was a populous Roman colony. Cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iv. 11; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 238; Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 1. p. 493 *sq.*

18. 8. **the acropolis of Patrae.** Patrae is now *Patras* or *Patra.* The ancient city occupied a ridge about a mile long, which projects from the slopes of Mount *Voidia* in a southerly direction, and to the west is separated from the sea by a plain which increases in breadth from north to south, from a quarter to more than half a mile. The height at the northern end of the ridge, now occupied by the medieval castle, was probably the ancient acropolis; some pieces of the ancient walls are intermixed with the modern masonry on the north-eastern side. The castle is separated by a hollow from the heights which form the connexion with Mount *Voidia.* These heights, as well as the castle hill, are of very irregular shape, being cut into deep ravines by torrents, and broken into white precipices. Mount *Voidia* itself is lofty and conspicuous; much of it is covered with very ancient and dense forests of oak and fir. Towards *Patras* it falls away in green knolls and fertile glens. Near the middle of it runs the road to Arcadia through a narrow wooded pass, which at the beginning of this century was known as the *Makelaria* or Butchery, from the frequent murders perpetrated there by a gang of robbers, who had their dens in the forests and caverns of the mountain. The view from the castle is very beautiful. The coast is seen trending away in a grand sweep to the south-west, skirted by the fruitful plain of *Patras;* across the vast bay rise in the

west the distant summits of Zacynthus and Cephallenia. To the north, across the gulf, are the Aetolian and Acharnanian mountains, and full in face of *Patras* tower up from the brink of the water the two pyramidical masses of *Kakeskala* and *Varássova.* Farther off, to the north-west, is the low, flat coast of the bay of *Missolonghi*, where Byron died. Still farther to the west, close to Cephallenia, the little island of Ithaca is seen appearing above the sea.

That the ancient city did not originally extend to the sea seems to be proved by Thucydides's statement (v. 52) that in 419 B.C. Alcibiades persuaded the people of Patrae to build walls from their city down to the sea. At the beginning of the present century some large foundations, barely perceptible, are said by Dodwell to have marked the line of these two long walls which united the city and the port. In Roman times, however, as at the present day, the city seems to have reached to the sea.

The ancient remains in *Patras* are very scanty. To the east of the castle hill are considerable remains of the Roman aqueduct, which here crossed the valley on a double row of arches. The remains of the music-hall (or theatre) will be noticed further on. There are besides a number of fragmentary pieces of sculpture (statues and reliefs) in various parts of the town. For example, in George's Square (*plateia tou Georgiou*) there are at present lying two marble Corinthian columns, two small unfluted columns, pieces of a marble cornice, and a marble sarcophagus of coarse, late style, decorated with sculptured wreaths, winged heads, etc. In the house of Mr. Wood, the British Consul, there is preserved a marble relief of fair style (3 feet long by 16½ inches high) representing a procession of seven grown persons, men and women, who are advancing with offerings and a sheep for sacrifice towards a male figure, who is seated on the spectator's right, with his right arm raised and the upper part of his body bare; behind this seated male figure, on the extreme right, stands a woman. Perhaps the seated male figure may be Aesculapius and the woman behind him Health; but the serpent, the symbol of Aesculapius, is wanting.

The remains of antiquity seem not to have been much more numerous in *Patras* when Wheler visited it in 1675. He says: "Returning thence south-eastwards, towards the town, we past by the ruins of a round temple of brick, masoned together with a very hard cement, and the building very massive: over against which, northwards, is a demolished Greek church, dedicated to the Holy Apostles; which hath been sustained by marble pillars of the Ionique order. Not far from hence appear some parts of the antient walls of the town: one of those heaps of ruins may have been the temple of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods; wherein Attes also was honoured. But we could not find the theatre, nor the Odeum, nor many other temples, which Pausanias speaks of. Under the wall of the town is a place, that seemeth to have been a circus, or stadium, or perhaps a *naumachia* for water combats. For the consul told me, that many in the town can yet remember, that there was an iron ring fastened to the wall; which they suppose was to tie vessels to; supposing that the sea came up

thither in former days: but the other buildings, nearer the sea-side, evince that errour. Perhaps water might be brought thither by a channel or aqueduct: but the sea is near a quarter of a mile from thence, and lies much lower. The sides consisted of ranges of arches; which Monsieur Spon remembers he hath seen represented on medals of *Patras*. Not far thence is the foundation of a church, dedicated to St. Andrew; where they believe that apostle baptized the king he had converted to the faith. The building seemeth to have been formerly a Roman sepulcher. That which induceth me to think so is a vault underneath it, round which are niches; in every one of which are two holes at the bottom, made with earthen pots; which are plaistered up, round about, to the top: just such as I saw several at Baia, by Puzzuolo in Italy." Dodwell, who visited *Patras* in 1801, says: "The soil is rich, and has probably risen considerably above its original level, and conceals the foundations of ancient buildings: indeed the earth is seldom removed without fragments of statues and rich marbles being discovered. Some marble columns and mutilated statues were found here a few years ago, in the garden of a Turk; who, with a truly Turkish stupidity, immediately broke them into small pieces. Towards the middle of the town is a fount called Saint Catarina's well, near which is the foundation of the *cella* of a temple, consisting of square blocks of stone; upon which is a superstructure of brick. . . . The house of the imperial German consul stands on the ruins of a Roman brick theatre, of such small dimensions, that it cannot be the Odeion [Music Hall], which Pausanias says was the finest in Greece next to that built by Herodes Atticus, at Athens."

The modern *Patras*, a busy commercial city engaged chiefly in the export of currants, is the largest town in Peloponnese, with a population of 39,000. The streets are wide and flanked with arcades.

See Wheler, *Journey into Greece*, p. 292 *sqq.*; Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 276 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 112 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 123 *sqq.*; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 4. pp. 347-370; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 22; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 300 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 434 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 278 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 324 *sqq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 66 *sqq.*; *id.*, 4 (1879), p. 125 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 28 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 262; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 324 *sqq.* The marble relief in Mr. Wood's house, as well as the remains in George's Square, are described from my own notes.

18. 8. **the image of Laphria.** See iv. 31. 7 note. This image is represented on coins of Patrae (Fig. 12). The goddess stands clad in a short tunic, with a robe falling over her left shoulder; her right breast is bare. Over her right shoulder appears the tip of her quiver; in her left hand is her bow, the end of which rests on a pedestal. To the left is a dog. To judge from the style of the statue, it may have been made about the middle of the fifth century B.C., but hardly earlier. It is one of the earliest statues which represent Artemis in Amazonian form. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num.*



FIG. 12.—ARTEMIS LAPHRIA (COIN OF PATRAE).

Comment. on Pausanias, p. 76 *sq.*, with pl. Q vi. vii. viii. ix. x.; *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, pl. v. 17; vi. 1.

18. 10. **the wrath of Artemis —— had been stirred by Oeneus.** Oeneus, king of Calydon, had omitted to sacrifice to Artemis at his harvest festival, when he sacrificed to all the other deities. Hence Artemis in revenge sent the famous boar to ravage the king's lands. See Homer, *Il.* ix. 533 *sqq.*

18. 10. **Canachus —— Callon.** See notes on vi. 13. 7; ii. 32. 5.

18. 12. **riding on a car drawn by deer.** On coins of Patrae of imperial date the priestess is represented in a chariot drawn by two stags (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comment. on Pausanias*, p. 78, with pl. Q xiii.; *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, pl. v. 21). She doubtless represented the goddess herself. See note on vi. 22. 11. Cp. Back, *De caerimoniis quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur*, p. 3 *sq.*



FIG. 13.—PRIESTESS OF ARTEMIS IN CAR (COIN OF PATRAE).

18. 12. **the people bring the edible kinds of birds etc.** A holocaust of live animals of various kinds was offered to the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis. It is thus described by Lucian (*De dea Syria*, 49): "But of all the festivals the greatest I know of is held by them in the beginning of spring; by some it is called 'the Pyre,' by others 'the Torch.' At this festival they offer the following sacrifice. They hew down great trees and set them up in the court. Then they bring goats and sheep and other live animals and hang them from the trees, and birds too, and raiment and jewels of gold and silver. When all is ready, they carry the victims round the trees and set fire to the pile, and straightway they are all burned." For another example of holocausts of animals of different sorts, see iv. 31. 9. On sacrifices of birds among the Greeks, see G. Wolff, 'Geflügelopfer der Griechen,' *Philologus*, 28 (1869), pp. 188-191.

19. 1. **Eurypylus.** There is a paper on Eurypylus by K. Schwenk in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 10 (1856), pp. 384-392; and a short one by Aug. Schultz, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 27 (1881), pp. 305-307.

19. 4. **the people should sacrifice to the goddess a youth and a maiden.** Mr. Clermont-Ganneau thinks that this tradition of human sacrifice points to the former practice of the Semitic worship of Moloch at Patrae. He even conjectures that in Milichus, the name of the neighbouring stream (§ 9), we have an echo of the name of Moloch. See Clermont-Ganneau, 'Le dieu Satrape,' *Journal asiatique*, 7me Série, 10 (1877), p. 221. With greater probability Mr. Farnell suggests that we have here a tradition of human sacrifices designed to cause the crops to grow. He points out that the sacrifices were said to have been instituted in consequence of the wrath of Artemis, who would not suffer the earth to yield its fruit (§ 3), and that the human victims were said to have worn wreaths of corn (vii. 20. 1). See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 455.

19. 6. in this chest was an image of Dionysus. On a coin of Patrae of Hadrian's time a man is represented running to an altar and holding a box on his left arm (Fig. 14). It is probably Eurypylus running to the altar of Artemis Triclaria to be healed of his insanity. See § 8 *sq.* On other coins of the city the Genius of Patrae is portrayed standing with one hand resting on the box, while he extends the other hand over an altar. A coin of Septimius Severus represents the box resting on the altar. Other coins of Patrae represent a "round box with conical cover, wreathed with ivy, within ivy wreath, sometimes between ears of corn." Probably on all these coins the box represents the chest or casket which contained the image of Dionysus. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 75, with pl. Q i. ii. iii. iv.

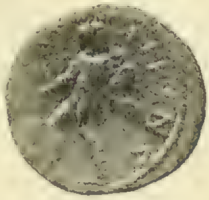


FIG. 14.—EURYPYLUS AND THE CHEST (COIN OF PATRAE).



FIG. 15.—CHEST OF EURYPYLUS (COIN OF PATRAE).

19. 7. he steered, not for Thessaly. Had it not been that he wished to consult the god at Delphi, Eurypylus would naturally have returned to Thessaly, where was his home (Homer, *Il.* ii. 734 *sqq.*)

20. 2. a temple of Panachaean Athena. On coins of Patrae (Fig. 16), Athena appears standing in a distyle temple, holding a goblet and a lance. On one side of her is her shield, on the other her owl. This must represent a temple-image, probably the gold and ivory image of Panachaean Athena. A similar figure of Athena holding a goblet in one hand and a spear in the other appears on the coins of many cities of Peloponnese. These other cities may have copied on their coins the well-known type of the statue at Patrae. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 78 *sq.*, with pl. Q xiv.

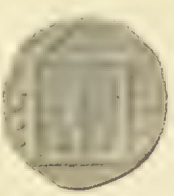


FIG. 16.—ATHENA (COIN OF PATRAE).

20. 3. a sanctuary of Mother Dindymene. A coin of Patrae (Fig. 17) represents a female figure draped, with a turreted crown on her head. She is standing on a pedestal. In her right hand she holds a bunch of grapes, in her left something else. On either side of her is a similar female figure, apparently grasping her, and dancing or leaping. The central figure is probably the image of Mother Dindymene; the other figures are probably her worshippers or priestesses engaged in a wild religious dance. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 79, with pl. Q xvi.



FIG. 17.—MOTHER DINDYMENE AND PRIESTESSES (COIN OF PATRAE).

20. 3. a temple of Olympian Zeus. Vitruvius mentions (ii. 8. 9) that the temple of Zeus and Hercules at Patrae was built of bricks, though the colonnades and epistyle were of stone. Cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxv. 172.

20. 4. in the Iliad —— the verses. See Homer, *Il.* xxi. 446-448.

20. 6. the Music Hall. This Music Hall, described by Pausanias as the grandest in Greece except the one at Athens, was discovered and excavated in 1889. It is situated in the upper quarter of *Patras*, a little below and to the west of the castle, and is in excellent preservation; not only the seats and the stage but even the walls which supported the roof are standing. The building faces south. Sixteen or seventeen tiers of seats, rising above each other in a semicircle, are preserved. The seats are built of thin, flat bricks laid in horizontal courses, but they were cased with white marble; a great part of the marble casing remains. Each seat is about 15 inches high and 23 inches broad (inclusive of the marble casing) from front to back. Three staircases, each 2 feet 6 inches wide, lead up through the seats. They were paved with white marble, and the pavement is in great measure preserved. Each staircase consists of twenty-eight steps. Every row of seats was terminated on the side of the staircase by a marble ornament in the shape of a lion's leg and paw; so that each staircase was bounded on each side by a row of these ornaments, one above the other. At the back of the auditorium, and rising above it, are considerable remains of the wall which supported the roof. It is built of bricks, stone, and mortar. The bricks are flat and are laid in horizontal courses, which apparently run right through the thickness of the wall. The orchestra is semicircular and measures 31 feet 6 inches in diameter. It seems to have been paved with white marble; at least there are in front of the stage a couple of marble blocks which appear to be remains of a pavement. Two staircases lead up to the stage, which is 16 feet 8 inches deep from front to back. Part of the white marble casing of the stage is preserved. The wall at the back of the stage is preserved to a height of 20 feet or so; it is built of, or at least faced with, horizontal courses of thin bricks laid flat with mortar between the courses. In this wall is a series of semicircular niches with round arched tops; there are twelve of these niches above, and eight larger ones below. At the foot of the back wall of the stage, at its eastern end, is a piece of marble moulding in its original position. The *paradoi* are nine paces long, 6 feet wide, and are paved with marble. The supporting-walls of the auditorium, built of, or at least faced with, thin bricks laid flat in horizontal courses, are well preserved. The eastern *parados* leads into a square chamber, which measures 14 feet by 13 feet 5 inches. The chamber is paved with a mosaic in black and white; the ground of the mosaic is white, but this white ground is chequered by black lines forming squares, which are set obliquely, diamond-like. The walls of the chamber are preserved to a considerable height; they are built of bricks, stones, and mortar, like the wall at the back of the auditorium; on the outside they are faced with thin bricks laid flat in horizontal courses.

Lying at the west end of the stage is a large circular block of coarse pebble-conglomerate, perhaps a drum of a column. The block measures about 3 feet in diameter; in the middle is a square hole, which may be a dowel-hole. Outside the Music Hall, in the street, are lying some small pieces of unfluted columns. Roman and Byzantine coins, also lamps, have been found on the spot.

The preceding description of the Music Hall is drawn almost entirely from notes made by me on the spot, 19th and 20th October 1895. See also Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, March 1889, p. 62 *sq.*; *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), p. 1066; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 378.

20. 6. **the Patreans —— helped the Aetolians against the Gallic host.** Cp. vii. 18. 6; x. 22. 6.

20. 6. **the one at Athens.** As to the Music Hall of Herodes Atticus at Athens, see above, vol. 2. p. 241 *sq.*

20. 6. **erected by the Athenian Herodes in memory of his dead wife.** The wife of Herodes Atticus was Appia Atilia Regilla; she died about 160 or 161 A.D. From an inscription found at Athens some years ago it appears that Regilla was priestess of the goddess called Fortune of the City. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 288; *id.*, 9 (1884), p. 95. Herodes was accused of having murdered her by causing a slave to beat her while she was pregnant. His grief, which some thought to be hypocritical, expressed itself in extravagant forms. See Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* ii. 1. 18 *sqq.* There is a long life of Herodes by Philostratus (*op. cit.* ii. 1), and inscriptions have been found which supplement our knowledge of him and his family.

See W. Dittenberger, 'Die Familie des Herodes Atticus,' *Hermes*, 13 (1878), pp. 67-89; K. Buresch, 'Triopeion, Herodes, Regilla,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 44 (1889), pp. 489-509; Ch. Hülsen, 'Zu den Inschriften des Herodes Atticus,' *ib.* 45 (1890), pp. 284-287; W. Froehner, *Les Inscriptions grecques du Louvre*, Nos. 7, 8; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Nos. 160, 1046; W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 58 *sq.*

20. 7. **Patreus, Preugenes, and Atherion.** Preugenes was the father of Patreus, who was the founder of Patrae (iii. 2. 1; vii. 18. 5). Who Atherion was does not appear; and I confess I do not understand the force of the remark that Preugenes and Atherion "are represented as boys because Patreus is so also."

20. 8. **the Lady of the Lake.** This was Artemis of the Lake. Cp. ii. 7. 6 note; iii. 23. 10; iv. 4. 2; iv. 31. 3; viii. 53. 11; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 427 *sq.*

21. 2. **the oracles given by the doves.** The prophetic priestesses at Dodona are commonly supposed to have been called 'doves' (Herodotus, ii. 55-57; Strabo, vii. fragm. (vol. 2. p. 453, ed. Meineke); Schol. on Sophocles, *Trachin.* 172). But it seems doubtful whether they ever really bore this title. As Mr. Farnell observes, "Herodotus merely tries to explain away the miraculous by supposing that the so-called 'doves' were once women; Strabo suggests that the name denoted 'old women' in the Molossian dialect; Pausanias takes it for granted [x. 12. 10] that the Peleiades ['doves'] were priestesses, but it is clear from his own statements that this was not a name used for them at Dodona at any period of which he had knowledge" (*The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. p. 39 note). The late W. Robertson Smith suggested that the priestesses of Dodona were called doves from the crooning voice in which they gave their oracles, "resembling the Arabic *saj'*, or the dove-like moaning of Hebrew demon-wizards (Isa. viii. 19 compared with xxxviii. 14)." Similarly he thought that the title of

'bees' which was given to the priestesses of various shrines (see note on viii. 13. 1) may have meant 'the humming priestesses.' He reminds us that the great oracle of the Philistines was the oracle of the Fly-Baal. See his article 'On the forms of divination and magic,' etc., *Journal of Philology*, 14 (1885), p. 120 *sq.* In the East Indian island of Amboina there is a holy place called *Nocaulao*, or the navel of the island. Here there is a sacred tree, and it is said that from time to time three white doves come and perch on the three branches. When they do so, then is the time to consult the spirits. See Van Hoëvell, *Ambon en de Oelisers*, p. 155.

21. 5. **the spring which is in Calydon** etc. "From under the mountain, close to the sea, at Crio Neri, flows a little brackish rivulet, about two fathoms deep in the centre; from the ground on either side well two springs of fresh and very cold water. Round the point of the mountain some mineral springs bubble up from the beach, close to the sea. . . . There are the remains of walls and fragments of tiles scattered about. These appear to be mediaeval or modern. . . . May not Crio Neri be a suitable position for the port in Calydon, mentioned by Pausanias in connexion with the story of Coresus, the priest of Bacchus, and the cruel virgin Callirhoe? I should like to fancy that the springs noted above are those mentioned in the story (Paus. lib. vii. 21). The sea at this point has encroached on the land, and I have been told of the remains of walls, visible under water, but, having no boat, could not search for them" (D. E. Colnaghi, 'On ancient remains in the neighbourhood of Missolonghi,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Series, 7 (1863), p. 548 *sq.*)

21. 6. **a precinct sacred to a native woman** etc. Bachofen has pointed out the close relation of Dionysus to women; he was especially worshipped by them. See Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, p. 231 *sqq.*

21. 7. **Beside the harbour is a temple of Poseidon** etc. On coins of Patrae Poseidon appears standing with one foot on a rock; he holds a dolphin and a trident (Fig. 18). Other coins of the city give a view of the harbour with vessels in the foreground, and the figure of Poseidon (as described above) in a temple in the background (Fig. 19). The temple and image so represented must therefore be those which Pausanias mentions. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 81, with pl. Q xix.-xxi.



FIG. 18.—POSEIDON (COIN OF PATRAE).



FIG. 19.—HARBOUR OF PATRAE (COIN OF PATRAE).

21. 7. **Poseidon —— Asphalius** ('**securer**'). Cp. iii. 11. 9.

21. 8. **Homer, in the description of the chariot race** etc. The verses quoted are *Iliad*, xxiii. 584 *sq.*

21. 11. **a spring.** This magic spring has been identified with a spring or rather well at the church of St. Andrew, which stands at the west end of *Patras*, beside the sea. The well is underground, and is

arched over with a small brick vault. A few steps lead down to it. The mouth of the well is covered with a wooden lid. The water, which is drawn up in a bucket, is clear but not cold; it seemed to me almost tepid. Miraculous properties are still ascribed to it. Beside the well, in its little underground chamber, is a shrine of St. Andrew, with a picture of the saint. At the back of the picture is a recess, said to be the saint's bed. The tomb of the saint is shown in the adjoining church, which is a large and handsome edifice, apparently new.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 120; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 4; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 135 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 302; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 441; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 286; Baedeker,[3] p. 29. Dodwell gives a picture of the well-house. I have described it from my own observation.

21. 12. **an infallible mode of divination** etc. Omens of death or recovery from sickness have elsewhere been drawn from the water of holy wells. "St. Andrew's well, in the village of Shadar [in Bernera, one of the Hebrides,] is by the vulgar natives made a test to know if a sick person will die of the distemper he labours under. They send one with a wooden dish to bring some of the water to the patient, and if the dish which is then laid softly upon the surface of the water turn round sun-ways, they conclude that the patient will recover of that distemper; but if otherwise, that he will die" (Martin, 'Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,' *Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels*, 3. p. 576). Cp. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 2. p. 383, Bohn's ed.; C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 214 *sq.* "The spring of Tobar-na-demhurnich was held to denote whether a sick person would overcome his complaint. From this well water was drawn before sunrise, and the patient was immersed in it. The water was then examined. If it remained clear, the patient was likely to recover; when its purity was sullied, death was regarded as near" (Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, 3. p. 212). Near the village of Karuwalankirei, in Malabar, there is a well to which sick people are brought every Friday. They offer betel, saffron, rice, and cocoa-nuts. Then they throw a lemon into the fountain. If the lemon swims, the patient will recover; if it sinks, he will die. See Phillips, *Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the people of Malabar* (London, 1717), p. 59. With the Greek superstition described by Pausanias we may also compare a Scotch one described by Miss Gordon Cumming. The family of Willox, hereditary cattle-curers at Nairn, possess a crystal ball which, when it is dipped in a bucket of water, "becomes a magic mirror, reflecting the face of the bad neighbour who has bewitched the cattle, and thus breaking the spell" (C. F. Gordon Cumming, *op. cit.* p. 74). Damascius mentions the case of a 'sacred woman' who divined by means of pure water in a crystal goblet; she professed to see the future reflected in the water (Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 191).

21. 14. **a sanctuary of Aesculapius.** "As Pausanias says that the temple of Aesculapius stood *above* the acropolis near the gates leading to Messatis, it seems evident that Messatis occupied a situation on the ridge northward, or north-eastward, of the citadel, and as

Pausanias also tells us that Messatis was between Aroe, on the site of the acropolis, and Antheia, the latter must have been situated still farther in the same direction. It is in fact very natural that such strong and lofty positions should have been the places of retirement of the inhabitants in those times of insecurity which preceded the foundation of Patreus, as well as when they again dispersed after the Gallic invasion of Greece" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 137). Cp. above vii. 18. 2-6.

21. 14. **more charming women are nowhere to be seen.** The Greek is: *Ἀφροδίτης δέ, εἴπερ ἄλλαις γυναιξί, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις.* All the translators and topographers, so far as I have observed, who refer to this passage, have interpreted it as a slur upon the morality of the women of Patrae. E. Curtius saw in Pausanias's remark "a sure trace of the worship of Mylitta introduced by the Phoenicians." All this is beside the mark. The expression *Ἀφροδίτης μέτεστι*, as my friend Mr. W. Wyse points out to me, is clearly equivalent to the adjective *ἐπαφρόδιτος*, 'lovely,' 'charming.' As to the fine flax by which the women of Patrae earned their livelihood, see note on v. 5. 2.

22. 1. **Pharae.** About a third of a mile from the left bank of the Pirus (*Kamnitsa*) river, between the villages of *Prevezo* and *Isari*, there are some insignificant ruins of an ancient town. They are probably the remains of Pharae, since the position corresponds tolerably well (according to Leake) with the distances of Pharae from Patrae, and from the mouth of the Pirus, namely 150 furlongs from the former and 70 furlongs from the latter. Boblaye, Bursian, and Curtius think that the 150 furlongs to Patrae are reckoned not by the direct road over the hills, but by the valley of the Pirus to its mouth and so along the coast.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 158; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 21; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 431; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 323; Baedeker,[3] pp. 331, 333; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 329.

22. 1. **plane-trees —— so big that people picnic in their hollow trunks.** Cp. iv. 34. 4. In Lycia there was a plane-tree beside a cold spring at the wayside; the trunk was hollow and so vast that the Roman governor Licinius Mucianus with eighteen guests dined in it, reclining on beds of leaves furnished by the tree, and listening to the patter of the rain among the branches. Near Velitrae grew a plane-tree in which there was room for fifteen people to dine, besides the servants who waited on them. The emperor Caligula dined in it and called it his nest. See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xii. 9 *sq.* For more examples of gigantic plane-trees in ancient and modern times, see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 234 *sqq.* (p. 217 *sqq.* English trans.)

22. 2. **beside it an oracle is established** etc. With this mode of divination by means of chance words heard and accepted by the hearer as omens, compare ix. 11. 7; Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité*, 1. p. 154 *sqq.* It was called *cledonism* or *cledomantia*, from *cledon*, 'a chance voice.' At the present day Greek girls of the island of Ios (*Nio*) resort to this mode of divination to discover the names of their future husbands. On the Eve of St. John (23rd June) a girl takes an unused jar, and fills it with water at the well without speaking. Into the

jar each girl puts something, such as an apple, a ring, a pin, etc. The jar is then covered with a red cloak, and left out all night "that it may see the stars." Next morning it is brought in and placed on a table, while the girls sing a song imploring St. John to reveal their true-love's name. Then the red cloth is removed, and the things are taken out of the jar. Finally, each girl pours a little of the water from the jar into her shoe and goes out into the street, and the first name she hears called out (such as Andronico or Themistocles) is the name of her future husband. See J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 161 *sq.*

22. 4. **The Egyptians have a similar mode of divination at the sanctuary of Apis.** At the sanctuary of the bull Apis in Memphis the method of divination was this. The worshipper prayed to the deity in the sanctuary, then passed out of it, and received the prophetic answer to his petition from children outside the shrine, who, skipping to the music of flutes, delivered the oracle sometimes in prose and sometimes in verse. See Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xi. 10; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii. vol. 1. p. 404, ed. Dindorf; Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca*, v. 4. Other modes in which Apis is said to have vouchsafed his answers are described by A. Wiedemann on Herodotus, ii. 153.

22. 4. **they do not catch the fish in it because they esteem them sacred.** For other examples of sacred fish, see i. 38. 1; iii. 21. 5. The fish, particularly the eels, in the fountain of Arethuse at Syracuse were sacred and inviolate; persons who had been driven by the exigencies of war to eat of these fish were visited by the godhead with great calamities (Diodorus, v. 3. 5; Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, 23). At Troezen it was of old unlawful to catch the sacred octopus, the nautilus, and the sea-tortoise (Clearchus, quoted by Athenaeus, vii. p. 317 b). The lobster (*τέττιξ ἐνάλιος*) was generally esteemed sacred by the Greeks and was not eaten by them; if the people of Seriphos caught a lobster in their nets they put it back into the sea; if they found a dead one, they buried it and mourned over it as over one of themselves (Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xiii. 26). A Greek inscription found at Smyrna runs thus: "Do not hurt the sacred fish; do not damage any of the vessels belonging to the goddess; do not carry them out of the sanctuary to seal them. The wretch who does any of these things, may he die a wretched death, devoured by the fish. If one of the fish die, let it be sacrificed the same day on the altar. As for such as help to guard and augment the honours of the goddess and her fishpond, may the goddess grant them a happy life and do them good" (*Μουσεῖον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς.* Περίοδος A. (1873-1875), p. 102, No. 104; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 364; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 195 *sq.*) At Myra (or Limyra) in Lycia there was a temple of Apollo with a spring near it. In this spring there were fish which the priest fed with the flesh of the sacrificed victims. If the fish ate the flesh, the sacrificers regarded it as a happy omen. See Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xii. 1; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxi. 22, xxxii. 17; Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, 23. When Cyrus and the Ten Thousand came to the river Chalus, they found it full of large tame fish, which the native

Syrians would not let them catch, because they regarded the fish as gods (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 4. 9). The Syrians of Bambyce (Hierapolis) esteemed fish sacred and never ate them; near the great sanctuary there was a lake full of tame fish which were said to know their names and to come at call (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 14 and 45). Indeed the Syrians in general held fish sacred and refused to eat them. See Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 461-474; Diodorus, ii. 4. 3; Athenaeus, iv. p. 157 b, viii. p. 346 c d; Plutarch, *De superstitione*, 10; Menander, quoted by Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 15; Hyginus, *Fab.* 197; *id.*, *Astronomica*, ii. 30. Persons who had been initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries worshipped the red mullet and would not partake of it (Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, 35. 11; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* ix. 51 and 65; cp. Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 16). The red mullet was also a forbidden food to the priestess of Hera at Argos (Plutarch, *l.c.*; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* ix. 65). The priests of Poseidon at Megara who were called *Hieromnemones* (sacred recorders) would not eat fish (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 8. 4). The priest of Poseidon at Leptis would eat nothing that came out of the sea (*id.*, *De sollertia animalium*, 35. 11). The worshippers of the Phrygian Mother of the Gods had to abstain from all fish (Julian, *Orat.* v. p. 176 b). The Pythagoreans would not eat fish (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 8; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 45; Diogenes Laert., viii. 1. 34). Fish were tabooed to the Egyptian priests and to many Egyptian laymen (Herodotus, ii. 37; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 7; *id.*, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 8; Strabo, xvii. p. 812; Lucian, *Astrol.* 7; Juvenal, xv. 7; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 6. 33, p. 850, ed. Potter; *id.*, *Protrept.* ii. 39, p. 34, ed. Potter; Porphyry, *De abstin.* iv. 7). The Caledonians abstained from fish (Dio Cassius, lxxvi. 12). The Homeric Greeks appear to have done so also, except in cases of extreme necessity (Homer, *Odyssey*, iv. 363 *sqq.*, xii. 329 *sqq.*; Plato, *Republic*, iii. p. 404 b; Athenaeus, iv. p. 157 b). For other statements as to the sacredness of fish and the refusal of certain persons to partake of them, see Varro, *Rer. rust.* iii. 17. 4; Sextus Empiricus, Ὑποτυπ. iii. 223; Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* vi. 10. 5; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 190 n. 1. In India fish are worshipped as incarnations of Vishnu; they are often kept in tanks and fed as a religious duty (Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 328). The laws of Manu prescribed abstinence from fish, except in certain specified cases (*Manu*, v. 15 *sq.*) At the present day many tribes in various parts of the world, especially in Africa, have a superstitious horror of eating fish. Examples are too numerous to be quoted here.

22. 4. **In the olden time all the Greeks worshipped unwrought stones.** Cp. i. 44. 2; ii. 31. 4; iii. 22. 1; ix. 24. 3; ix. 27. 1; ix. 38. 1. The Aenianes had a sacred stone which they worshipped; they sacrificed to it and covered it with the fat of the victim (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 13). The worship of rude stones has been practised all over the world. The wild Karens of Burma worship certain stones, sacrifice hogs and fowls to them, and pour the blood upon them (Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 295). In Aneitum, one of the New Hebrides,

"smooth stones, apparently picked up out of the bed of the river, were regarded as representatives of certain gods, and wherever the stone was, there the god was supposed to be. One resembling a fish would be prayed to as the fisherman's god. Another, resembling a yam, would be the yam god. A third, round like a bread-fruit, the bread-fruit god —and so on" (G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 327). The great oracle of the Mandan Indians was a large porous stone. Every spring and sometimes during the summer a deputation visited the stone to consult the oracle. They solemnly smoked to the stone, alternately smoking themselves and passing the pipe to the stone. Some white marks on the stone, made by one of the deputation while the rest slept, were believed to convey the answer of the oracle (Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the source of the Missouri River*, London, 1815, 1. p. 224; cp. Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America*, 2. p. 186 *sq.*; *Relations des Jésuites*, 1836, p. 108 *sq.* (Canadian reprint); E. James, *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 1. p. 252 *sq.*; H. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, 3. p. 229). In the Highlands of Scotland every village is said to have had its Gruagach stone, on which the people poured libations of milk (C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), pp. 70 *sq.*, 335). "In certain mountain districts of Norway, up to the end of the last century, the peasants used to preserve round stones, washed them every Thursday evening (which seems to show some connexion with Thor), smeared them with butter before the fire, laid them in the seat of honour on fresh straw, and at certain times of the year steeped them in ale, that they might bring luck and comfort to the house" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] 2. p. 167). Almost every village of Northern India has its fetish stone in which the spirit of a god or deified man is believed to reside. See W. Crooke, *Popular religion and folk-lore of Northern India*, p. 293 *sqq.* In the neighbourhood of Gilgit (North-Western India) every village has a large stone which is the object of reverence. In some villages goats are annually sacrificed beside the stone and the blood sprinkled on it (Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 114 *sq.*) The Ingouch tribe of the Caucasus worship certain rocks and offer costly sacrifices to them, especially at funerals; solemn oaths, too, are taken in presence of the sacred rock (Potocki, *Voyages dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, 1. pp. 124, 126). In Syria certain round black stones were esteemed sacred and were supposed to possess magic powers. They were called *baetyli*, which is the same word as Bethel. See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxvii. 135; Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, §§ 94, 203; Genesis xxviii. 18 *sq.*; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 1. § 205. For other examples of the worship of stones, see A. Bastian, 'Der Steincultus in der Ethnographie,' *Archiv für Ethnographie*, 3 (1868), pp. 1-18; Tylor, *op. cit.* 2. p. 161 *sqq.*; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*,[4] p. 301 *sqq.* Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 201 *sqq.* See also below, x. 24. 6 note.

22. 6. **Tritia.** Cp. vi. 12. 8 note. The site of Tritia is supposed to be at *Kastritza*, a place 2 miles in a straight line to the north of the large village of *Hagios Blasis*, near the sources of the Selinus (as to

which see vii. 24. 5 note). The town occupied the south-eastern and eastern slope of a strong height and was surrounded by a massive wall, which was further strengthened by large square towers projecting at regular intervals. The space within the town walls is full of potsherds and architectural remains. Within the citadel are foundations of considerable buildings. There are also a great many ancient graves.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 117; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 433; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 324; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 330; and especially von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 70.

Boblaye hesitated between *Kastritza* and a place farther north, called *St. Andrew*, to the south of *Gouzoumistra*, where there are some ruins; but he inclined to identify *St. Andrew* with Tritia. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 21 *sq.* But the more generally accepted view is that the ruins at *St. Andrew* (*Agios Andreas*) are those of Leontium, a town mentioned by Polybius (ii. 41, v. 94). The place is on the road from *Kalavryta* to *Patras*, about half-way between the two. The ruins are on an elevation to the right, as you go to *Patras*. In most places the walls are nearly level with the ground, but may still be traced round the ancient town, which appears to have been of some extent. A church of St. Andrew among the ruins has given the place its modern name.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 452; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 418 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 448 *sq.*, 456 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 330; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 69 *sq.*

22. 6. **Nicias.** See note on iii. 19. 4. As to paintings on Greek tombstones, see *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), p. 36 *sqq.*; *id.*, 5 (1880), p. 164 *sqq.*

22. 8. **Ares had connection with —— Tritia, a daughter of Triton** etc. K. O. Müller was of opinion that Tritia, daughter of Triton, was a form of Athena, and that it was only the legend of the virginity of Athena which obliged the people of Tritia to represent their ancestress as distinct from Athena. The mythical relation of Athena to Triton (see Paus. ix. 33. 7) is so far in favour of Müller's view. See J. Escher, *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 27 *sqq.*; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. p. 269. On the relation of Athena to Ares there is a dissertation by F. A. Voigt, *Beiträge zur Mythologie des Ares und der Athena* (Leipzig, 1881): see especially p. 254 *sqq.*

22. 9. **the Gods called Greatest.** These may have been the Dioscuri (cp. i. 31. 1; viii. 21. 4), or Demeter and Proserpine (cp. iv. 1. 5; iv. 2. 6; iv. 3. 10 etc.; viii. 31. 1), or the Cabiri (see note on iv. 1. 7, vol. 3. p. 407).

22. 10. **Rhium.** This is the cape at the narrowest point of the Gulf of Corinth, about 5½ miles north-east of Patrae. The extremity of the perfectly flat cape is occupied by a Turkish fort called the Castle of the Morea (*Kastro-Moreas*), which was formerly allowed to fall into decay, but is now garrisoned, protected on the landward side by a moat.

and equipped with machine guns. The fort is also used as a prison. From the ramparts the views up and across the Gulf of Corinth are very fine. Immediately opposite Rhium, on the other side of the strait, is the companion fort of the Castle of Roumelia (*Kastro-Roumelis*). Dark swirls on the smooth surface of the water between the two Castles seem to show that a current runs fast in the narrows. Farther to the east, on the northern shore of the gulf, Naupactus is clearly visible, with its mediaeval walls ascending the steep slope of the hill behind the town. The mountains on that side of the gulf are grand, and, when touched with the lights and shadows of evening, exceedingly beautiful. The mountains to the south of Rhium, across the strip of maritime plain, are rugged and broken.

In antiquity there was a sanctuary of Poseidon at Rhium (Strabo, viii. p. 336). The breadth of the strait was estimated by Thucydides (ii. 86) at 7 furlongs; by Strabo (viii. p. 335) at 5; by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* iv. 6) at less than a mile; and by Scylax (*Periplus*, 35) at 10 furlongs. This last estimate agrees with the present width of the strait, which is a mile and a quarter. It is conjectured that under the influence of wind, tide, and earthquakes the breadth of the strait may have varied at different times. But the evidence seems to show that the strait is narrowing. The inner and apparently much older portion of the Castle of the Morea is now separated from the shore by a broad flat about 250 yards across. If, as seems probable, this oldest part of the fortress stood originally on the shore, the sea must have retreated to this extent since the fort was built. The natives also affirm that the sea is retreating.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 275; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 147 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 23; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 446 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 1. p. 146; Baedeker,[3] p. 33; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 394 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 261 *sq.*

22. 10. **Panormus.** This is the bay between Cape Rhium and Cape Drepanum. There is a Turkish fountain on the beach, and near it formerly stood a *tekieh* or tomb of a Turkish saint, from which the bay has taken in modern times the name of the bay of *Tekieh.* Here a naval battle took place between the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets in 429 B.C. (Thucydides, ii. 86). See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 195, 415 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 23; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 447; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312.

22. 10. **the Fort of Athena.** On Cape Drepanum (see 23. 4) Dodwell saw a ruined fort which he thought might be the Fort of Athena. The place is called *Palaeo-Psatho-Pyrgo.* Leake, on the other hand, was disposed to regard the Fort of Athena as a harbour, and to place it at *Psatho-Pyrgo*, in the bay to the east of Cape Drepanum. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 127; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 416; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 24; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 447; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312.

22. 10. **the harbour of Erineus.** This is now called the bay of *Lambiri*, or in full *Lambiri-ta-ampelia.* On the west side of the bay the

mountains rise abruptly from the sea, and are clothed with forests. The eastern side of the bay is formed by the flat delta of the *Salmeniko* river. A sea-fight took place in the bay between the Athenian and Corinthian fleets in 413 B.C. (Thucydides, vii. 34). See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 127; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 193 *sq.*, 410; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 458 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 313.

22. 11. **the river Milichus.** This is almost certainly the stream which coming down from a glen in the hills crosses the high-road from *Patras* to Aegium about twenty minutes walk (10 or 11 furlongs) north of *Patras*. At this point of its course the stream flows in a gravelly, but not broad, bed between vineyards. The road crosses it by a bridge. Beside the bridge is a garden with cypresses. Higher up the stream, among the hills, are the villages of *Voundeli* and *Sykena*.

Cp. Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 6; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 417; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 22 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 445; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312.

22. 11. **the Charadrus.** Between the Milichus (see preceding note) and Rhium two streams of some size fall into the sea. The first of them, some 2 miles north of the Milichus, has an exceedingly broad and stony bed; the breadth of the bed is probably over a quarter of a mile; a good many minutes are spent in traversing it. When I crossed it (20th October 1895) there was no water in it; but it is clear that in rainy weather a raging torrent must sweep over this broad, rugged bed, and such a stream would very appropriately be called Charadrus ('torrent'). About a mile to the north of this torrent-bed another stream crosses the path, flowing in a broad, gravelly bed through uncultivated ground overgrown with shrubbery. This stream, which descends from the village of *Velvitsi*, is commonly identified with the Charadrus (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 417; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 23; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 445 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 263); but it may possibly be the Selemnus (see 23. 1 *sqq.*) A small stream of clear water was flowing in the gravelly channel when I saw it. It is about a mile to the south of Rhium, and comes down from the mountains which rise a little way inland, beyond the narrow maritime plain. Among the mountains it flows in a very deep, rugged bed, and, when it is swollen with rain, the passage of the stream is difficult and dangerous (Philippson, *l.c.*)

23. 1. **Argyra —— Selemnus.** The Selemnus is probably the stream which comes down from the village of *Kastritza* and joins the sea a little to the east of Cape Rhium. About three-quarters of a mile to the south of the Castle of the Morea Vaudrimey saw some ruins, including those of "a triumphal arch or monumental gate." They may possibly be the ruins of Argyra. But what Vaudrimey took to be "a triumphal arch or monumental gate" is clearly not ancient but mediaeval; it is apparently a castle gateway facing north and south, and distant, as it seemed to me, nearer a quarter than three-quarters of a mile south of the Castle of the Morea. I observed nothing else resembling a Roman arch in this neighbourhood. See Boblaye, *Recherches*,

p. 23; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 417; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 446; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312.

23. 4. **the Bolinaeus —— Bolina.** The Bolinaeus is probably the river of *Platiana* (or *Platanos*) which falls into the bay of Panormus, to the east of the Selemnus. In this neighbourhood Leake observed "a flat-topped height overlooking the maritime level; it has some appearance of artificial ground, and answers exactly to the site of Bolina." See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 195, cp. p. 417; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 447; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312.

23. 4. **Drepanum.** This cape, the most northerly point of Peloponnese, retains its old name in the form of *Dhrapano.* It is a long sandy spit running out into the sea in a crescent shape; hence its name of Drepanum or 'sickle.' See Dodwell, *Tour*, 1. p. 127; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 195, 414; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 23 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 447; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 312. As to the story of the mutilation of Sky by Cronus, Mr. Andrew Lang has shown that it is one of a world-wide class of myths invented to explain the separation of Earth and Sky (A. Lang, *Custom and myth*, p. 45 *sqq.*)

23. 4. **Rhypes.** This place was, as Pausanias mentions, 30 furlongs from Aegium; it must therefore have been half-way between Aegium and the harbour of Erineus, which was 60 furlongs from Aegium (22. 10). On the right bank of the *Tholopotamos* river there are some ruins, which would seem to be those of Rhypes, since they are equidistant from Aegium and Erineus (bay of *Lambiri*); the distance of the ruins from each of these places is a little over 3 miles. Leake, without any sufficient reason, would place Rhypes farther to the west, on the bank of the *Salmeniko* river, perhaps on the exact site of the village of *Salmeniko.* But it does not appear that he found any ruins there, and the distances of the *Salmeniko* river from Aegium and Erineus do not agree with the statements of Pausanias. Prof. von Duhn identifies Rhypes with the ruins of a considerable city a full hour to the south-west of Aegium. The ruins occupy the summit of a high table-mountain called *Trapeza* ('table'). The circuit-walls may be traced, also many foundation-walls. The town appears to have been destroyed by an earthquake. Rhypes is mentioned by Herodotus (i. 145) among the twelve Achaean cities. In the time of Strabo it was deserted and its territory belonged to Aegium and Pharae (Strabo, viii. p. 387). Myscellus, the founder of Crotona, was a native of Rhypes (Strabo, *ib.*)

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 193, 417 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 408-410; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 24; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 458 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 330; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 66; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 395.

23. 5. **Aegium.** The modern town of Aegium or *Vostitsa* occupies the site of the ancient city. It stands in a beautiful position at the corner of a table-land stretching from the mountains to the gulf. The torrents on either side have pushed out spits of alluvial soil into the sea, thus creating a sort of sheltered roadstead. On the seaward side is a steep cliff some 150 feet high, and between the foot of the cliff and the

shore is a narrow strip of level ground. The lower town, comprising the railway station and some large warehouses, stands on this strip of level ground beside the sea. Here, too, the principal spring of the town issues from sixteen mouths. Beside it there grew, down to 1858 or later, a magnificent plane-tree, measuring forty-five feet in girth at a height of three feet above the ground. The modern breakwater rests upon ancient foundations about five feet broad. Beside the breakwater another spring issues through nine mouths. About half-way up the cliff which separates the upper from the lower town there is a terrace some 150 feet wide. Thus the town rises from the water's edge in three steps, and the houses being divided between the shore, the terrace, and the table-land present a picturesque appearance when viewed from the sea. The upper and lower towns are connected by a road which ascends a ramp or inclined plane, and also by an underground passage through the conglomerate rock. The greater part of the town, with its busy bazaar, lies on the table-land. The fertile plain round the town is covered with luxuriant grape and currant vineyards, interspersed with a few olive and mulberry plantations. The modern town, with its population of 7000, lives almost entirely by the cultivation and export of currants. Of the ancient city hardly any traces are left. Probably much of it was built of brick, since the fields near the town have been found strewn with fragments of brick and painted tiles. A few pieces of sculpture and some insignificant inscriptions have been discovered. In a field overlooking the sea, a little to the east of Aegium, Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. T. Newton noticed "part of a fluted column and some remains of buildings which had just been dug up; near them was a piece of massive wall. The column was of travertine covered with stucco." He saw also two fine statues of white marble, and some fragments of a third. "One of these statues appeared to be a Mercury, very similar to the celebrated one in the Vatican; the other a female figure, with a head-dress like that of the younger Faustina, probably an empress in the character of some goddess. These statues are well preserved and are good specimens of art of the Roman period." Polished stone axes and flints of the neolithic age have been found in the neighbourhood of Aegium.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 304 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 7; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 185 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 24 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 2. pp. 323-325; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 459 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 289 *sqq.*; C. T. Newton, *Travels and discoveries in the Levant*, 1. p. 10 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 331; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), pp. 63 *sqq.*, 95 *sqq.*; *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), p. 101; Baedeker,[3] p. 245 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 396 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 260, 279.

23. 5. **Phoenix —— Miganitas.** These rivers cannot be identified with certainty. The Miganitas is perhaps the dreaded torrent now called *Gaidaropniktes* ('drowner of asses'), which flows into the sea about a mile to the west of Aegium. It comes down from a deep glen in the mountains, the steep sides of which are partly occupied by cornfields, partly wooded with clumps of pines. If this identification is right, the Phoenix is either the *Tholopotamos*, which falls into the sea about a

mile to the west of the *Gaidaropniktes*, or more probably perhaps the larger river *Salmeniko*, about 2 miles farther west. This last river takes its name from the *Kalyvia* of *Salmeniko*, a village among the hills about 5 miles distant from the sea. At this point the stream issues from a glen in the limestone mountains, and its valley opens out and becomes well cultivated. The slopes of the mountains above the village are partly wooded with oaks. All these streams are torrents which in the rainy season rush down in spates, but in the height of summer either dry up altogether or shrink to mere rivulets trickling along their broad stony beds. Their sudden floods often spread great devastation among the currant plantations of the maritime plain, and do great injury to the railway and road.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 192 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 25; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 459; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 313; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 395 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 261, 263, 265, 273.

23. 5. **Strato, an athlete.** See v. 21. 9 note, where he is described as an Alexandrian. He may have been born at Alexandria and have settled at Aegium.

23. 5. **Ilithyia. Her image is draped** etc. Some coins of Aegium present us with a female figure which may be a copy of the image of Ilithyia mentioned by Pausanias. The figure is clad in a long tunic and wears a *polos* or firmament. In her raised right hand she holds a torch; in her extended left hand another torch. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 83, with pl. R vi., vii. Cp. Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 592. Characteristic of Ilithyia in art is "the gesture of the hands, one of which in many representations of coins and vases is upraised with the palm opened outwards, a gesture which belonged to a sort of natural magic or mesmerism, and was supposed to assist childbirth" (L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 613 *sq.*) Elsewhere (i. 18. 5) Pausanias says that the Athenians were the only people who represented Ilithyia as draped from head to foot. He probably had not yet visited the sanctuary of Ilithyia at Aegium when he made that statement. For other examples of images draped in real clothes see vol. 2. p. 574 *sq.*



FIG. 20.—ILITHYIA (COIN OF AEGIUM).

23. 7. **images of Health and Aesculapius.** On a coin of Aegium, belonging to the reign of Commodus, Aesculapius is represented seated, holding a sceptre in his right hand. In front of him is an altar, with a serpent coiled round it; and beyond the altar stands the female figure of Health, with her right hand extended over the altar. It can hardly be doubted that this group on the coin is a copy of the group by Damophon which Pausanias describes; for the same figures of Aesculapius and Health occur separately on other coins of Aegium and must therefore be copies of statues. The coins thus afford us information as to Damophon's artistic style. In representing Aesculapius he appears to have followed the type of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias. The figure of Health is majestic, and here again he would seem to have

followed the traditions of the school of Phidias. This is the opinion of Messrs. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, who think that the coins confirm the judgment of the late H. Brunn as to the high religious and moral aim of Damophon's art (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 291). See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 84, with pl. R ix. x. xi. Fragments of statues by Damophon were discovered at Lycosura in 1889. See note on viii. 37. 3.



FIG. 21.—AESCULAPIUS AND HEALTH (COIN OF AEGIUM).

23. 7. **the Phoenician legend that Aesculapius** etc. The Phoenician counterpart of Aesculapius is commonly thought to have been Eshmun, one of whose symbols was a serpent. See Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, 1. p. 527 *sqq.*; Alois Müller, 'Esmun. Ein Beitrag zur Mythologie des orientalischen Alterthums,' *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, Philos.-histor. Cl. 45 (1864), pp. 496-523. Perhaps Pausanias's adversary was not very serious; but the germ of his theory that the sun (Apollo) is the father of the air (Aesculapius) may possibly be traced to the cosmological speculations which Philo of Byblus attributed to Sanchuniathon. See Philo of Byblus quoted by Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* i. 10. 2; *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 565. The late W. Robertson Smith, in one of his unpublished lectures on Semitic religion, argues that Eshmun was not a specialised god of healing like Aesculapius, but merely the Baal or supreme god of Sidon, resembling in character and functions all other Baals (that is, local or tribal gods).

23. 8. **For at Titane** etc. See ii. 11. 5 *sq.* Pausanias is pointing out that the Greeks regarded both Aesculapius and Health as children of Apollo, in other words as products of the Sun, and that they identified these two products of the solar activity by giving both names (Aesculapius and Health) to one and the same image. Thus he proves, to his own satisfaction at least, that the Greek story of the parentage of Aesculapius was identical with the Phoenician, both being merely a mythical way of stating certain physical facts. Cp. Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 592.

24. 1. **At Sparta also there is a barrow to Talthybius.** See iii. 12. 7.

24. 2. **Homagyrian Zeus —— Aphrodite and Athena.** This sanctuary of Homagyrian Zeus was doubtless the sacred grove of Zeus known as the Hamarium, where the Federal Assembly or Diet of the Achaean League met. The Hamarium was at Aegium (Strabo, viii. pp. 385, 387). There was an altar of Hestia in the Hamarium, beside which were set up tablets engraved with the decrees of the Achaean League (Polybius, v. 93. 10). Polybius calls the sanctuary the Homarium, but the form Hamarium is established by an inscription found at *Levidi* (near Orchomenus) in Arcadia, from which we learn that the official oath taken by representatives of the Achaean League was by Hamarian Zeus, Hamarian Athena, and Aphrodite, the three deities

whose images Pausanias saw in the sanctuary of Homagyrian Zeus. See Foucart, 'Fragment inédit d'un decret de la ligue Achéenne,' *Revue archéologique*, N. S. 32 (1876), p. 96 *sqq.*; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 178; Hicks, *Greek historical Inscriptions*, No. 187; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 2. No. 1634. The Achaean colonies of Sybaris, Crotona, and Caulon in Italy established a common sanctuary of Homarian (Hamarian) Zeus, where their representatives met for deliberation and concerted a common policy, evidently in imitation of the Hamarium in their old home (Polybius, ii. 39). It would seem, therefore, that Pausanias is wrong in speaking of Homagyrian Zeus; the true form of the name was Hamarian. Possibly in Pausanias's time the ancient and unintelligible adjective Hamarian had been explained or corrupted into Homagyrian. Some would derive the name Hamarian from the Locrian *hamara* 'day,' and suppose that it means 'of the broad daylight.' See Preller, *Griech. Mythol.*[4] 1. p. 148; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. p. 43. All the bronze coins of the Achaean League have on the obverse a figure of Zeus, standing and naked, holding a figure of Victory and a long sceptre. This is probably Hamarian Zeus, and may be a copy of his statue in the Hamarium. On the reverse of the same coins is a female figure seated, holding a wreath and a long sceptre. She may be Hamarian Athena or Aphrodite or Panachaean Demeter. Messrs. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner prefer to regard her as Achaia personified, remarking that similarly Aetolia appears on coins of the Aetolian League, Bithynia on Bithynian coins, Roma on Roman coins, etc. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 86, with pl. R xv. xvi.; *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, plates ii. and iii.

24. 3. **a copious spring.** This is doubtless one of the two abundant springs which may still be seen on the beach at Aegium. See note on vii. 23. 5.

24. 3. **a sanctuary of Safety.** Safety seems to have been an especially Achaean goddess. Cp. vii. 21. 7.

24. 3. **they send them to Arethusa.** Cp. note on v. 7. 2.

24. 4. **Zeus represented as a child —— a work of Ageladas.** There was a legend that Aegium took its name from a goat (*aix*), which there suckled the infant Zeus (Strabo, viii. p. 387). This legend is figured on a coin of Aegium (Fig. 22): the infant Zeus is being suckled by a she-goat; on either side is a tree; above is an eagle with outspread wings (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 85 *sq.*, with pl. R xiv.) Other coins of Aegium represent an archaic image of Zeus standing on a basis, naked and beardless, holding a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle in his extended left; on one of them appears to be the legend ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ ΠΑΙΣ, "the child of the people of Aegium." Of these two representations of Zeus on the coins one is probably a copy



FIG. 22.—ZEUS SUCKLED BY A GOAT (COIN OF AEGIUM).

of the image mentioned by Pausanias; as he makes no mention of the goat, the probability seems rather in favour of the latter. Moreover, the latter type agrees closely with the type of Zeus on the coins of Messene, which some suppose to be a copy of the image of Zeus which Ageladas is known to have made for the Messenians. The resemblance between the coin-types of Messene and Aegium is in favour of the supposition that they are copies of the two images of Zeus which Ageladas made for the Messenians and Aegians respectively. On the other hand, this type of Zeus is too common on coins of other places to allow us to argue with confidence from the resemblance in question. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 85 *sq.*, with pl. R xii. xiii.; and note on iv. 33. 2.

24. 4. **the most beautiful boy was chosen to be priest** etc. We often hear of a priesthood held by a boy or girl up to the age of puberty but not after. See ii. 33. 2; vii. 26. 3; viii. 47. 3; x. 34. 8. The intention was doubtless to secure the chastity of the priest or priestess. Cp. ix. 27. 6.

24. 4. **The Achaean diet still meets at Aegium.** Cp. vii. 7. 2 note.

24. 4. **the Amphictyons meet —— at Delphi.** The Amphictyonic Council seems to have still met at Delphi in the time of Philostratus; at least he speaks of its meetings as if they were still regularly held (Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* iv. 23).

24. 5. **the river Selinus.** This is the rapid stream now called the river of *Vostitsa*, which flows into the sea in a north-north-easterly direction 3 miles to the east of Aegium. In the upper part of its course it flows for 4 or 5 miles through a very deep and savage gorge between mountains that rise on either side to a height of about 4000 feet above the stream. At the northern end of this gorge is the village of *Kounina.* From this point onwards till the river issues from the mountains on the maritime plain, its valley is wider. On the west side the mountains rise in steep rocky terraces wooded with pines: on the eastern side of the valley they are much less steep, and here on a hill stands the large monastery of Taxiarchis among beautiful gardens. The mountains above the monastery are clothed with fir-woods, which come so low down as almost to touch the olive-groves—those representatives of a warmer climate. Higher up than the gorge already mentioned the Selinus is formed by the meeting of two streams which come down from the villages of *Lapata* and *Vlasia.* The latter stream is the more considerable. On its southern side is perched on a high rock the picturesque monastery of *Makellaria.* Above this point the stream issues from an inaccessible ravine enclosed by walls of rock. The village of *Vlasia*, still higher up the stream, lies at the mouth of a deep glen, from which the head water of the river issues. It may be reached by carriage from *Patras* in five or six hours. The slopes of the surrounding mountains are wooded with firs, and many chestnut trees grow near the village.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 407; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 10; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 25; Curtius, *Pelop.* I. p. 465; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 311;

Baedeker,[3] pp. 30, 245, 309; and especially Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 263 *sq.*, 265, 282.

24. 5. **a most holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon.** In historical times the great sanctuary of the Ionian Greeks was that of Heliconian Poseidon at Panionium (Herodotus, i. 148; Strabo, viii. p. 384, xiv. p. 639; as to Panionium see note on vii. 5. 1). Besides the seats of his worship here mentioned by Pausanias, inscriptions prove that Heliconian Poseidon was worshipped in Samos and at Sinope. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), p. 32 *sqq.*; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 13 (1889), p. 299 *sqq.* On his worship, cp. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, 1. p. 394 *sqq.*

24. 6. **Homer also refers to Helice and Heliconian Poseidon.** See *Iliad*, ii. 575, viii. 203, xx. 404.

24. 6. **in after time the Achaeans of Helice** etc. According to the testimony of a contemporary, the historian Heraclides Ponticus, the destruction of Helice by an earthquake took place on a winter night in the year 373 B.C., two years before the battle of Leuctra. The city was situated a mile and a half from the sea, and all this intermediate space, along with the city itself, vanished under the waves. Two thousand Achaeans were sent to bury the dead, but they could find none. Eratosthenes, who visited the site many years afterwards, was told by sailors that the bronze statue of Poseidon was standing under water and formed a dangerous shoal. See Strabo, viii. p. 384 *sq.* The circumstances which, in the opinion of the Greeks, drew down the wrath of Poseidon on Helice and so occasioned the earthquake, are somewhat variously related. But it seems that the Ionian Greeks had sent envoys requesting that they might get the image of Poseidon from the people of Helice, or at least the plan of his temple or altar, and that the people of Helice impiously maltreated or murdered the envoys in the very sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. See Strabo, *l.c.*; Diodorus, xv. 49; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xi. 19; Seneca, *Natur. Quaest.* vi. 23 and 26, vii. 5 and 16. Pliny and Ovid, like Pausanias (§ 13), assert that the ruins of Helice were visible under the sea (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 206; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 293 *sqq.*)

Similarly, the city of Callao in Peru, which was submerged in the earthquake of 1746, is said to be sometimes visible under the sea (Tschudi, *Peru. Reiseskizzen*, 1. p. 48). "There is a legend that the old city of Goa [in India] was overwhelmed by a sudden rush of the sea, and that its houses may still be seen in calm weather below the waters" (Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, trans. by Drury, p. 33 n.) Breton peasants tell of the town of Is which sank into the sea; the fishermen say that on stormy days you can see, in the troughs of the waves, the tops of the church-spires, and in calm weather you can hear, from the depths of the sea, the church-bells chiming the hymn of the day (Renan, *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. 1 *sq.*) Similar tales of drowned cities, villages, castles, and churches are common in many lands. They are told especially of lakes, and as stories of this kind are current in districts of Ireland and Scotland where prehistoric *crannogs* or lake-

dwellings are known to have existed, it is a plausible conjecture that some of them may have originated, if not in traditions of such dwellings, at least from glimpses of the remains under water.

See W. G. Wood-Martin, *The Lake Dwellings of Ireland*, p. 28 *sq.*; and for more examples see Sotion 41, 42, in Westermann's *Scriptores rerum mirab. Graec.* p. 190; Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 132; Kuhn, *Sagen aus Westfalen*, 1. No. 171; *id.*, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen*, No. 80, p. 81; Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, 1. Nos. 549, 553, 554; Bechstein, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols*, pp. 233, 237; K. Lynker, *Deutsche Sagen und Sitten in hessischen Gauen*, p. 136 *sq.*; Bérenger-Féraud, *Réminiscences populaires de la Provence*, p. 305 *sqq.*; Burne and Jackson, *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 73 *sqq.*; *The Gentleman's Magazine Library*, edited by G. L. Gomme, *English traditional lore*, p. 21; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topography of Ireland*, ch. 9; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 4. p. 372; Livingstone, *Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 327; *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1887, p. 47; Thirlwall, 'On some traditions relating to the submersion of ancient cities,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Series, 6 (1859), pp. 387-415; R. Basset, 'Les Villes englouties,' *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, 6 (1891), pp. 165, 431-435, 495-499, 513-528, 634-637; *id.*, 8 (1893), pp. 474-479, 603; *id.*, 9 (1894), pp. 79, 251 *sq.*, 612-617; *id.*, 10 (1895), pp. 101-104, 310-316, 367 *sq.*, 494 *sq.*, 610-616; *id.*, 11 (1896), pp. 35-38. Heine in his *Reisebilder* (1. p. 148, Hamburg, 1876) has given the old legend an imaginative turn, much as Renan has done in his *Réminiscences*, referred to above.

Earthquakes in Greece are still very common. Observations extending over twenty years prove that they are commonest in February and March, least common in June and July. The hour at which they are oftenest felt is about half-past two in the morning; half an hour after noon is the time when they are rarest. See Neumann and Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 320. Aegium, the nearest neighbour of Helice, has repeatedly suffered from severe earthquakes, notably in 23 A.D., 1817, 1861, and 1888. See Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 13; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 402, note a; Neumann and Partsch, *op. cit.* p. 325; Baedeker,[3] p. 246. The earthquake of 1888 is said to have almost destroyed the town. It must have been quickly rebuilt, for when I visited Aegium in May 1890 the place bore few traces of the catastrophe.

24. 7. **earthquakes are preceded either by heavy and continuous rains** etc. With the following list of signs of an approaching earthquake, compare Sir Charles Lyell's description of the phenomena attending earthquakes: "Irregularities in the seasons preceding or following the shocks; sudden gusts of wind, interrupted by dead calms; violent rains at unusual seasons, or in countries where, as a rule, they are almost unknown; a reddening of the sun's disk, and haziness in the air, often continued for months; an evolution of electric matter, or of inflammable gas from the soil, with sulphurous and mephitic vapours; noises underground, like the running of carriages, or the discharge of artillery, or distant thunder; animals uttering cries of distress, and evincing extraordinary alarm, being more sensitive than men to the slightest movement; a sensation like sea-sickness, and a dizziness in the head, experienced by men:—these, and other phenomena, . . . have recurred again and again at distant ages, and in all parts of the globe" (*Principles*

of Geology,[12] 2. p. 81). Aristotle in his discussion of earthquakes (*Meteor.* ii. 7. and 8. p. 364 a 14 *sqq.*) mentions some of the symptoms described by Pausanias, such as the heavy rains, the droughts, the haze over the sun, and the subterranean noises. He mentions one ominous sign which Pausanias does not; namely a long, accurately-levelled line of fine mist seen at sundown or soon after it in a clear sky. On ancient views of earthquakes, see also Joannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, 53-58.

24. 8. **Springs of water mostly dry up.** Modern observation has shown that earthquakes are sometimes accompanied by the drying up of springs; for example, this was observed in New England, 27th October 1827, and at Lisbon in 1755. Even rivers are sometimes wholly or partly dried up. In 1110 there was a dreadful earthquake at Nottingham, and the Trent became so low there that people walked across it. During the earthquake of 1158 the Thames was so low that it could be crossed on foot even at London. In 1787, when a shock was felt at Glasgow, the flow of the Clyde stopped for a time. In 1881 a river in the Philippine Islands, after a severe shock of earthquake, ceased to flow for two hours. On the other hand, new springs are sometimes formed during an earthquake. See J. Milne, *Earthquakes* (London, 1886), p. 154 *sqq.*

24. 8. **the sky is shot with sheets of flame.** Observation has shown that in some parts of the world, particularly Italy, earthquakes are often attended by a display of the Aurora Borealis. It is said that before the earthquakes which shook England in 1849 and 1850 the weather had been unusually warm, the Aurora had been common and brilliant, while the whole year had been remarkable for fire-balls, lightnings, and coruscations. Glimmering lights were seen in the sky before the earthquakes in New England (18th November 1755); and strange lights appeared in the heavens before the Sicilian earthquake of 1692. On the other hand, in Japan, where earthquakes occur daily, the Aurora is almost never seen. See J. Milne, *Earthquakes*, p. 264 *sq.* Aristotle, who was eleven years old at the time of the destruction of Helice, speaks of a great comet that was seen in the west about the time of the earthquake (*Meteor.* i. 6. p. 343 b 1 *sq.*)

24. 12. **The sea advanced far over the land** etc. The great wave of the sea which accompanied the earthquake at Helice is mentioned also by Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 6. p. 343 b 2 *sq.*, ii. 8. p. 368 b 8) and Strabo (viii. p. 384). Aelian says that ten Lacedaemonian ships, which happened to be anchored in the roadstead, were engulphed with the city (*Nat. anim.* xi. 19). In modern times destructive earthquakes have often been accompanied by immense waves of the sea. At the great earthquake of Lisbon in 1755 the sea first drew back till the whole bar at the mouth of the Tagus was uncovered; then it came on in mountainous waves, 30 to 60 feet higher than the highest tide, and swamped the city. At the same time the coast of Spain was swept by a mighty wave; at Cadiz it is said to have been 60 feet high. The coasts of Chili and Peru have been often devastated by tremendous waves and earthquakes together; and the waves are said to be more dreaded than the earthquakes. In the earthquakes which destroyed

Lima and turned part of the coast about Callao into a bay, a frigate was carried by the waves to a great distance up the country and left high and dry at a considerable height above the city. See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*,[12] 2. p. 147 *sqq.*; J. Milne, *Earthquakes*, p. 165 *sqq.*

24. 13. **a city on Mount Sipylus** etc. See note on v. 13. 7. Its destruction by an earthquake is mentioned also by Strabo (i. p. 58, xii. p. 579) and Pliny (*Nat. hist.* ii. 205).

25. 3. **when Cylon and his faction had seized the Acropolis** etc. See Herodotus, v. 71; Thucydides, i. 126; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 1.

25. 3. **The Lacedaemonians also slew men** etc. See iv. 24. 6 sq. According to Aelian (*Var. hist.* vi. 7) only five houses in Lacedaemon (Pausanias says none) were left standing after the earthquake. Diodorus says (xv. 66) that almost the whole city was brought to the ground. Cp. Thucydides, i. 101.

25. 5. **Cerynea.** Strabo says (viii. p. 387) that Cerynea was situated on a lofty rock. The remains of an acropolis and other ruins were observed by Vietti above *Rhizomylo*, on the mountain which rises above the left bank of the *Bouphousia* river, where that stream issues from the mountains into the maritime plain. The ruins, which are about 3 miles from the sea, are probably those of Cerynea. Vietti appears to be the only modern traveller who has visited them. The *Bouphousia* river, which rises in the mountains of *Kerpini* and issues from a gorge into the coast-plain, is doubtless the Cerynites river.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 25 *sq.*; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 387 *sq.* (where he retracts the view stated in his *Morea*, 3. pp. 183 *sq.*, 403 *sq.*, as to the site of Cerynea); Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 467 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 313, 334 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 245; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 368, 397.

The wine of Cerynea was supposed to produce abortion in women; even bitches, if they ate of the clusters of the vine, were said to miscarry (Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* ix. 18. 11; Aelian, *Var. hist.* xiii. 6; Athenaeus, i. p. 31 f).

25. 7. **a sanctuary of the Eumenides, said to have been founded by Orestes.** Orestes is said to have sacrificed a black sheep to the Eumenides at Cerynea after his acquittal at Athens, whereupon the goddesses became propitious (*eumeneis*) to him, and so were called Eumenides (Schol. on Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 42).

25. 7. **statues of women** etc. See ii. 17. 3 note. In front of the temple of Apollo in the island of Thera three large statues of women, probably priestesses, were found in 1896 (*Athenaeum*, 11th July 1896, p. 74 *sq.*)

25. 8. **Bura.** Between the *Bouphousia* (Cerynites) and *Kalavryta* (Buraicus) rivers there rises a massive hill, which falls away on the south and west in a line of stupendous precipices. This is the hill or mountain of Bura; it is now called by the natives *Idra*. On the north the hill is separated from the sea by a strip of level coast-land; on the southern side it is connected by a neck or saddle (which is, however, far below the summit of the hill) with the loftier mountains which begin

here and stretch away into Arcadia. On this neck or saddle are the remains of Bura. They consist of extensive, though insignificant, remains of walls and foundations, spread along the southern and part of the western foot of the hill, as far as a copious spring which gushes from the bottom of the precipice. Among the ruins is a chapel of St. Constantine, which probably occupies the site of an ancient sanctuary. Mixed with the ruins are huge blocks of rock which appear to have been hurled from the beetling crags above by an earthquake, perhaps the same earthquake which destroyed the city. The whole neighbourhood gives one the impression that it has been subjected to gigantic convulsions of nature. The crags tower up to dizzy heights above the traveller, and the rivers find their way through tremendous gorges to the sea.

At the south-western foot of the hill of Bura, where the precipices rise highest, lie the ruins of the ancient theatre, with remains of fifteen rows of seats; the orchestra is about 32 paces broad. From some of the seats there is a fine view of the Corinthian Gulf, with the mountains of Northern Greece rising beyond it. A few remains of the town walls may be seen below the theatre.

The citadel of Bura probably occupied the summit of the hill. The western face of the hill is a sheer wall of rock; a single path here leads to the summit.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 302 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 9; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 183 *sq.*, 397 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 387 *sq.* (Leake at first took the ruins to be those of Cerynea, but afterwards identified them with those of Bura); Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 26 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 469 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 336 *sq.*; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in. Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 62 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 308 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 369. The remains of the theatre appear to be described by Baedeker (Lolling) alone. I did not observe them, though I passed along by the path which here skirts the foot of the precipices on my way from Megaspeleum to Aegium.

25. 9. **The images are —— works of Euclides, an Athenian.** As Pausanias expressly says that the earthquake which destroyed Bura did not spare even the images, it follows that these images by Euclides must have been set up after the earthquake of 373 B.C. Probably they were set up not very many years after, for the sculptor Euclides was a contemporary of Plato's and owed him three *minae*, as the philosopher mentioned in his will (Diogenes Laertius, iii. 42). Another work of this sculptor is mentioned by Pausanias (vii. 26. 4).

25. 9. **The image of Demeter is clothed.** The Greek is: *καὶ τῇ Δήμητρί ἐστιν ἐσθής*. It is strange that Pausanias should have thought it worth while to mention that the statue of Demeter was draped, since a nude statue of Demeter would be unheard of. The remark seems to imply that the other statues by Euclides, namely Aphrodite, Dionysus, and Ilithyia, were nude. But a nude Ilithyia would also be strange. Mr. L. R. Farnell has proposed to translate the Greek, "'There is a raiment for the Demeter of the shrine,' that is to say, that in the shrine was preserved a sacred raiment to be worn by the statue on solemn occasions" (*Classical Review*, 2 (1888), p. 325; cp. his *Cults of the*

Greek States, 2. p. 613). He is probably right, though the Greek words do not necessarily imply anything more than sculptured drapery. See ii. 30. 1, *Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξόανον γυμνόν ἐστι τέχνης τῆς ἐπιχωρίου, τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδί ἐστιν ἐσθής, κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ*, where a nude statue is clearly opposed to a draped one.

Coins of Bura represent Demeter or Ilithyia standing draped in a long robe; her right hand is raised, her left holds a torch (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 88 *sq.*, with pl. S i.)

25. 10. **a river named Buraicus.** This is the river now called the *Kalavryta* river because it descends from the town of that name. The valley, which is broad and open at *Kalavryta*, contracts to the north of the town into a narrow defile flanked by huge rocks. In this narrow valley is the great monastery of Megaspeleum, the largest and wealthiest monastery in Greece, and indeed one of the largest and richest monasteries of the Eastern Church. Formerly it had dependencies even in Russia. The building and its situation are in the highest degree picturesque. It is a huge whitewashed pile, with wooden balconies on the outside, eight stories high, perched at a great height above the right bank of the river, on the steep slope of a mountain and immediately overhung by an enormous beetling crag which runs sheer up for some hundreds of feet above the roof of the monastery. It is this overhanging cliff which gives to the monastery its name of Megaspeleum ('great cave'). So completely does it overarch the lofty building that when in the War of Independence the Egyptian soldiers of Ibrahim Pacha attempted to destroy the monastery by letting fall masses of rock upon it from the cliff above, the rocks fell clear of the monastery, leaving it unharmed. The steep slope of the mountain below is occupied by the terraced gardens of the monks, which with their rich vegetation, and the cypresses rising here and there above them, add greatly to the picturesque effect of the scene. A single zigzag path leads up this steep terraced slope to the monastery. The bare precipices above, crowned with forests, the deep wooded valley below, and the mountains rising steeply on the farther side, make up a landscape of varied delight and grandeur, on which a painter would love to dwell.

The river (the Buraicus) which winds through the depths of this romantic vale, on approaching the sea bursts its way through a stupendous gorge between the hill of Bura on the west and another hill of the same precipitous character on the east; on either side of the gorge the crags, beautifully fringed with trees and shrubs, rise to an immense height. A view of the gorge is given by Dodwell (*Tour*, vol. 2. facing p. 303), but it hardly does justice to the grandeur of the scenery.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 448-450; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 176-179, 397; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. pp. 405-410; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 473; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 481-484; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 335 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 307 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 369 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 134. A view of the monastery forms the frontispiece to Gell's *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*.

25. 10. **a small image of Hercules in a grotto.** The cave was on the north side of the hill of Bura, facing the sea, near the monastery of

Troupia. This monastery, which is a branch of the great monastery of Megaspeleum, is delightfully situated on the north-eastern side of the hill of Bura. It stands in the midst of woods, interspersed with olive groves, vineyards, and cornfields, on the crest of a steep height, the foot of which is separated from the sea by a plain covered with currant plantations. Its windows command a glorious prospect of the Gulf of Corinth, with the mountains of Locris rising beyond its blue sparkling waters. From the monastery a path ascends through thick bushes and pinewoods to a pyramidical rock, in the face of which were formerly three grottoes of moderate size. These grottoes had been enlarged artificially, and in their sides were cut niches for votive-offerings. Over the middle of the three grottoes was a human head carved in the rock. At the entrance there was a portico or colonnade, and an artificial terrace resting on supporting walls. To the right of the grottoes and higher up the hill are considerable remains of two temples, of which the western seems to have been the finer; among the remains of it are great slabs of Pentelic marble. The earthquakes of recent years are said to have obliterated the grottoes with their remains of antiquity.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 9; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 26 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 397; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 471; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 337; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 62; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 398.

On a coin of Bura (Fig. 23) the grotto, the portico, and one of the two temples on the hill above the grotto are clearly represented. The figure of Hercules, apparently holding a spear, is portrayed standing in the cave. But on another coin of Bura there is an archaic figure of Hercules holding, not a spear, but a club. This is probably a truer copy of the image of Hercules in the grotto. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 89, with pl. S ii. iii. Curtius believed that the worship of Hercules at Bura was of Semitic origin (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 2. p. 226).



FIG. 23.—HERCULES IN THE CAVE (COIN OF BURA).

After describing the view from the monastery of *Troupia* on the hill of Bura, Leake makes the following remarks on the scenery of the Gulf of Corinth, which are worth transcribing because they convey the impression made by this wonderfully beautiful gulf on one who in general was not given to dwell on the charms of nature. He says: "I doubt whether there is anything in Greece, abounding as it is in enchanting scenery and interesting recollections, that can rival the Corinthiac Gulf. There is no lake scenery in Europe that can compete with it. Its coasts, broken into a infinite variety of outline by the ever-changing mixture of bold promontory, gentle slope, and cultivated level, are crowned on every side by lofty mountains of the most pleasing and majestic forms; the fine expanse of water inclosed in this noble frame, though not so much frequented by ships as it ought to be by its natural adaptation to commerce, is sufficiently enlivened by vessels of every size and shape to

present at all times an animated scene. Each step in the Corinthian Gulf presents to the traveller a new prospect, not less delightful to the eye than interesting to the mind, by the historical fame and illustrious names of the objects which surround him. And if, in the latter peculiarity, the celebrated panorama of the Saronic Gulf, described by Sulpicius, be preferable, that arm of the Aegaean is in almost every part inferior to the Corinthian sea in picturesque beauty: the surrounding mountains are less lofty and less varied in their heights and outlines, and, unless where the beautiful plain of Athens is sufficiently near to decorate the prospect, it is a picture of almost unmitigated sterility and rocky wildness exhibited in every possible form of mountain, promontory, and island. It must, however, be admitted that it is only by comparison that such a scene can be depreciated" (*Morea*, 3. pp. 397-399). I can only confirm this estimate of the superior charms of the Gulf of Corinth. Its waters seemed to me of an even deeper blue; and the delicacy of the morning and evening tints—azure, lilac, and rose—on the mountains is such that it is hard in looking at them to believe they are of the solid earth; so unsubstantial, so fairy-like, do they seem, like the gorgeous phantasmagoria of cloudland or mountains seen in dreams.

25. 10. **divination by means of dice and a tablet** etc. We are told that in Greek sanctuaries there used to be dice (*astragali*), and that people divined by throwing them (Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 337). Tiberius, while still a private man, divined by throwing golden dice (*tali*) into the fountain of Aponus, near the Euganean hills; in the time of Suetonius the dice could still be seen there in the water (Suetonius, *Tib.* 14). The mode of divination which is here briefly described by Pausanias appears to have been this. The dice were four-sided (*astragali*, literally 'knuckle-bones,' so called because knuckle-bones were originally used for the same purpose); and each of the four sides had a figure of some sort, probably a number, painted or carved on it. The person who inquired of the oracle took up four of these dice and threw them on the table. Four figures were accordingly turned up; and according to the combination of figures turned up an omen was drawn. The oracular meaning of all possible combinations of the figures was explained on a diagram which was hung up beside the table: and by consulting this diagram the inquirer ascertained the interpretation of that particular combination of figures which he had turned up.

This explanation is confirmed by a number of Greek inscriptions found in recent years in Asia Minor, which give the various oracular interpretations to be put upon the various combinations of throws of dice. From the inscriptions it appears that each die had four sides which were numbered respectively 1, 3, 4, 6, the numbers 2 and 5 being omitted. The dice were therefore *astragali*, like those at Bura, and bear out the statements of the ancients (Pollux, ix. 100; Eustathius, on Homer, *Odyssey*, i. 107, p. 1397. 35 *sqq.*) that the numbers 2 and 5 were wanting on *astragali*. All the inscriptions suppose that *five* of these dice were used in each throw (not *four*, as at Bura). For each possible throw there was generally a name, the name being always that

of a divinity. Here are a few specimens of the oracles, translated from the inscriptions.

"1. 3. 3. 4. 4 = 15. (The throw) of Saviour Zeus."

One one, two threes, two fours.
The deed which thou meditatest, go do it boldly.
Put thy hand to it. The gods have given these favourable omens.
Shrink not from it in thy mind. For no evil shall befall thee.

"6. 3. 3. 3. 3 = 18. (The throw) of Good Cronus."

A six and four threes.
Haste not, for a divinity opposes. Bide thy time,
Not like a bitch that has brought forth a litter of blind puppies.
Lay thy plans quietly, and they shall be brought to a fair completion.

"22 = 6. 4. 4. 4. 4. (The throw) of Poseidon."

One six and all the rest are fours.
To throw a seed into the sea and to write letters,
Both these things are empty toil and a mean act.
Mortal as thou art, do no violence to a god, who will injure thee.

"24 = 4. 4. 4. 6. 6. (The throw) of child-eating Cronus."

Three fours and two sixes. God speaks as follows.
Abide in thy house, nor go elsewhere,
Lest a ravening and destroying beast come nigh thee.
For I see not that this business is safe. But bide thy time.

Probably the dice in the cave of Hercules at Bura were similarly numbered, and a similar list of interpretations was painted or carved on the tablet or board that hung beside the table on which the dice were thrown.

For the inscriptions see G. Kaibel, 'Ein Würfelorakel,' *Hermes*, 10 (1876), pp. 193-202; *id.*, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1038; G. Cousin, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 8 (1884), pp. 496-508; J. R. S. Sterrett, in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 2 (1888), pp. 79-90; *id.*, 3 (1888), pp. 206-214; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 8 (1887), p. 261 *sq.*; *Hermes*, 25 (1890), p. 313 *sqq.*

The Greeks also practised divination by means of divining pebbles called *thriai*; but the exact mode in which they used them is not known. See Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 75; Stephanus Byzant., *s.v.* Θρία; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 265. On many Greek vases two men are depicted consulting the divining-dice or, perhaps more probably, the divining pebbles, in presence of Athena. See Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 3. p. 1 *sqq.*; *Monumenti Inediti*, 8 (1867), tav. xli. (vase-painting by Duris); *Annali dell' Instituto*, 39 (1867), p. 143 *sqq.* Cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, 2. p. 403 *sqq.* Such pictures, together with the legendary connexion of Athena with the *thriai* or divining-pebbles, make it probable that the dice-playing, which we know was practised in her sanctuary at Scirum in Attica, had an oracular significance. See Pollux, ix. 96; Eustathius, on Homer, *Odyssey*, i. 107, p. 1397. 25 *sq.*; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 300, *s.v.* Σκειραφεῖα; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* σκιραφεῖα; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 717, *s.v.* Σκειρά. On the tripod at Delphi there was a bowl containing oracular pebbles;

when a person inquired of the oracle, these pebbles danced up and down (Suidas, *s.v.* Πυθώ; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 364).

Divination by throwing dice, bones, sticks, pebbles, etc., is practised by many barbarous and savage peoples. With the oracle here described by Pausanias we may especially compare a mode of divination practised by Chinese and Cochinchinese sailors: "A book is prepared, in which a number of sentences are written and numbered, and a similar number of small pieces of sticks are prepared with corresponding numbers on them. These are placed in a hollow bamboo and shaken until one of them falls out, the number of the piece of wood is then compared with the corresponding motto, and according as this answer is favourable or otherwise, the junks pursue their voyage or wait until they obtain a more favourable answer" (A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 3. p. 125 note, quoting Moore). Divination by bones, such as the Greek *astragali* were originally, is especially practised in Africa.

For examples of that and like modes of divination see *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesell. f. Anthropologie* (1882), p. 542; Callaway, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1 (1872), p. 178; J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 381; Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, 2. p. 518; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Africas*, p. 104 *sq.*; Callaway, *Religious system of the Amazulu*, pt. iii. p. 327 *sqq.*; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre im Süd-Afrika*, 1. p. 436; Josaphat Hahn, 'Die Ovaherero,' *Zeitschrift der Gesell. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, 4 (1869), p. 505; Santos, 'History of Eastern Ethiopia,' Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 16. p. 696; Munzinger, *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, p. 90; Bouche, *La côte des Esclaves*, p. 120; *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, N.S., 2. (1858), p. 357; Bastian, *op. cit.*, 3. p. 76; *id.*, 4. p. 379; Lemire, *Cochinchine Française*, p. 304; *Royal Geogr. Soc.*, *Supplementary Papers*, 1 (1886), p. 70; Veth, *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*, 2. p. 313 *sq.*; R. Taylor, *Te ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its inhabitants*, p. 205 *sq.*

25. 11. **the Crathis.** Pausanias continues to move eastward along the coast of Achaia. Beyond the Buraicus river, where it issues from its romantic gorge, the strip of fertile plain which has skirted the coast all the way from Aegium comes to an end. The mountains now advance to the shore, and the road runs for a short distance along the summit of cliffs that border the coast. Then the mountains again retreat from the shore, leaving at their base a small maritime plain clothed with olive groves. A stream, the river of *Diakopton*, crosses the plain and flows into the sea. It comes down from a wild and magnificent gorge, thickly wooded with tall firs and shut in by stupendous precipices of naked rock. Seen at nightfall under a lowering sky, with wreaths of white mist drooping low on the black mountains, the entrance to this gloomy gorge might pass for the mouth of hell; one could fancy Dante and his guide wending their way into it in the darkness.

Eastward of this little plain the mountains, clothed with pine forests, again rise in precipices from the sea, hemming in the railway at their foot A line of fine crags runs along the face of the mountains for a long way, their crests tufted with pinewoods, and the lower slopes at their feet also clothed in the same mantle of sombre green. After thus skirting the shore for 3 miles, the mountains once more retire and

leave between their feet and the sea a plain some 4 miles long and 300 yards wide, occupied partly by olive groves and partly by currant plantations, interspersed among which are many houses. This is the plain of *Akrata*. At its western end the river of *Akrata*, the ancient Crathis, issuing from a valley in the hills, crosses the narrow plain and falls into the sea. Its broad and shallow stream, which never dries up even in the height of summer (cp. Herodotus, i. 145), is spanned by a long stone bridge with seven arches. The accumulation of soil brought down by the stream has formed a delta protruding into the sea, and through this flat expanse of level alluvial ground, now covered with currant plantations, the river finds its way into the sea. Separated from the sea by this delta is a high bluff which is a conspicuous feature of the coast as seen from Aegium and many other points of the gulf. On the inner side of the bluff the left bank of the river is high and steep, while the right bank is low and often flooded. Here, on the high left bank, where the khan of *Akrata* now stands, probably stood the ancient Aegae. Strabo (viii. p. 386) agrees with Pausanias in saying that Aegae was beside the Crathis, and he tells us (p. 387) that even in his time the city was deserted. It is not, therefore, surprising that no remains of antiquity have been observed here, except potsherds and fragments of wrought stones scattered about in the fields.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 175, 394-396; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 301 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 471-474; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 398; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 134 *sq.*, 136.

25. 11. **From this Crathis the river beside Crotona —— got its name.** Cp. Herodotus, i. 145.

25. 12. **Aegae.** See the last note but one. Homer's mention of Aegae, quoted by Pausanias, is in *Iliad*, viii. 203.

25. 13. **a faded painting.** For paintings on tombstones, cp. ii. 7. 3; vii. 22. 6 note.

25. 13. **The women are proved by drinking bull's blood.** Pliny, doubtless referring to the same sanctuary as Pausanias, says that the priestess of Earth at Aegira drank bull's blood before she descended into the cave to prophesy (*Nat. hist.* xxviii. 147). Thus Pliny seems to regard the draught of bull's blood as a mode of inspiration (cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 34 *sq.*), while Pausanias regards it as an ordeal. Probably the blood was supposed to act both ways, an unchaste priestess being poisoned, a chaste one being inspired by it. Bull's blood was commonly supposed by the ancients to be a deadly poison. See Roscher, 'Die Vergiftung mit Stierblut im classischen Altertum,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 29 (1883), pp. 158-162; to the passages cited by him add Apollodorus, i. 9. 27. Yet we hear of bull's blood being drunk as a cure for blood-spitting and consumption (Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xi. 35). On ordeals in classical antiquity, see Funkhänel, 'Gottesurtheil bei Griechen und Römern,' *Philologus*, 2 (1847), pp. 385-402. Poison ordeals are especially common in Africa (A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz* (Oldenburg und Leipzig, 1887), 2. pp. 110-120). The idea that bull's blood is poisonous reappears in a modern Neapolitan

folk-tale (Basile's *Pentamerone*, 2. p. 65, of Liebrecht's German translation).

26. 1. **the port of Aegira —— The upper city.** The narrow maritime plain of *Akrata* (see above, p. 174 *sq.*) is closed on the east by a hill which thrusts itself forward from the mountains till its northern foot almost touches the sea-shore. On the south the hill is joined to the higher mountains inland by a narrow but lofty neck. Here the hill may be 1000 feet or so high. From this point it descends northward, first in a series of terraces, and then in an abrupt slope, to the sea-shore, where it leaves just room enough for the railway to run at its base. On the east and west sides it is defended by precipices and precipitous slopes. This is the hill of Aegira. The somewhat scanty ruins of the ancient city may be seen on the terraces of the hill and on the neck which connects the hill with the mountains on the south. They may be most conveniently visited from *Derveni*, a village on the coast about 4 miles to the east of Aegira, where the hills advance almost to the water's edge. There is a station at *Derveni* on the railway line from Corinth to *Patras*. From the village a ride of a hour and a half through olive-groves and vineyards (which here extend far up the hill-sides) takes us to the neck which connects the nearly isolated hill of Aegira with the mountains on the south. Here extending along the neck for a good many yards in a direction from south to north are some massive remains of fortification-walls, about 8 feet high and 4 or 5 feet thick. They are either late Roman, Byzantine, or mediaeval, being roughly built of stone, bricks, and mortar. A little farther north, still on the neck, are the remains of a sort of tower of solid masonry. The stones of which it is built appear to be ancient squared blocks, but as there are some bricks and mortar in the joints the tower is probably mediaeval. Beside it lie a number of large squared blocks. Passing across the neck, we ascend to the summit of the hill which, as I have said, descends northward toward the sea in a series of terraces. These terraces are broad enough to support, at various elevations, a town of some size. On one of these terraces, some way below the summit, I found a piece of an ancient foundation-wall running east and west for some yards; it consists of a row of solid squared blocks. These foundations may have formed part of a temple. They stand on a platform which is supported on the east by a wall of squared blocks laid in two horizontal courses. The terrace on which these remains are to be seen is strewn with potsherds, and is supported on the east by a wall 27 paces long, built of squared blocks of breccia, of which one to three courses are standing. To the south and south-east of this terrace, on the eastern slope of the hill, are a few small isolated pieces of wall, three courses high, which seem to have supported terraces. Still farther to the south is a piece of Roman wall constructed (like the buildings at Pellene and Sicyon) of thin bricks laid flat, with mortar between them.

Lower down, to the north, on the eastern side of the hill, is a rocky knoll on which are some ancient squared blocks; and farther to the north, a good deal lower down, is another small piece of Roman wall built of bricks in the style already described. Near it I found two

mutilated Greek inscriptions cut in large well-formed letters; one of them was from the base of a statue of a certain Zeno which had been set up by the city (see below). Just to the north of these broken marble blocks the fortification-walls of Aegira are preserved in two long pieces of about 100 yards and 80 yards respectively. They form a right angle, the longer piece facing the east and the shorter piece facing the north. Both are built, in the most regular style, of squared blocks of breccia laid in horizontal courses. The eastern wall is standing to a height of four and five courses; the northern wall to a height of two to four courses.

At the northern foot of the hill, near the sea and immediately above the railway line, are some half-dozen ancient tombs, of no great size, hewn in the face of an overhanging rock. In some of them the quadrangular holes for the reception of the bodies are quite apparent.

The situation of Aegira is, from a military point of view, a very advantageous one, being at once strong and commanding. Occupying an isolated hill, which is protected on three sides by precipices or steep slopes, and on the fourth side is accessible only by a narrow and easily defensible ridge, it might bid defiance to an enemy, while at the same time it completely dominated the coast road, which ran on the narrow strip of shore, not many yards wide, between the foot of the hill and the sea. From a commercial and agricultural point of view, on the other hand, the site has little to recommend it. The mountains on either side come down so near to the sea that only a small space of level or shelving ground is left for the operations of the husbandman; and though there is a good beach, there is no shelter for vessels. What Pausanias calls the port of Aegira was probably situated on the narrow strip of flat land between the foot of the hill and the sea. The place is now called *Mavra Litharia* ('black rocks'). There are here two little creeks in the rocks, beside which Leake observed foundations of ancient Greek walls, together with some squared blocks in a small level corn-field, just within the rocks.

Polybius has described Aegira as situated on the Corinthian Gulf, between Aegium and Sicyon, on strong and not easily accessible hills, facing towards Parnassus, and at a distance of 7 furlongs from the sea (Polybius, iv. 57). This estimate of the distance of the place from the sea is probably more correct than the 12 furlongs of Pausanias, though indeed it is difficult to speak of Aegira as distant from the sea at all, since the hill on which it stands almost touches the water's edge. Pausanias's estimate of the distance of the port of Aegira from Bura is also wrong; the distance is 102 Greek furlongs (about 11 miles) instead of 72 (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 27).

I have described Aegira from notes made by me on the spot, 18th October 1895. The two inscriptions copied by me are as follows:

(1) ΙΙΚΑΝΕΙΝΙΟΝΖΗΝΩΝΑΗΙΙΟΛΙΣ

(2) ΚΑΛΩΝΑΚΙΝΔΥΝΟ
ΚΑΙΟΝΑCΟΥCΙΙΑΙΔΑCΕ
ΒΗΡΟΝ CΤΑCΕΙΙΟΝC
CΕΜΝΟΥ ΤΕΡΜΑΜΟΛΟΝ
ΤΑΒΙΟΥ

As to Aegira and its port see Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 386 *sq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, p. 301; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 13; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 27 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 474 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 338 *sq.*; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 61; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 398; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 135 *sq.*

26. 2. **In Homer the city is named Hyperesia.** See *Iliad*, ii. 573.

26. 2. **they got together all the goats —— and tied torches to their horns** etc. Hannibal deceived the Romans by a similar stratagem (Livy, xxii. 16 *sq.*) Mr. Farnell suggests that the legend related by Pausanias points to a custom, observed in the worship of Artemis, of tying lighted torches to the horns of goats and then turning the animals loose over the fields with the intention of evoking by sympathy the fructifying warmth of the earth. He compares the practice observed at the spring festival of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, of tying goats, sheep, and other animals to tree-trunks and then burning them alive (Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 49). See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 459; and for examples in modern Europe of the use of fire to promote, by sympathetic magic, the growth of the crops, see W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 497 *sqq.* The story here told by Pausanias bears witness at all events to the association of Artemis with the goat. See Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1869, p. 104 *sq.*; Farnell, *op. cit.* 2. p. 449 *sq.*; and note on iii. 18. 4.

26. 4. **Oreus —— Hestiaea.** The change of name from Hestiaea (Histiaea) to Oreus is mentioned by Strabo (x. p. 445).

26. 4. **a sanctuary of Zeus** etc. On coins of Aegira Zeus appears seated, holding in one hand an image of Victory, in the other a sceptre. The type is a common one, but it may be a copy of the image by Euclides. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 90, with pl. S vi. Among the ruins of Aegira Prof. von Duhn observed the foundations of a temple of some size finely built of large blocks. They are near the point where the road from the port enters the lower city. Possibly they are the remains of the temple of Zeus. See von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 61.

26. 5. **Iphigenia.** Cp. ii. 35. 1.

26. 6. **the image of Hercules at Sicyon** etc. See ii. 10. 1.

26. 7. **they must observe certain rules of purity.** If the Galli, the eunuch priests of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, chanced to see a corpse, they might not enter the sanctuary that day; but next day, after purifying themselves, they were allowed to enter. The relations of a deceased person were not allowed to enter the sanctuary for thirty days after the death; and before entering they had to shave their heads. Similarly all persons who entered the sacred city (Hierapolis) for the first time had to shave their head and eyebrows; and on their pilgrimage from their home to the sanctuary they were obliged to drink cold water and to bathe in it; and they had to sleep on the ground, for they might not lie on a bed from the time they set out on their pilgrimage till they returned home. See Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 53-55. It is possible that some of these rules were observed by the worshippers of the Syrian goddess (Astarte) at Aegira.

26. 8. an image of Fortune —— a winged Love. On coins of Aegira the goddess of Fortune is represented standing, with a turreted crown on her head, the horn of plenty in one hand, and a sceptre in the other. On one of the coins (Fig. 24) Fortune is thus portrayed, and opposite her stands Love winged, his legs crossed, leaning on a long torch or staff. This must be a copy of the group described by Pausanias. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Pausanias*, p. 91, with pl. S viii. ix.



FIG. 24. — FORTUNE AND LOVE (COIN OF AEGIRA).

26. 10. a straight and steep road leads —— through the mountains to Phelloe. Phelloe may have been near the site of *Zacholi*, a village lying in a deep wooded valley enclosed by lofty table-mountains of imposing aspect on the east and west (*Mavoron-oros* on the east and *Evrostina* on the west). The distance of the place from Aegira and the nature of the district answer to Pausanias's description. The village is about 5 miles from the coast. The stream which traverses the valley finds its way between white chalky hills into the sea about 4 miles east of Aegira, immediately to the east of the village of *Derveni*. Leake thought that some remains of Phelloe were to be seen on the road from *Zacholi* to *Vlogoka*, a village nearer Aegira.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 389; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 28; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 478; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 339; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 399; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 124 *sq.*

26. 11. the sanctuary of the Huntress. *i.e.* of Artemis. See § 3.

26. 12. Pallas. There was a legend that in the fight between the gods and the giants Athena slew Pallas and clothed herself in his skin (Apollodorus, i. 6. 2; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355). With this savage legend we may compare a custom which was sometimes observed by the Tahitians in battle. "When a man had slain his enemy, in order fully to satiate his revenge, and intimidate his foes, he sometimes beat the body flat, and then cut a hole with a stone battle-axe through the back and stomach, and passed his own head through the aperture, as he would through the hole of his tiputa or poncho; hence the name of this practice. In this terrific manner, with the head and arms of the slain hanging down before, and the legs behind him, he marched to renew the conflict" (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1. p. 310).

26. 12. Phorbas, who was a son of Triopas. Cp. *Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*, 33 (as emended by Schneidewin); Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 14.

26. 13. Donussa. This town is generally supposed to have been situated on what is now called Mt. *Koryphé*, a pointed and isolated mountain, 2400 feet high, which rises abruptly near the coast between Aegira and Pellene, about 4 miles west of *Xylokastro*. The mountain is loftier and more conspicuous than the acropolis of Corinth, and is visible from most parts of the Gulf. On the summit is a chapel of the Panagia Spiliotissa. Prof. von Duhn, however, conjectures that

Donussa may have been on Cape *Avgo* ('egg'), which, with its white cliffs and conical shape, is a conspicuous object in the Gulf of Corinth. This cape is about 5 miles to the west of Mount *Koryphé*.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 213, 220, 385; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 14; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 484 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 342 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 245; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 61.

26. 13. mentioned by Homer. See *Iliad*, ii. 573.

26. 13. when Pisistratus collected the scattered verses of Homer etc. The earliest author who mentions Pisistratus's recension and edition of the Homeric poems is Cicero. He says that Pisistratus was the first who arranged the books of Homer in the order in which they now stand (*De oratore*, iii. 34). Aelian affirms that Pisistratus collected the Homeric lays, and so created the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (*Var. hist.* xiii. 14). Eustathius in his commentary on Homer (p. 5) refers to the *Iliad* as a continuous and harmonious whole which had been put together by learned men at the command of Pisistratus. Suidas tell us (*s.v.* Ὅμηρος) that the various lays of the *Iliad* were composed by Homer separately, and that the task of putting them together into one epic poem was afterwards accomplished by many hands, but chiefly by Pisistratus. "They say," writes Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, i. 2) "that even Homer did not commit his poems to writing, but that his songs were got by heart and afterwards united, and that is the reason why they contain so many discrepancies." Cp. Fr. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, xxxiii.; P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik* (Leipsic, 1895), p. 80 *sqq.*

26. 13. Aristonautae. This was either near the modern *Kamari* or farther east at the mouth of the *Trikala* or *Xylokastro* river, the ancient Sythas (see vii. 27. 11 note). In favour of the latter place is Pausanias's statement of the distance (120 furlongs) of Aristonautae from Aegira, for this agrees with the distance of the mouth of the *Trikala* river from Aegira, and as the direct route from Pellene to the sea must always have been by the valley of the *Trikala* river (the ancient Sythas) it is natural to suppose that the port of Pellene was situated at the mouth of the river. The pretty little modern town of *Xylokastro*, charmingly situated by the sea on the eastern bank of the *Trikala* river, has therefore some claims to represent the ancient Aristonautae. There is no natural harbour here, only a fine shelving gravelly beach. The trim houses are embosomed in verdant gardens shaded with trees. At the back of the town, between it and the foot of the low hills which rise a little way off, are groves of cypresses and olives, the former being especially conspicuous. At the eastern side of the town, beside the sea, is a very beautiful wood of pines with a bright green (not dark) foliage. The river, spanned by a long stone bridge and by an iron railway bridge, flows in a broad gravelly bed immediately to the west of the town. It issues from a picturesque rocky glen, the bottom of which is green with vineyards, olive-groves, and cypresses. The panorama of mountains across the Gulf of Corinth is magnificent. Altogether *Xylokastro* is one of the most charming places on the delightful coast of

Achaia. In the olive-groves at the back of the town, near the railway station, I observed a square basement, as of a large altar, resting on what seemed to be a substruction of ancient masonry. This may perhaps be a vestige of Aristonautae. On the other hand, it has been urged that there is no harbour and no ruins, at least of any extent, at the mouth of the *Trikala* river; whereas near *Kamari*, about 4 miles to the west of *Xylokastro*, there is a small harbour with considerable ancient remains, including ruins of a town wall. These ruins are near the point where the *Phonissa* river issues from a narrow gully into the coast plain. There are remains of brick buildings in the neighbourhood, and coins are found here occasionally.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 390 *sq.*; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 404; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 28; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 480; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 342; von Duhn, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 60; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 399; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 119, 125. I have described *Xylokastro* from personal observation. I spent a night there (16th October 1895) on my way from Sicyon to Pellene.

27. 1. **The city of Pellene.** The ruins of Pellene are situated on the summit of a mountain which rises on the western side of the river of *Trikala* (the ancient Sythas), near the small hamlet of *Zougra*. It is a ride of two hours and a half from *Xylokastro*, the little town at the mouth of the river, to *Zougra*. We cross the river by a large stone bridge not far from its mouth, and then ascend the valley on the western bank of the stream. The bottom of the valley is fruitful; vineyards and fine groves of olives occupy the greater part of it, and tall cypresses rise here and there, like dark spires, above the greener foliage. The hills which enclose the valley on the east and west are not very high, but they are gashed and tortured by great scaurs and precipices of white and whity-brown earth. On the western side of the valley in particular a long line of high white precipices runs almost unbroken along the brow of the hills. The white, probably argillaceous, earth, which is thus cleft and gouged into precipices, is the same which forms the great precipices on the eastern side of Sicyon. Indeed it prevails nearly all the way along the southern coast of the Gulf of Corinth from Sicyon to *Derveni*, near Aegira. This chalky earth forms a plateau of varying height separated from the shore by a stretch of level plain which averages perhaps a mile in width. The seaward face of this plateau is steep, high, and white; its edges are sharp as if cut with a knife, and ragged like the edge of a saw. Every here and there it is rent by a stream or torrent which has scooped a deep bed for itself out of the friable soil. The valley of the Sythas, up which we go to Pellene, is nothing but one of these water-worn rifts on a gigantic scale. The only exception to this formation of chalky earth on the coast between Sicyon and *Derveni* is formed by a line of high, dark, steep mountains, seamed with the beds of torrents and partly wooded with pines, which begins with the fine sharp-peaked Mount *Koryphé* a few miles to the west of *Xylokastro* and stretches westward parallel to the coast for some miles. But to return to the valley of the Sythas. As we ascend it through vineyards and olive-groves, between the rugged

broken hills with their long lines of white precipices, the massive Cyllene, with its high, bare, pointed summit, looms in front of us at no great distance, blocking the southern end of the valley. After riding up the valley for an hour or more along a road which, for Greece, is excellent, we begin to climb a mountain which rises on the western side of the river. A long, toilsome, winding, dusty, or, in rainy weather, muddy ascent, impeded rather than facilitated by a Turkish paved road of the usual execrable description, brings us in time to the little hamlet of *Zougra*. As we rise up the steep slope, our fatigue is to some extent compensated by the fine prospect that opens up behind us to the Corinthian Gulf and the mountains beyond it. The village of *Zougra* stands on the north-eastern slope of the mountain, not very far below its summit.

The summit of the mountain is neither rocky nor precipitous. It forms a sort of ridge which extends north and south, sloping away in broad irregular earthy declivities or shelving plateaus both to the east and the west. The ancient city would seem to have been clustered on both these slopes, the eastern and western, and this is apparently what Pausanias means by saying that the city was "divided into two parts by the peak which rises between them." But his description of the top as sharp and precipitous is quite inaccurate. The eastern slope, above the glen of the Sythas, is considerably the broader, and here the larger part of Pellene probably stood. The views from the top are fine. To the north is seen, far below, a great expanse of the Gulf of Corinth and the mountains beyond it, from Gerania to Parnassus. To the east, across the Sythas, are the jagged slopes, partly wooded with pines, of the hills on the eastern side of the river. To the south are seen bare rugged mountains, gashed and seamed with ravines and the beds of torrents; and beyond them rises, not far off, the naked cone of Cyllene. On the west the view is shut in by a high bare reddish, rather featureless, mountain, considerably higher than the one on which are the ruins of Pellene.

These ruins are scattered and insignificant. On the highest point are the remains of a small square fort, which, however, appears not to have been ancient, though some ancient hewn blocks have been used in its construction or are lying about. On the south-eastern slope, between the top and the hamlet of *Zougra*, are a good many large ancient squared blocks, some of them in their original positions. The most considerable piece of wall in this direction is only a few feet long, five courses (about 7 feet 6 inches) high, and three rows (about 6 feet) thick; it is built of squared blocks of breccia laid in horizontal courses. The breccia of which the wall is built is native to the mountain, where it crops up on the surface. Among the remains on this south-eastern side of the top I observed a piece of a drum of a small column, much weathered, and a capital of a small Doric column, fluted, and with three rings round the neck; the capital measured 2 feet in diameter.

The western slope, below the highest point, is strewn with sherds of common red pottery. Here, too, about 100 yards or so to the west of the summit, are the remains of a Roman building constructed in the

style so commonly observed in Roman buildings in Greece; it is built, namely, of thin bricks laid flat in regular horizontal courses, with mortar between the courses; the bricks extend right through the walls, and are not a mere outer facing. One part of the building was circular or semicircular in the interior, though quadrangular on the exterior. The brick walls rest on a socle of substantial squared masonry, two courses high. A great piece of the brick wall has tumbled down, but two pieces of it, about 9 feet high and 15 feet long, are still standing. Immediately beyond the semicircle (for not more than a semicircle is now standing) the ground slopes steeply away to a glen on the south; the semicircle faces the glen, so it cannot have been the apse of a church, since there is no room for a church here. A little lower down the hill, about due south of the summit, a spring rises under a massive rock of breccia, forming a tiny weedy pool.

The eastern slope of the hill, below the summit, is strewn with pottery, and scattered about at intervals are some ancient squared blocks. Here on a knoll a few such blocks lie together, and amongst them I noted two small unfluted drums of columns. Most of the blocks on the knoll are not of breccia, but of a sort of yellow sandstone, which takes a whitish blotched appearance on the outside through exposure to the weather. I conjecture that at Pellene the foundations of most edifices were built of breccia, and the architectural members (perhaps also the upper walls) of sandstone.

A good deal lower down the hill to the east are two very small pieces of wall built of bricks and mortar in the style already described. A few yards below them are the remains which the natives call the *Porta* ('gate'). They consist of a piece of fortification wall twelve paces long, and three courses (3 feet 7 inches) high at one end, while at the other end, though the level of the wall is the same, only two courses are visible. At the latter end the wall is 4 feet 4 inches thick, and is formed of two rows of blocks laid side by side. But in front of the wall are other blocks, apparently in position; so that the original thickness of the wall may be greater than that I have mentioned. The wall faces down a slope in an easterly or north-easterly direction towards the Gulf of Corinth, which is here in view. It stands in a sort of dip, the ground rising on the west towards the summit and on the east to a knoll. The place is about half a mile or so to the south-west of, and approximately on the same level as, the hamlet of *Zougra*. Near it there is said to be a small tomb cut in the rock, with a triangular entrance. But this I did not see.

I have described Pellene from personal observation, having visited it from *Xylokastro*, 17th October 1895. See also Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 214 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 29; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 480 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 341 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 399 *sq.*

27. 2. **The image is of ivory and gold** etc. On coins of Pellene (Fig. 25) the goddess Athena is represented standing; she wears a helmet and a long tight-fitting robe, divided into horizontal bands or flounces. In her left hand she holds in front of her an oval shield, on which there

is a device of some sort; in her right hand she grasps a lance which she is thrusting. The coin is interesting because it illustrates what Pausanias considered to be Phidias's early style. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 91, with pl. S x. It would appear to have been customary for the priestess of Athena at Pellene to attire herself on a certain day as the goddess, wearing her panoply and a helmet with a triple crest. See Polyaenus, viii. 59.

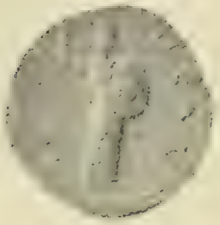


FIG. 25.—ATHENA (COIN OF PELLENE).

27. 4. **games called Theoxenia —— prizes of money.** Pindar repeatedly refers to the games held at Pellene (*Ol.* vii. 156, ix. 146 *sq.*, xiii. 155; *Nem.* x. 82). In two of these passages (*Ol.* ix. 146 *sq.* and *Nem.* x. 82) he implies that the prize in the games was a warm cloak, and this is confirmed by the express statements of the scholiasts on these passages, who, however, give the names of the games variously as Theoxenia, Philoxenia, Hermaea, and Diïa. One of the scholiasts (on *Ol.* ix. 146) states that the Theoxenia were held in winter. The cloaks of Pellene were famous (Pollux, vii. 67; Hesychius, *s.v.* Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1421; cp. Suidas, *s.v.* Πελλήνη). Strabo (viii. p. 386) mentions the cloaks of Pellene and the custom of giving them as prizes at the games, but he speaks as if the custom had fallen into disuse. Probably, therefore, in his time, as in the days of Pausanias, money prizes had been substituted for the cloaks. A festival called Theoxenia was also celebrated at Delphi in the month Theoxenius. A curious custom was observed at it. Whoever brought the largest leek (γηθυλλίς) received a portion from the table of the gods. The leek would seem to have been placed on the table of the gods to be eaten by Latona, the mother of Apollo; for the custom was explained by a story that when Latona was pregnant with Apollo she had hankered after a leek. See Athenaeus, ix. p. 372; Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 13; Böckh, *Explicationes ad Pindarum*, p. 194; Polemo, ed. Preller, p. 67 *sq.*; Aug. Mommsen, *Delphica*, p. 299 *sqq.*

27. 5. **Promachus.** Cp. vi. 8. 5. Philostratus tells an anecdote of him, and mentions his victory over the redoubtable Pulydamas (*De arte gymnastica*, 22).

27. 6. **Pulydamas of Scotusa.** See vi. 5.

27. 7. **Chaeron.** This tyrant was a pupil of Plato and Xenocrates. The sour Athenaeus quotes him (xi. p. 509 b) as one among many instances of men who had been depraved by Plato's teaching.

27. 9. **the Mysaeum.** This was probably near the head of the valley of the Sythas or river of *Trikala*, which flows at the eastern foot of the mountain of Pellene. Here at the head of the valley, in a breezy wholesome situation high up on the northern slope of the lofty Mt. Cyllene, is the village of *Trikala*, which gives its modern name to the river. The village is grouped in three separate hamlets, among gardens and orchards, on the left bank of the white, muddy stream, which, emerging from a deep and narrow ravine, rushes foaming and tumbling

in cascades over its rocky bed at a great depth below. The distance of *Trikala* from Pellene (about 7 miles) corresponds well to the 60 Greek furlongs mentioned by Pausanias; and as the character of the district, with its abundant rills and streams, also answers to his description, we may conclude that the Mysaeum was in this neighbourhood. But its exact site has not been determined.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 221-223 (who is wrong in saying that *Trikala* is not more than 30 furlongs from Pellene); Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 30; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 484; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 343; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 400; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 121.

27. 11 *sq.* **the Crius —— a river Sythas.** These rivers are probably the *Phonissa* (river of *Mazi*) and the river of *Trikala* respectively, which descend from the mountains above Pellene, the former flowing on the western, and the latter on the eastern side of the ancient city. The river of *Trikala* (the Sythas) falls into the sea at *Xylokastro* (see above, p. 180), and the *Phonissa* ('murderess') at *Kamari*, between 3 and 4 miles farther west (see above, p. 181). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 29; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 479 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 314; Baedeker,[3] p. 245 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 122, 125.

Leake and the French surveyors are certainly wrong in identifying the Crius with the stream which flows into the sea to the west of Aegira, and which is now called the *Vlogokitikos*. Their mistake is due to misunderstanding Pausanias's words πρὸς Αἰγείρας, which are simply meant to distinguish the westerly from the easterly of the two rivers; the former is "toward Aegira," the latter is toward Sicyon. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 391 *sqq.* As to the Sythas see ii. 7. 8 note; ii. 12. 2; and the Critical Note on the present passage, vol. 1. p. 593.

BOOK EIGHTH

ARCADIA

THE passages of ancient authors illustrative of the local cults of Arcadia have been collected by Mr. W. Immerwahr in his book *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens.* I. *Die arkadischen Kulte* (Leipzig, 1891); and the origin of these cults has been investigated by Mr. V. Bérard, in his work *De l'origine des Cultes Arcadiens* (Paris, 1894). Mr. Bérard attempts to prove that Arcadian religions are to a large extent of Semitic origin, having been imported by Phoenician traders. Cp. Mr. E. E. Sikes's review of the book in *The Classical Review*, 9 (1895), pp. 67-71.

Amongst other ancient writers who composed special works on Arcadia were Aristotle (Harpocration, *s.v.* *μύριοι ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει*; Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose (Leipsic, 1886), No. 483); Demaratus (Plutarch, *Parallela*, 16; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 379); Architimus (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 39; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 317); Nicias (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 609 e; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 463); Hellanicus (Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 162; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 53); Aristippus (Diogenes Laertius, ii. 8. 83; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21, p. 383, ed. Potter; Schol. on Theocritus, i. 3; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 327); and Ariaethus of Tegea (Dionysius Halicarn., *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 49; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 4. p. 318 *sq.*)

1. 3. **Homer says that they came to Troy** etc. See *Iliad*, ii. 612 *sqq.*

1. 4. **Godlike Pelasgus** etc. According to this legend Pelasgus was sprung from the earth. This legend was followed by Hesiod also (Apollodorus, iii. 8. 1); but according to another tradition Pelasgus was a son of Zeus and Niobe (Apollodorus, *l.c.*; Dionysius Halicarn., *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 17. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481). Pausanias has furnished us with a long list of the early Arcadian kings from Pelasgus down to Aristocrates II. (viii. 1. 4–viii. 5. 13). But whether Arcadia was ever really united under a single monarchy, seems doubtful. That the Arcadian cantons did in early times possess a certain measure of political unity is proved by the fact that from the middle of the sixth to

the latter part of the fifth century B.C. they issued a federal coinage (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 372). The historical worth of Pausanias's list of Arcadian kings is examined by Dr. F. H. von Gaertringen, *Zur arkadischen Königsliste des Pausanias.* He comes to the conclusion that the list was made up at a late date by Rhianus (see iv. 6. 1 note), and afterwards redacted by Sosibius, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Athenaeus, xi. p. 493 e f), about the middle of the third century B.C.

1. 5. **shirts made of pig-skins.** As to skins of animals worn by the Arcadians, cp. iv. 11. 3. Dio Chrysostom represents a poor peasant of Euboea as clad in a skin (*Or.* vii. vol. 1. p. 116, ed. Dindorf), which confirms the statement in Pausanias as to the dress of poor people in Euboea in his own time.

1. 6. **There are many acorn-eating men** etc. This oracle is recorded more fully by Herodotus (i. 66).

1. 6. **the country was named Pelasgia.** That Pelasgia was the ancient name of Arcadia is mentioned also by Hellanicus (cited by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀρκάς) and Eustathius (*Comment. in Dionysium Periegetem*, 414).

2. 1. **the Lycaean games.** See viii. 38. 5 note. With regard to the order in which the various Greek festivals were instituted, Aristotle held that the Eleusinian mysteries were the oldest, that the Panathenian festival came next, that the races which Danaus caused his daughters' suitors to run were the third, that the Lycaean games were the fourth, the funeral games of Pelias the fifth, the Isthmian games the sixth, the Olympic games the seventh, the Nemean games the eighth, the funeral games of Patroclus the ninth, and the Pythian games the tenth. See the scholium on Aristides, *Panathen.* p. 323, ed. Dindorf; Aristotle, *Fragmenta*, ed. V. Rose (Leipsic, 1886), No. 637; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 3. According to Helladius the games were instituted in the following order—the Panathenian, the Eleusinian (celebrated by the Thessalians in honour of Pelias), the Isthmian, the Olympian, the Nemean, and the Pythian (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 533 b, ed. Bekker).

2. 1. **the name Panathenian is said to have been given them in the time of Theseus.** Cp. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24; Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 84 *sq.*

2. 2. **Cronus and Zeus wrestled at Olympia** etc. Cp. v. 7. 6 *sq.* and 10.

2. 3. **the surname of Supreme** etc. See i. 26. 5 note. Cecrops was said to have founded the altar as well as the ritual (Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.* x. 9. 15).

2. 3. **Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus.** A slightly different version of the legend was that Lycaon entertained Zeus at table and to test his guest's divinity served up a dish of human flesh, and that for this impiety he was turned by the god into a wolf (Ovid, *Metam.* i. 216-239; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 731). According to some it was Lycaon's own son Nyctimus whom the cruel father thus slew and dished up (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36. p. 31, ed. Potter; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. 20 *sqq.*; Arnobius, iv. 24);

according to others, the victim was Lycaon's grandson Arcas (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4). In another version of the legend it was not Lycaon but his sons who did the wicked deed (Apollodorus, iii. 8. 1; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481; Hyginus, *Fab.* 176). See Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 14 *sq.* Mr. V. Bérard argues that Lycaean Zeus was originally a Semitic Baal, whose worship was imported into Arcadia by the Phoenicians (*De l'origine des Cultes Arcadiens*, p. 49 *sqq.*)

2. 4. **the men of that time —— sat with them at table.** Amongst the men who were said to have entertained the gods at table were Lycaon (see the preceding note) and Tantalus; and it is remarkable that Tantalus, like Lycaon, is said to have tested the divinity of his guests by setting before them the flesh of his own son (Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7, and *Aen.* vi. 603; cp. Hyginus, *Fab.* 83). Both legends point to a custom of human sacrifice.

2. 4. **Such were Aristaeus** etc. Diodorus says (iv. 81) that Aristaeus received divine honours from men for the benefits which he had conferred upon them by his useful discoveries. For some of these discoveries see note on viii. 4. 1 'Adristas.'

2. 6. **a man has always been turned into a wolf** etc. Cp. § 3 above, and vi. 8. 2. According to the story mentioned by Plato (*Republic*, ix. p. 565 d e) a human victim was sacrificed at the sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus, one of his bowels was mixed with the bowels of animal victims, the whole was consumed by the worshippers, and the man who unwittingly ate the human bowel was changed into a wolf. According to Euanthes, a Greek writer quoted by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* viii. 81), lots were cast among a certain family, and he upon whom the lot fell was the were-wolf. Being led to the brink of a tarn he stripped himself, hung his clothes on an oak-tree, plunged into the tarn, and, swimming across it, went away into desert places. There he was changed into a wolf and herded with wolves for nine years. If during the nine years he abstained from preying upon men, he returned to the tarn at the end of the nine years, swam back across it and recovered his human shape and the very clothes he had put off; but he now found himself, as a man, nine years older than he had been when he became a wolf. In this version of the story it is not said that the man who became a wolf had eaten human flesh at the sacrifice offered to Lycaean Zeus. But it is probably implied that he did so; for immediately after telling the story Pliny mentions, on the authority of the writer Scopas, the case of a Parrhasian named Demaenetus who at the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus tasted the bowels of a boy victim and was consequently turned into a wolf; but in the tenth year he was changed back into a man, practised boxing, and won a prize at Olympia. Augustine tells the same stories as Pliny, quoting Varro as his authority (*De civ. Dei*, xviii. 17). Varro, in turn, probably copied from the Greek writers mentioned by Pliny.

The ancients were familiar with the idea of were-wolves, that is, of men who have been transformed or who have the power of transforming themselves by magic into wolves for a longer or shorter time. Cp. Virgil, *Eclog.* viii. 98 *sq.*; Petronius, 62. It was believed that every man of the Neuri, a tribe of eastern Europe, was annually turned into a

wolf for a few days (Herodotus, iv. 105). The belief in were-wolves has prevailed widely in mediaeval and modern Europe. In Germany the man is supposed to turn into a wolf by putting on a girdle or shirt made of wolf-skin or a girdle made of human skin. According to some, the man so transformed remains a wolf for nine days; according to others, he is a wolf for three, seven, or nine years. To draw the were-wolf's blood is supposed to change him back into a man. The belief that men can turn into wolves or other wild animals is not confined to Europe, but is found in many parts of the world.

See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,[4] 2. p. 915 *sqq.*; Hertz, *Der Werwolf* (Stuttgart, 1862); E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,[2] 1. p. 308 *sqq.*; R. Andree, *Ethnologische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (first series), pp. 62-80; Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, 1. p. 289 *sqq.*

A close parallel to the were-wolves of Mt. Lycaeus is furnished by a negro family at Banana (West Africa), who by means of a charm composed of human embryos are believed to turn themselves into leopards in the gloomy depths of the forest; but as leopards they spare human lives, for if they once lapped human blood, they would remain leopards for ever (A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 2. p. 248).

2. 7. **Niobe on Mount Sipylus sheds tears in summer.** Cp. Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 614 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Met.* vi. 311 *sq.*; Paus. i. 21. 3, and note on v. 13. 7, vol. 3. p. 555.

2. 7. **they blow through a pierced shell.** The trumpet-shell of the Tritons and the music they drew from it are often mentioned by classical writers. See Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 171 *sqq.*, x. 209 *sq.*; Lucan, *Pharsal.* ix. 348 *sq.*; Silius Italicus, xiv. 373 *sq.*; Pliny, *N. H.* ix. 9; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 23; Nonnus, *Dionys.* vi. 272 *sqq.*; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1870-71, p. 40 *sqq.*; F. R. Dressler, *Triton und die Tritonen* (Wurzen, 1892-93), Teil 1. p. 11. The line in Wordsworth's sonnet,

Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn,

will occur to the reader.

3. 1. **the other sons founded cities where they chose.** The following account of the various settlements of the sons of Pelasgus may have been taken by Pausanias, directly or indirectly, from Pherecydes, who enumerated the sons of Pelasgus and the settlements which they founded (Dionysius Halicarn., *Ant. Rom.* i. 13; *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 92).

3. 2. **Macareus.** Mr. V. Bérard compares this name with the kindred names Macar (x. 38. 4), Macaria (below, § 3) etc., and connecting it etymologically with Melcarth sees in it a proof of Phoenician influence in Arcadia (*De l'origine des Cultes Arcadiens*, p. 17). Cp. note on x. 17. 2, 'Maceris.'

3. 2. **Homer made a surname of Hermes.** See *Iliad*, xvi. 185.

3. 3. **Homer calls 'rich in sheep.'** See *Iliad*, ii. 605.

3. 5. **Oenotrus . . . crossed in ships to Italy** etc. See Dionysius Halicarn., *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 11-13.

3. 6. **she turned Callisto into a bear.** In the great series of his paintings at Delphi, Polygnotus represented Callisto seated on a bear-skin (x. 31. 10). Callisto's son was Arcas, 'the bear man' (from *arkos* = *arktos*, 'a bear'). Hence the Arcadians are the Bear-folk. Cp. Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 128. It is worth noting in this connexion that Atalanta, a descendant of Arcas, was said to have been suckled by a bear (Apollodorus, iii. 9. 2). There is an elaborate monograph on the Callisto myth by Mr. R. Franz, 'De Callistus fabula,' *Leipziger Studien für class. Philologie*, 12 (1890), pp. 233-365. Acrisius was said to have been descended from a bear (Heraclides Ponticus, in *Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 2. p. 223).

3. 7. **the stars known as the Great Bear.** It is a curious coincidence that by the Innuits (Esquimaux) of Alaska and some Indian tribes of North America the same constellation is called the Great Bear (W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its resources*, p. 145; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages Amériquains*, 2. p. 239; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, 6. p. 148). The Iroquois tell how a party of hunters, pursuing a bear, were attacked by a monstrous stone giant, who destroyed all but three of them. The three, together with the bear, were carried up by invisible spirits to the sky, where the bear can still be seen, pursued by the first hunter with his bow and by the second with his kettle, while the third, who is further behind, is gathering sticks. In autumn the arrows of the hunters wound the bear, and his blood, dripping from the sky, tinges the leaves of the forest with a blood-red stain. See E. A. Smith, 'Myths of the Iroquois,' *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1883), p. 81.

3. 7. **which Homer mentions** etc. See *Odyssey*, v. 272 *sq.*

4. 1. **which last art he acquired from Adristas.** This Adristas is otherwise unknown, but the name is probably derived from a verb *atrizesthai*, 'to wind thread off a reel' (Hesychius, *s.v.* ἀτρίζεται). From the same stem comes *atrion*, 'the warp of a web' (cp. G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 60). Sylburg conjectured that the name Adristas in the text of Pausanias is a corruption of Aristaeus; he proposed therefore to read Ἀρισταίου for Ἀδρίστα. It is true that to Aristaeus was ascribed the invention of various useful arts, such as the cultivation of the olive and of silphium, the making of olive-oil and of cheese, and the construction of beehives and the extraction of honey (Diodorus, iv. 81; Schol. on Theocritus, v. 53; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 894; Justin, xiii. 7. 10; Pliny, *N. H.* vii. 199); but the invention of spinning is not said to have been one of his discoveries. See W. H. Roscher, 'Der Heros Adristas,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 27 (1881), pp. 670-672.

4. 2. **Epimeliads.** The Epimeliads or Epimelids, as they were generally called, were the nymphs who cared for flocks and herds (Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 17 line 7 *sqq.*; Schol. on Homer, *Il.* xx. 8). Some mortal men are said to have challenged them to dance, and being vanquished were turned by the nymphs into trees (Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 31).

4. 2. **Autolaus.** Cp. viii. 25. 11.

4. 3. **Azania.** The Arcadian district of Azania is said to have comprised seventeen cities and to have been divided among three tribes, the Parrhasians, the Azanians, and the Trapezuntians (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀζανία). It included the western and north-western parts of Arcadia; for we are told that it bordered on Elis (Strabo, viii. p. 336), and that it included Psophis (Polybius, iv. 70) and Pheneus (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φενεός); and from the mythical genealogies given by Pausanias below (§§ 4 and 5) we infer that it included Clitor and Lycosura. Cp. K. O. Müller, *Dorier*,[2] 2. p. 436; E. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 181.

4. 3. **the people in Phrygia who dwell about the cave called Steunos.** As to the cave see x. 32. 3. The city of Azani in Phrygia is mentioned by Strabo (xii. p. 576). The ruins, including a theatre, a stadium, and a beautiful Ionic temple of Zeus in good preservation, are at a place called *Tchavdour-Hissar* (W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* (London, 1842), 1. pp. 101-104; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.* 1. p. 353). According to Hermogenes (cited by Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀζανοί) the true name of the city was Exouanoun, which in the native language meant 'hedgehog-fox,' and the name was explained by a story that in time of scarcity a certain Euphorbus had appeased the gods by sacrificing to them a hedgehog and a fox, and that in consequence the people had made him their priest and king. The legend points to the existence of a race of priestly kings or popes, with spiritual and temporal power, such as reigned at Pessinus, Comana, and other cities of Asia Minor (W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 146 *sq.*)

4. 3. **poets speak of Tegea as 'the lot of Aphidas.'** The expression is used by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.* i. 162). Cp. Paus. viii. 45. 1.

4. 4. **Elatus —— Elatea.** Cp. x. 34. 2.

4. 5. **On the death of Azan —— games were held.** Cp. v. 1. 8. As to funeral games see note on i. 44. 8. To the examples there given add that of the Thracians, amongst whom the funeral of a wealthy man was regularly celebrated with games, in which the winners received prizes (Herodotus, v. 8).

4. 6. **The story of the death of Ischys** etc. The reference seems to be to ii. 26. 6, though the death of Ischys is not there expressly mentioned.

4. 6. **Autolycus.** Autolycus was the Master Thief of Greek story. He stole cattle and had the power of so changing the shape and colour of the stolen beasts that it was impossible for their owners to know them again. Thus he amassed great wealth, for he was never detected. See Pherecydes, 63 (*Frag. hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 1. p. 87 *sq.*); Hyginus, *Fab.* 201; Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 313 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 79; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 344; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* x. 267, p. 804, line 25 *sqq.*; *id.*, on Homer, *Od.* xix. 396, p. 1871, line 6 *sqq.*

4. 7. **killed —— by a seps.** Aepytus was said to have been killed on a branch of Mt. Cyllene where snakes of the sort called *seps*

abounded. See viii. 16. 2 *sq*. As to the description which Pausanias here gives of the snake, it has been observed by the French surveyors that "a better description could not have been given by a naturalist who had made a special study of reptiles" (*Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. 1. *Relation*, par Bory de Saint-Vincent, p. 400 *sq.*) Another ancient writer describes the *seps* of Mt. Othrys in Thessaly as a viper whose colour varied according to the nature of the soil in which it lived; those which lived in grass were green, and those which lived in sand were sandy-coloured; their bite was venomous and caused thirst ([Aristotle,] *Mirab. Auscult.* 164). Aelian says that the colour of the *seps* changed with that of the ground over which it moved, and that its bite produced putrefaction and instant death (*Nat. anim.* xvi. 40). The creature seems to have been a viper of the species called *Coluber ammodytes* by Linnaeus. It abounds in the East and is justly dreaded by the inhabitants of the Morea. Very small bright-coloured individuals of the species are seen in spring. The larger individuals, measuring from 15 to 18 inches in length, have a sort of horn-like protuberance on the muzzle, which gives them a peculiar appearance. See *Expédition scientifique de Morée*, vol. 3, 1ère partie, *Zoologie*, par J. G. and E. G. Saint-Hilaire, p. 74.

4. 9. **put her and the child into a chest** etc. Auge's son was Telephus. See note on i. 4. 6. Cp. viii. 47. 4; viii. 48. 7.

4. 10. **Areithôus.** See viii. 11. 4 note.

4. 10. **Ancaeus sailed with Jason to Colchis.** On this expedition he was accompanied by his uncles Amphidamas and Cepheus, the sons of Aleus (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 161 *sqq.*; as to Amphidamas and Cepheus, see § 8 of the present chapter).

5. 1. **a more probable account than the one I gave formerly.** See i. 41. 2 note.

5. 1. **Timandra —— married Echemus.** Cp. Apollodorus, iii. 10. 6.

5. 2. **Agapenor —— led the Arcadians to Troy.** See Homer, *Il.* ii. 609.

5. 2. **the storm —— carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus.** Cp. Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 219. That some of the Cypriotes were of Arcadian descent is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 90). The legend of an Arcadian settlement in Cyprus is so far countenanced by the resemblance between the Arcadian and Cypriote dialects. See Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] pp. 289, 303.

5. 2. **Agapenor —— built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos.** Strabo says (xiv. p. 683) that Paphos (*i.e.* New Paphos) was founded by Agapenor; but though he mentions the ancient sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos, he does not speak of Agapenor as its founder. The sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos has been excavated by English archaeologists in recent years. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), pp. 147-263.

5. 2. **Golgi.** General di Cesnola identified the modern village or town of *Athieno* as the site of the ancient Golgi, and here he excavated a temple which by some was supposed to be that of Aphrodite. This, however, has been disputed by Mr. Neubauer.

See *Revue archéologique*, N. S. 22 (1870-71), pp. 363-372; *id.*, 23 (1872), p. 336 *sq.*; *id.*, 24 (1872), pp. 221-228; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, chs. 4 and 5; *Gazette archéologique*, 4 (1878), pp. 146-150, 192-201; R. Neubauer, 'Der angebliche Aphrodite-tempel zu Golgoi,' *Commentationes philologicae in honorem Theodor. Mommseni* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 671-693.

5. 3. **Laodice.** Cp. viii. 53. 7.

5. 5. **entrance to which —— is still forbidden.** Cp. viii. 10. 2 *sq.* For other sanctuaries which no one was ever allowed to enter, see iii. 20. 8; viii. 30. 2; viii. 38. 6. The sanctuary of Fear at Sparta was always kept shut, although we hear of it being once open by accident (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 8). Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 279 note [s]. Other sanctuaries were open to the priests or priestesses alone, and sometimes even to them only once a year. See vi. 20. 7; vii. 27. 3; viii. 36. 3; viii. 47. 5 note. The image of Hera at Aegium might be seen by no one but the priestess (vii. 23. 9).

5. 6. **three generations before.** Cp. Apollodorus, ii. 8. 2; Herodotus, ix. 26.

5. 6. **secured himself and the Arcadians** etc. Cp. Herodotus, i. 171.

5. 8. **the ancient wooden image of Black Demeter at Phigalia.** See viii. 42. 3 *sq.*

5. 9. **I shall have to make more mention of Charillus** etc. See viii. 48. 4 and 5.

5. 11. **a sanctuary of Artemis surnamed Hymnia.** See viii. 13. 1.

5. 13. **he, too, was stoned to death** etc. See iv. 22. 7. As to the defeat of the Messenians at the Great Trench see iv. 17.

6. 4. **a pass into Arcadia from Argolis by Hysiae.** See ii. 24. 5-7 with the notes.

6. 4. **two other passes —— one through Prinus —— the other through the Ladder.** Pausanias here resumes the description of the passes from Argos to Mantinea which he had broken off in ii. 25. The pass of the Ladder (*Klimax*) which he here describes (§§ 4 and 5) is a continuation of the route described by him in ii. 25 §§ 4-6; the pass of the Prinus (§ 6 down to 8. 3) is a continuation of the route described in ii. 25. 1-3.

From Argos two main passes lead westward over the chain of Mount Artemisius to Mantinea, and these can without difficulty be identified as the pass of the Prinus and the pass of the Ladder respectively. The Prinus is the southern and more direct of the two. The road starts from Argos in a northerly direction, but soon bends round to the west, and in about an hour from Argos enters the narrow, somewhat tame and monotonous, valley of the Charadrus. After following the valley of the Charadrus for about an hour and a half, the path diverges from it to the north at a place called *Chelonas.* It follows the course of a northern tributary of the Charadrus and gradually ascends to *Karya*, a little village nestling among olive-groves and fig-trees in a sheltered hollow on the mountain-side. The white-walled, red-roofed houses are dotted over the slope, each with its green plot of field and garden beside it. The village is not, however, at the summit of the pass. Beyond it and

higher up is a ruined chapel of St. Elias, conspicuous from the fine clump of very old holly oaks that grows beside it. As the ancient Greek name for the holly oak was *prinos* (modern Greek *prinari*), we may infer that the pass received its name of Prinus or 'holly oak' from a clump or wood of these trees. The pass then ascends very steeply into a region of dark, sharp-pointed pines, crosses a number of clear and copious rills (the sources of the Inachus), and runs for some time at the bottom of the deep bed of a stream. It never, however, follows the bed of the Inachus, but skirting the hills at a much higher level keeps the glen of that river in view for a long time at a great depth below. On the south is seen the bare rocky peak of Mt. *Malevos*, one of the highest summits of the range of Artemisius. From the watershed a stony path leads steeply down into the flat sodden expanse of the Fallow Plain, on the farther side of which rises a bleak chain of grey limestone hills. A winding stream conveys the water of the plain to a chasm below the village of *Tsipiana* which stands on the steep hill-side at the foot of the pass. On a ledge high above the village is a monastery among cypresses, and higher still there shoots up a huge fantastic pinnacle of rock. The traveller who has reached *Tsipiana* is in Arcadia.

This route has been described by W. G. Clark (*Peloponnesus*, p. 114 *sqq.*), Conze and Michaelis ('Rapporto d' un viaggio nella Grecia,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 21-26), and W. Loring (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 80 *sq.*) I followed the same route from Argos as far as *Chelonas*, after which, instead of diverging to the right (north), I kept straight on to the hamlet of *Mazi*, then ascended to the hamlet of *Tourniki* on the crest of the ridge, and so descended to *Tsipiana* (see note on ii. 25. 1). But that the route by *Karya* (not by *Tourniki*) was the ancient Prinus is proved by Pausanias's statement that the Prinus passed the sources of the Inachus (ii. 25. 3; viii. 6. 6). For these sources are on the northern side of Mt. Artemisius, whereas *Tourniki* is on the southern side.

The pass of the Ladder is to the north of the Prinus pass and is much more circuitous. After leaving Argos in a northerly direction, the route, instead of turning sharp round to the west up the valley of the Charadrus, follows the broad stony bed of the Inachus in a great curve first to the north-west and then to the south-west. The villages of *Kato-Belesi* and *Kapareli* are passed in the valley. After *Kapareli* the path winds in a series of zigzags up a very steep mountain-wall, and then descends, in another series of zigzags, the face of an equally steep mountain-wall to the village of *Sanga*. There can be little doubt that the pass received its name of the Ladder (*Klimax*) from this very steep ascent and descent over the ridge. The steps of which Pausanias speaks are still in use; they may be seen near the top of the pass, on its eastern side. Apparently they are built up of small pieces of rock rather than cut in the rock itself. So sharp is the descent on the western side that seen from near *Sanga* the zigzags look very like a ladder and would account for the name of the pass even if there were no steps. The summit of the ridge now goes by the name of *Portes* ('gates'), on account of the sharp-pointed rocks which here shoot up and between which, as through doorways, the path runs. From *Sanga* the route goes over the low ridge of Mt. Alesius to the village of *Pikerni*,

and then skirts the western foot of Mt. Alesius in a south-westerly direction to Mantinea.

This route was traversed and described by L. Ross (*Reisen*, pp. 136-138) and Mr. W. Loring (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 81 *sq.*)

The two passes of the Prinus and Ladder (*Klimax*) were first properly identified by L. Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 129-139, who is rightly followed by E. Curtius (*Pelop.* 1. pp. 244-246; *id.*, 2. p. 414 *sq.*), Bursian (*Geogr.* 2. pp. 63 *sq.*, 208, 214), Mr. Fougères, in the *Guide-Joanne* (2. p. 379 *sq.*), and Mr. Loring (*Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 80-82). Leake indicated correctly the line of the Ladder pass (*Morea*, 3. p. 53); but he is wrong in making the Prinus road go by *Tourniki*, and his mistake as to the Fallow Plain (see note on viii. 7. 1) lands him in a muddle. See his *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 367-377. He seems not to have crossed either of the passes.

6. 4. **Melangea, from which the drinking-water comes down to Mantinea.** Melangea may have been on the site of *Pikerni*, a village situated in a recess on the western side of the Alesius, about three-quarters of an hour to the north-east of Mantinea. Here there are abundant and perennial springs, and skirting the western foot of Mt. Alesius between *Pikerni* and the ruins of Mantinea L. Ross observed an artificial dam, with squared blocks of stone strewn along it. He thought that it had formed part of the aqueduct which brought the water from *Pikerni* (Melangea) to Mantinea. Mr. Loring, however, remarks that low ground intervenes between the springs and the site of the town, so that if Melangea was at *Pikerni* there must have been a raised aqueduct to convey the water to Mantinea, and of such an aqueduct he found no trace.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 109; *id.*, 3. p. 53; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 136; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 244; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 214; Baedeker,[3] p. 300; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 81 *sq.* Boblaye (*Recherches*, p. 141) wrongly identified Melangea with the ruins at *Tsipiana*.

6. 5. **the fountain of the Meliasts** etc. Rather less than a mile to the north of Mantinea, at the western foot of Mt. Alesius, is a copious spring now called *Tripechi*. It rises just opposite to, and east of, the conical insulated hill of *Gourtsouli*, which springs abruptly from the plain a little way to the north of Mantinea. *Tripechi* is probably the spring of the Meliasts. Beside it is a great quadrangular foundation, which probably formed part of the hall of Dionysus. It measures 37 metres long by 22 metres broad, and is formed of large, unsquared stones. The present road passes through it. Below the road there are other foundations, which apparently also belonged to the precinct of Dionysus and were perhaps connected with the upper part by a staircase. The discovery of a statue of a Satyr at the place confirms the supposition that the ruins are those of the shrine of Dionysus.

See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 136; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 144; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 214; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380; *Bulletin de Corr. hellénique*, 14 (1890), p. 77 *sq.*

6. 6. **on this mountain there is a temple of Artemis** etc. See ii. 25. 3.

6. 6. **Aeschylus and others call the Inachus an Argive river.**

In the extant tragedies of Aeschylus the poet seems nowhere to call the Inachus expressly an Argive river.

7. 1. **the Fallow Plain.** This is undoubtedly the small plain of *Tsipiana*, surrounded by hills except on the south. On the west it is bounded by the low range of Mt. Alesius, which, running north and south, divides it from the plain of Mantinea. On the east rise the high rocky slopes of Mount Artemisius, with the village of *Tsipiana* nestling at its foot. The red-roofed houses of the village, with a large church in their midst, rise one above the other on the steep hill-side. On the west the village is united by a ridge to a rocky, flat-topped hill which runs out like a promontory into the Fallow Plain and partly encloses it on the south. On this flat-topped hill are the ruins of Nestane (see § 4 note).

Viewed from the promontory-like hill of Nestane, the Fallow Plain, fallow no longer but covered with a patchwork of maize-fields, is seen stretched out in a dead level on the north, with a stream meandering through it in serpentine curves. Just at the northern foot of the hill this stream disappears into the large chasm mentioned by Pausanias. The plain is said to be flooded in winter. To the south of the hill of Nestane it extends away to the south till it is terminated by low blue hills at the foot of which, dimly perceptible, lies *Tripolitsa*. In the middle distance, on a low projecting hill, is a ruined mediaeval castle. The rural solitude of the scene, with its green spreading plain, its winding river, its ruined castle, its lonely hills, is truly Arcadian.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 141; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 133 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 245; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 127 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 342 *sq.*; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 26; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 208; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 379 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 70. Leake has wholly misplaced the Fallow Plain, which he identified with the vale or plain of *Louka*, 3 or 4 miles to the south of *Tsipiana* (*Morea*, 3. p. 54 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelopon.* pp. 367-377).

7. 2. **Dine.** See note on ii. 38. 4.

7. 2. **the Argives threw horses —— into Dine.** The Rhodians annually flung a chariot and four horses into the sea, for the use of the Sun, who was supposed to ride round the sky in a chariot (Festus, p. 181, ed. Müller). The Illyrians annually drowned a horse as a sacrifice (Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12). The Trojans are said to have thrown live horses into the river Scamander as offerings (Homer, *Iliad*, xxi. 132). The Magi in Xerxes's army sacrificed white horses to the river Strymon (Herodotus, vii. 113). When a storm had shattered the fleet of his enemy Augustus, the admiral Sextus Pompeius was fully confirmed in his belief that he himself was a son of Poseidon; so he put on a sea-blue robe and threw horses (and some said men) into the sea (Dio Cassius, xlviii. 48). Tiridates prepared to sacrifice a horse to the river Euphrates (Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 37). Alexander the Great sacrificed bulls and flung the carcasses, along with golden cups, into the Indian Ocean as offerings to Poseidon (Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 19. 5). The people of Tiryns are said to have been a merry and laughter-loving folk; but at last, tired of frivolity, they appealed to the Delphic oracle to tell them how they might become more staid and demure. The

oracle informed them that if they could cast a bull into the sea as a sacrifice to Poseidon without laughing they would be sober and serious ever after. So they composed their features and proceeded to consummate the sacrifice; but a remark let fall by a little boy upset their gravity, and they remained as merry as ever. See Athenaeus, vi. p. 261 d e. For the custom of throwing bulls into the sea to Poseidon see also Suidas, *s.v.* περίψημα; Plutarch, *Septem sapient. conviv.* 20. Near Syracuse there was a pool called Cyane, where Pluto was said to have carried off Proserpine. Beside this pool an annual festival was held, at which bulls were drowned in the pool as a public sacrifice, and private persons offered inferior victims (Diodorus, v. 4). On Greek sacrifices to water-divinities see Paul Stengel, 'Die Opfer der Fluss- und Quellgottheiten in Griechenland,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 28 (1882), pp. 733-736; on sacrifices of horses, see the same writer's article, 'Die Pferdeopfer der Griechen,' *Philologus*, 39 (1880), pp. 182-185.

The custom of sacrificing animals, and especially horses, to water-spirits has been practised beyond the limits of the ancient world. Russian peasants believe that the water-spirit, called Vodyany, sleeps in winter, but wakes up, angry and hungry, in spring. So to appease him, in some places, they buy a horse, which they feed well for three days; then they tie its legs together, smear its head with honey, deck its mane with red ribbons, tie two millstones to its neck, and at midnight throw it into an ice-hole, or, if the frost has broken up, into the middle of a river. The water-spirit is also the patron of bees; hence it is usual to shut up the first swarm of the year in a bag and to fling it, weighted with a stone, into the nearest river as an offering to him. See W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian Peasants*, pp. 149, 153. A horse was drowned in Lake Pilatus to propitiate the spirit of the storm who was believed to dwell in its depths (E. H. Meyer, *Achilleis*, p. 453 *sq.*) When the Chinese admiral Tsch'in-leng sailed to conquer the kingdom of Lieu-Khien, the sky grew dark and his warriors were afraid. So the admiral slew a white horse and offered it to the sea-god. Then the weather cleared. See A. Pfizmaier, 'Die fremdländischen Reiche zu den Zeiten der Sui,' *Sitzungsberichte d. philos. histor. Classe d. kais. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Vienna), 97 (1881), p. 420.

7. 2. **Fresh water rising in the sea may be seen —— at the place called Chimerium in Thesprotis.** This spring of fresh water in the sea was rediscovered in modern times by Mr. J. H. Skene of Zante. It is in the harbour of *Agio Janni* (St. John), the Chimerium of the ancients. Mr. Skene says: "I had occasion recently to sail into the port of Agio Janni in a small yacht, during a dark night, and blowing hard with violent squalls. In beating into the harbour I was astonished to perceive the sea become suddenly as calm as a mirror, although the wind was increasing, but the calmness lasted only for a moment, and had the appearance as if a few barrels of oil had been emptied over the waves in a particular spot. It was too late that night to make any investigation into the causes of this, but on the next morning I returned with a light breeze in search of the spot, and found

a circular space of perfectly smooth water, the diameter of which might be about 40 feet; and it appeared to be raised above the surface of the surrounding sea. The water rose from beneath with such violence as to form a series of small circular waves beyond the ring diverging from the centre, which was turbid, and bubbled up like a spring. We steered across it, and found that the cutter's head swerved about as in a whirlpool, which convinced me that it was occasioned by a powerful submarine source, or perhaps the outlet of one of the Katabothra or subterranean channels, which flow out of the lake of Jannina" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 17 (1847), p. 140). It was in this harbour of Chimerium (*Agio Janni*) that the Corinthian fleet anchored before and after its defeat by the Corcyraeans in 422 B.C. (Thucydides, i. 46-52). Some geographers, as Bursian (*Geogr. von Griechenland*, I. p. 28), C. H. Müller (on Ptolemy, iii. 13. 3), and Lolling ('Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie,' Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, 3. p. 156), have consequently supposed that the harbour of Chimerium (*Agio Janni*) was identical with the Sweet Harbour mentioned by Strabo (vii. p. 324). But this is in opposition to Strabo's own testimony, who says that the Sweet Harbour was that into which the river Acheron flowed. It was, therefore, the modern Port *Phanari*. See note on i. 17. 5. Besides the springs of fresh water in the sea here mentioned by Pausanias, there was one near the rocky island of Aradus (now *Ruad*) on the Phoenician coast. The way in which the islanders got the water was this. They took a leaden vessel shaped like a wine-strainer, wide at one end and narrowing to a funnel at the other end, and to the funnel they fastened a long leathern tube. Then they let down the vessel from a boat into the sea till its broad mouth covered the spring; the fresh water them bubbled up the leathern tube and was collected in pitchers. See Strabo, xvi. p. 754; cp. Lucretius, vi. 890 *sq.* It is said that the boatmen of the island still draw fresh water from the spring, which is now called Ain Ibrahim (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr.*, *s.v.* 'Aradus'). Many springs of fresh water were said to rise in the sea off the Chelidonian islands on the Pamphylian coast (Callimachus, quoted by Antigonus, *Histor. Mirab.* 129).

7. 3. **Off Dicaearchia —— there is boiling water** etc. Cp. iv. 35. 12.

7. 4. **a village called Nestane.** There can be little doubt that the ruins of Nestane mentioned by Pausanias are those that still crown the little outlying hill which projects like a promontory from Mt. Artemisius into the Fallow Plain, immediately to the west of *Tsipiana.* The hill is connected by a low ridge with Mt. Artemisius and the village of *Tsipiana.* Its top is flat and measures about 160 paces from east to west. At its western end the hill falls precipitously to the plain below. On the eastern side of the hill, facing the connecting ridge and somewhat below the summit, are the remains of ancient fortification-walls, with a well-preserved gateway resembling in plan the gates of Tiryns and Mycenae, though on a very much smaller scale. The gateway is between two thick walls; the inner of the two walls is the circuit-wall,

the outer wall is parallel to it and stops some feet beyond the gateway, which is thus at right angles to the circuit-wall. The outer wall ends in a square tower-like bastion, from which the defenders would rake the flank of an enemy attacking the gate. The thickness of the walls appeared to me to be about eleven feet. W. G. Clark thought that they varied in thickness from fifteen to twenty feet. They are built of roughly squared blocks of stone laid in approximately horizontal courses. The stones are about three or four feet long by two or two and a half high; but one stone may be about six feet long. A block which formed part of the threshold is still in its place; it contains the hole or socket in which the axle of the door revolved, and from the socket a groove runs inwards. North of the gateway the circuit-wall extends for about thirty paces, its thickness being still (as I judged) about eleven feet. In this direction there runs a terrace about fifty feet wide, which has the appearance of having been levelled artificially. About the middle of the summit W. G. Clark saw the basement of an oblong building, about fifty-four feet by twenty-two. All I observed there were three or four very large square blocks of stone.

The resemblance of Nestane to Tiryns and Mycenae in natural situation, in the style of its fortifications, and in the appearance of artificial levelling at the top of the hill, suggested to me that excavations here might perhaps bring to light a palace of the Mycenaean type. But my friend Mr. W. Loring, who has since visited the site, is of opinion that the ruins belong to a much later age.

I visited Nestane, 22nd April 1890, and have described the ruins mainly from my own observations. See also Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 141 (who wrongly took them to be the remains of Melangea); W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 127 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 245; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 343; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 26; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 379.

7. 4. **Philip's spring.** On the ridge which joins the hill of Nestane to the village of *Tsipiana* there is a copious spring a few hundred yards from the village. The water issues from four pipes. The masonry is modern, but the spring is probably the one mentioned by Pausanias. See W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* pp. 127, 130; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 343; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 26.

7. 6. **The bull is crowned** etc. This oracle is also quoted by Diodorus (xvi. 91).

7. 7. **Olympias killed Philip's infant son** etc. According to Justin (ix. 7) Olympias first slew Cleopatra's infant daughter (not son) in the mother's lap and then compelled Cleopatra to hang herself. Philip had divorced Olympias on a suspicion of infidelity and married Cleopatra (Justin, ix. 5). Pausanias calls Cleopatra the niece of Attalus: according to Justin (*l.c.*) she was his sister; according to Diodorus (xvi. 93, xvii. 2) she was his aunt.

7. 7. **she killed Aridaeus also.** Cp. i. 11. 4 note.

7. 7. **the deity —— was going to mow down the race of Cassander.** See ix. 7. 2 *sq.*

7 8. **the story of Glaucus** etc. See Herodotus, vi. 86. Cp. Paus. ii. 18. 2.

8. 1. **the Dancing-ground of Maera —— a fountain called Arne.** The road to Mantinea leads nearly due west from the hill of Nestane across the southern end of the Fallow Plain. This part of the plain, lying at the western foot of the hill of Nestane, is probably 'the dancing-ground of Maera.' After crossing the plain, the road rises over the low shoulder of Mt. Alesius (the "slight eminence" mentioned by Pausanias) and then descends into the plain of Mantinea. On the slope of Mt. Alesius, near the way-side, is a copious spring called *Kopsocheria*, which has been identified as the fountain of Arne. More probably, however, Arne is the still more copious spring, or rather group of springs, in the Mantinean plain at the point where we enter it after crossing Mt. Alesius, on the way from Nestane to Mantinea.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 141; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 343 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 131; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 213 note 2; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 27 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 379; W. Loring, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 81.

8. 2. **gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child.** The same legend is mentioned by Festus (*s.v.* 'Hippius,' p. 101, ed. Müller) and Servius (on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12).

8. 4. **Mantinea.** There is a paper on the history of Mantinea by Mr. G. Schwedler, 'De rebus Mantinensium,' in *Commentationes philologicae quibus Ottoni Ribbeckio—gratulantur discipuli Lipsienses* (Leipsic, 1888), pp. 363-371.

8. 4. **Mantineus —— founded the city on a different site** etc. See viii. 12. 7 note. Mantinea originally consisted of four or five separate villages or townships, the populations of which were united in a single city by the Argives. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 2. 7; Strabo, viii. p. 337; Diodorus, xv. 5.

8. 4. **the present city.** The ruins of Mantinea are situated in a flat, marshy, and treeless plain about nine miles north of the present town of *Tripolitsa.* The plain is about seven miles long from north to south, but in the latter direction it melts into the plain of Tegea; the division between the two is marked only by the protrusion of rocky hills on either side, which here narrows the plain to about a mile in width. On the east the plain is bounded by the chain of Mt. Alesius, bare and high on the north, low and bushy on the south; between the two sections of the chain thus marked off from each other is the dip through which the path goes to Nestane and so by the Prinus route to Argos. On the west of the plain rises the high rugged range of Mt. Maenalus, its lower slopes bare or overgrown with bushes, its higher slopes belted with dark pinewoods. Seen from the plain to the north of Mantinea on a bright autumn day, this fine range, with its dark blue lights and purple shadows, presents the appearance of a tossing sea of billows petrified by magic. Finally, on the north the plain of Mantinea is divided from that of Orchomenus by a low chain of reddish hills. A great part of the plain, including almost all the southern part, is covered with vineyards, the rich green foliage of which, when the vines are in leaf, contrasts with the grey arid slopes of the surrounding mountains. But the site of

Mantinea itself is now mostly corn-land. Not a single house stands within the wide area, and hardly one is within sight. In spring the swampy plain is traversed by sluggish streams little better than ditches, the haunts of countless frogs, which sun themselves on the banks and squatter into the water with loud flops at the approach of the wayfarer. The whole scene is one of melancholy and desolation. As the plain stands about 2000 feet above the sea, the climate is piercingly cold in winter as well as burning hot in summer. The marshes now render the site unhealthy at all times, but in antiquity it was doubtless better drained. Of the oak-forest through which the road ran from Mantinea to Tegea in the days of Pausanias nothing is left. Indeed the oak has long ago retreated from the plains to the mountains of Arcadia.

The ruins of Mantinea lie towards the eastern side of the plain, not far from the foot of Mount Alesius. Immediately to the north of the ruins rises the isolated conical hill of *Gourtsouli*, with bare uniform slopes, its summit crowned by a chapel and a clump of trees. This hill was probably the site of the oldest city (see note on viii. 12. 7).

The circuit of the walls of Mantinea is nearly complete, with their gates and flanking towers; but inside the walls the whole area is under tillage. Even the considerable area excavated a few years ago by the French archaeologists is again almost entirely buried under the soil. One of the crops raised is hashish for the Egyptian market. The general outline of the walls is elliptical or oval, approaching to circular. The longer axis lies north and south. The circuit of the walls measures nearly 2½ miles (3942 metres); it is almost entire, but there is a short gap on the eastern side and a longer one on the south-west. The masonry is a splendid specimen of Greek fortification-walls of the best period, closely resembling the style of the walls of Messene. The walls were obviously built at the time when Mantinea was restored by Epaminondas after the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.); probably it was the same Theban engineers who built Mantinea and Messene. The wall is built directly on the surface of the soil, without any foundations. It is composed of parallel courses of large blocks, mostly trapezoidal in shape. But in some places the masonry is fine polygonal. Two, three, and four courses are standing. (Leake says that in no place are there more than three courses above ground. But he is mistaken. I counted four courses in many places.) The average height of the wall is from 3 to 6 feet, and is so uniform that there is little doubt that (as Leake first perceived) the upper part must have been built of sun-dried bricks which have mouldered away. The curtain, or wall between the towers, is regularly composed of three parts, namely an outer facing of large wrought stones put together without cement, an inner facing of smaller stones, and an intermediate space which is filled up with a rubble of broken stones mixed with mortar. The outer facing is about 5 feet thick, the inner facing about 18 inches. The total thickness of the wall averages about 14 feet (4.20 metres).

Square towers project from the wall at average intervals of about 82 to 85 feet (25 to 26 metres). Sometimes the interval between the towers measures nearly 100 feet (30 metres), but this is excep-

tional. (These are the measurements given by Mr. Fougères. I paced the distances between a number of the towers; they measured variously 28, 29, 30, and 33 paces, which agrees fairly well with Mr. Fougères's measurements.) Travellers differ in their estimate of the number of towers; the ruins are in some places so dilapidated that it is not easy to say whether there was a tower there or not. Leake counted 118 towers; Gell 116; Boblaye 120; Ross 130; Conze and Michaelis (without reckoning the towers at the gates) counted 93 certain and 5 nearly certain. I counted about 102. The French archaeologists, who have recently studied Mantinea with care, reckon that, allowing for the towers which have disappeared, there were 109 flanking towers and 13 for the defence of the gates, or 122 in all. All the flanking towers are square. Their dimensions vary; generally they measure about 22 feet (6.60 metres) in front, and project about 15 or 16 feet from the line of the wall. Each tower communicated with the interior of the city by an opening in the circuit-wall. Inside the towers were staircases, probably of wood, which led up to the top of the wall.

Eight of the gates of the city can still be traced; but it seems probable that there were two more, one on the south and one on

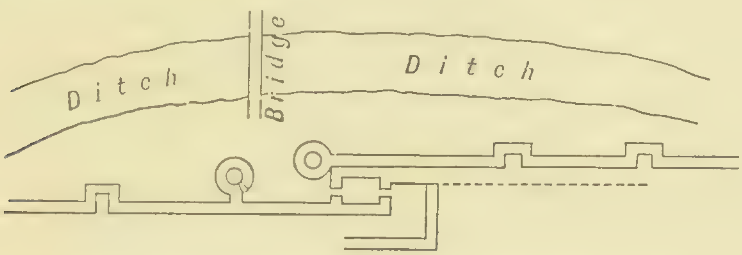


FIG. 26.—GROUND-PLAN OF ONE OF THE GATES OF MANTINEA.

the south-west, which have now wholly disappeared. The plan of the various gates differs somewhat in detail, but the object aimed at in all of them was to expose an enemy attacking the gate to a cross fire of missiles from walls and towers. At all the gates, except one, the circuit-wall overlaps, so that the approach to the gate is through a passage, from both sides of which the assailant could be attacked by the defenders; and all the gates (except the one) open in such a direction that an enemy attacking the gate would have his right or unshielded side exposed to the inner wall. The entrance to each gate was defended by two towers, one on each side of the entrance. Some of these towers are round, others square, one at least is pentagonal. The gate on the north-west, leading to Clitor, is constructed on a different plan from all the rest. Here there is no overlapping of the circuit-wall; the entrance leads straight through it at right angles. But the approach to this gate from the outside was through a sort of outer court shaped like a half-moon, each horn of which was defended by a round tower; and inside the gate there was a rectangular court. Thus an enemy approaching the gate would have been assailed from the towers and from each side of the half-moon; and if he forced his way through the gate, he would

find himself caught, as it were, in a trap in the inner court. This gateway is very ruinous, but enough remains to enable us to restore the plan of it. In general plan it resembles the Arcadian gate of Messene, though the details are different. (See note on iv. 31. 5.) The best preserved of all the gates is the one at the north-east, through which the road went to Melangea and thence to Argos by the pass of the Ladder.

The whole circuit of the walls is protected on the outside by a wet ditch, formed by a small stream which flows in from the south-east and after encompassing the city so as to make it an island, re-unites its waters on the other side, flows away from the north-western side of the city, and disappears into a chasm about 2 miles off, at the foot of the western mountains. This stream is the Ophis mentioned by Pausanias. Its very circuitous course in the plain, after it leaves the walls of Mantinea, explains and justifies its name of Ophis ('snake').

The most minute and accurate description of the walls of Mantinea is by Mr. Fougères in the *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), pp. 65-90. See also Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 421 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 139 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 136 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 100 *sqq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 280; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 380 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 139 *sq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 207 *sqq.*; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 312; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 124 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 226 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 235 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 132 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 344 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 168 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 209 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 300 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 373 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 94; W. Loring, in *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 86. I visited Mantinea, 23rd April 1890, and again, 12th October 1895.

8. 5. **Homer's lines.** The passages referred to are *Iliad*, ii. 723, xii. 202 and 208.

8. 5. **Philoctetes —— suffering from the wound.** On some representations of this subject in ancient art, see A. Michaelis, 'Filottete ferito,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 29 (1857), pp. 232-274; L. A. Milani, 'Nuove Monumenti di Filottete,' *Annali dell' Inst.* 53 (1881), pp. 249-289.

8. 6. **the battle of Dipaea.** See iii. 11. 7; Herodotus, ix. 35.

8. 6. **they fought against the Lacedaemonians.** This was at the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. See Thucydides, v. 64 *sqq.*; and as to the topography of the battle, Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 57 *sqq.* The stream which on that occasion, before the battle, king Agis diverted into Mantinean territory was no doubt the one which flows in a northerly direction from near Tegea, crosses the boundary of the Mantinean territory just beneath the hill of *Mytika* (the ancient Scope, see below, viii. 11. 7 note), and disappears into a chasm in the south-west corner of the Mantinean plain. This chasm is of the earthy kind, and hence is very liable to be silted up. When this happens, the surrounding country is at once flooded. The Mantineans were doubtless in the habit of damming it up at the frontier, so as to make it flood the Tegean plain, while the Tegeans would be equally anxious to keep its channel open till it reached Mantinean ground. Hence the constant feuds which the two peoples waged on the subject of the water (Thucydides, v. 65). See Mr. W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 85.

8. 6. **shared in the Sicilian expedition.** Cp. Thucydides, vi. 29.

8. 7. **Agesipolis soon took the city —— by diverting the river Ophis** etc. This was in 385 B.C. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, v. 2. 4-7; Diodorus, xv. 5 and 12. Xenophon mentions that the Ophis flowed through the city. As no stream runs through the city now, it would seem that when the city was rebuilt after the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.), the precaution was taken of altering the channel of the stream, so that it now flowed round, instead of through the city. Xenophon says that Agesipolis "dammed up the river which flowed through the city, and which was a very large stream. Hence the channel being blocked up, the water rose above the foundations of the houses and above the foundations of the city-wall. Thus the lower bricks being soaked and giving way under the upper bricks, the wall first cracked, and then began to topple over. For a while they made shift to prop it with logs and to prevent the tower from falling. But the water proving too much for them, they feared that the whole circuit of the walls might come down and the city be taken by the sword" etc. Here, as Leake has justly observed (*Morea*, 3. p. 70), the words of Xenophon imply that the foundations of the walls were of stone, while the upper part was of unburnt brick. Thus the walls of the older city were constructed in much the same way as those of which the remains are still to be seen. They consisted of a foundation, or rather of a socle, of stone, on which rested an upper wall of unburnt brick. Similarly the walls of Athens which faced toward Mts. Pentelicus and Hymettus were of unburnt brick (Vitruvius, ii. 8. 9; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxv. 172; *C. I. A.* ii. No. 167). The upper part of the walls of Thespiae seems to have been of unburnt brick, while the lower part was of stone (H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, 2. p. 84); and the walls of Tegea were apparently constructed in the same way. See note on viii. 44. 8. Cp. E. Fabricius, *Theben*, p. 15 *sqq.*; W. Dörpfeld, 'Der antike Ziegelbau und sein Einfluss auf den dorischen Stil,' *Historische und philolog. Aufsätze Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, pp. 139-150; Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*,[2] p. 68; and note on v. 16. 1. At the point where the branches of the Ophis, after encircling the walls of Mantinea, reunite, Gell observed a mound which he thought might be the one raised by Agesipolis to flood the city (*Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 142; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 137).

8. 8. **bricks afford greater security** etc. This observation is repeated by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἆγις), who, however, supposes the comparison to be between the advantages of burnt and unburnt bricks.

8. 9. **it had been struck out by Cimon** etc. The capture of Eion by Cimon in 476 or 470 B.C. is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 107), Thucydides (i. 98), Plutarch (*Cimon*, 7), and Polyaenus (vii. 24); but none of these writers mentions that Cimon flooded the city by damming up the Strymon, as Pausanias seems to imply that he did.

8. 10. **the people were brought back** etc. Cp. ix. 14. 4.

8. 11. **defeated the Spartan king Agis** etc. See viii. 10. 5-10.

8. 11. **They also fought —— against Cleomenes.** This was at the battle of Sellasia. See note on iii. 10. 7.

8. 11. **they changed the name of their city to Antigonea.** Pausanias speaks as if the Mantineans voluntarily changed the name of their city to Antigonea out of compliment to Antigonus. The truth seems to have been that Mantinea revolted from the Achaean League, and that the Achaeans conquered it, treated it with severity, and changed its name to Antigonea. It was still called Antigonea in Plutarch's time. See Plutarch, *Aratus*, 45; cp. Polybius, ii. 57 *sq.*

9. 1. **an image of Aesculapius, a work of Alcamenes.** It is conjectured that Alcamenes may have executed this image in or soon after 420 B.C., when Mantinea concluded an alliance with Athens (Thucydides, v. 47). See K. O. Müller, 'De Phidiae vita et operibus,' i. 19 (*Kunstarchäologische Werke*, 2. p. 31); E. Reisch, in *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Wien, 1893), p. 21 *sq.*

9. 1. **Latona and her children —— by Praxiteles.** These may have been the originals or replicas of a corresponding set of images by the same sculptor which stood in a sanctuary of Apollo at Megara (i. 44. 2 note).

9. 1. **On the pedestal of these images are represented the Muses and Marsyas.** On the 11th of August 1887, the excavations conducted at Mantinea by Mr. Fougères for the French School of Archaeology brought to light three slabs adorned with reliefs which appear to be the sculptures here mentioned by Pausanias (Fig. 27). The slabs were found in a Byzantine church situated within the walls of Mantinea, about 126 yards from the south wall. Being laid face downwards they had served as flagstones in the church. The slabs are of white marble, and nearly of a size; one of them measures 1.35 metres in length by .96 m. in height; the other two are 1.36 m. long by .96 m. and .98 m. high. The holes in the slabs for fastening them show that they were attached to some monument, probably to three sides of a pedestal. From the similar disposition of these holes, as well as from the style of the sculptures, there can be no doubt that they belong to the same monument. On each slab are carved three figures in relief. In the right-hand corner of one slab —the slab which probably occupied the front of the pedestal—Marsyas is represented playing the double flute. He is completely nude, and is standing with his legs apart, blowing with might and main, as his swollen muscles plainly indicate. In the opposite or left-hand corner Apollo, clad in a loose flowing robe, is seated in an attitude of dignified calm, his left hand resting on his lyre, his right hand holding a flap of his robe. In the centre of the slab, between Apollo and Marsyas, is a Phrygian slave, easily recognisable by his Phrygian cap and his tunic which barely reaches to his knees; in his right hand he holds a knife, ready to flay Marsyas. On another slab three of the Muses are represented standing; one holds aloft in her right hand a lyre, another grasps a parchment-roll, the third is reading a tablet. On the third slab there are also three Muses. The one on the right is seated holding a sort of mandoline; the one in the centre stands in a musing attitude, with nothing in her hands, which are hidden in the folds of her ample robe; the one on the left stands with a double flute in her hand.



FIG. 27.—APOLLO, MARSYAS, AND THE MUSES (MARBLE RELIEFS FOUND AT MANTINEA).

Probably there was a fourth slab with the remaining three Muses; it would be attached to the fourth side of the pedestal. Prof. Waldstein, however, thinks that the four slabs were in a row on the front side only of the pedestal; and to this view Overbeck and Mr. Cavvadias have assented. The subject of the reliefs is plainly the musical contest between Marsyas and Apollo, the former playing the flute, the latter the lyre, and the Muses acting as umpires. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 165. There can be little doubt that these are the reliefs seen and briefly described by Pausanias. Though he does not expressly say that the scene represented was the contest between Marsyas and Apollo, the mere mention of Marsyas playing the flute and of the Muses would be sufficient for Greek readers, to whom the legend of the contest was familiar. The artistic merit of the reliefs is high. The figures are easy and graceful; equally free from the stiffness of the early period of Greek sculpture and from that florid luxuriance and ambitious straining after effect which characterised the sculpture of the decline. In short they have the simplicity, dignity, and repose of the best period of Greek art. It is now generally agreed that the reliefs are those described by Pausanias, and that they were probably executed, if not by Praxiteles himself, by one of his pupils from designs furnished by the master. In particular the contrast between Marsyas and Apollo, the former straining every nerve in the contest, the latter seated in perfect calm, assured of victory and confident in his divine power, is very striking and worthy of a great artist. The reliefs are now in the National Museum at Athens.

See G. Fougères, 'Bas-reliefs de Mantinée,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 12 (1888), pp. 105-128; Overbeck, 'Ueber die in Mantinea gefundenen Reliefe,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig.* Philolog.-histor. Classe, 40 (1888), pp. 284-294; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 4. pp. 454 *sq.*, 457; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 61 *sq.*; Furtwängler, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 8 (1888), p. 1482; Ch. Waldstein, 'The Mantinean Reliefs,' *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), pp. 1-18; Cavvadias, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, Nos. 215-217; W. Amelung, *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea* (Munich, 1895).

9. 2. **a likeness of Polybius.** Likenesses of Polybius, the historian, carved in relief or in the round, were also set up at Megalopolis (viii. 30. 8), Lycosura (viii. 37. 2), Pallantium (viii. 44. 5), and Tegea (viii. 48. 8). Another was found some years ago at Clitor, in Arcadia. It is a relief, representing in profile a crop-haired, beardless man under forty. His right arm is raised; a long spear rests on his left arm; a round shield and a helmet with a large crest stand on the ground in front of him. The face, especially the nose, is mutilated a good deal, but the features are expressive and approach the Roman type. It appears to be the first authentic portrait of Polybius which has come to light. See L. Gurlitt, 'Ein Kriegerrelief aus Kleitor,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 154-166 (Mr. Gurlitt did not identify the relief as a portrait of Polybius, but see the article next cited); A. Milchhöfer, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 39 (1881), pp. 153-158. There was a statue of him also at Olympia, dedicated by the city of Elis; the inscribed pedestal was found by the Germans at Olympia in 1877 (*Die Inschriften*

von Olympia, No. 302; Hicks, *Greek historical inscriptions*, No. 201; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 243).

9. 2. **Saviour Zeus.** There was a sanctuary of Zeus in the market-place of Mantinea, where the archives were kept (Thucydides, v. 47. 11). It may have been the one mentioned by Pausanias. But there appear to have been more sanctuaries than one of Zeus at Mantinea; for on the site of the market-place, about 120 yards east of the theatre (see § 3 note), I copied (23rd April 1890) the following inscription:

ΟΣ
ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΒΟ[Υ]Λ

It is probably to be restored Διὸς Εὐβουλέως, 'of Zeus the Good Counsellor.' This title was often applied to Zeus (Hesychius, *s.v.* Εὐβουλεύς; Diodorus, v. 72; see note on i. 14. 3 'Eubuleus'). From the situation of the inscription in the market-place it may possibly have belonged to the sanctuary of Zeus mentioned by Thucydides. The inscription has not, so far as I know, been published. The French excavators do not even mention it.

9. 2. **a sanctuary of the Dioscuri.** On coins of Mantinea there is represented an altar or edifice, above which the busts of the Dioscuri appear in profile (Fig. 28); they wear the usual pointed caps and carry spears on their shoulders. On the reverse of these coins is represented a fisherman (?) wearing a conical cap, with his clothes girt up about his waist in a peculiar way; he wears boots with turned-up toes which seem to end in serpents, and in his hands he carries what have been variously interpreted as lances or harpoons (Fig. 29). See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 94, with pl. S. xviii. xix. The latter type has puzzled numismatologists. Mr. Svoronos has explained it as representing Ulysses carrying in his right hand a javelin and in his left an oar which he is in the act of planting in the ground, in obedience to the oracle of Tiresias (Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 121 *sqq.*) See Svoronos, 'Ulysse chez les Arcadiens,' *Gazette archéologique*, 13 (1888), pp. 257-280. Cp. note on viii. 14. 5.

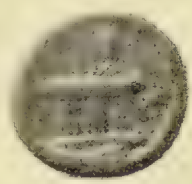


FIG. 28.—THE DIOSCURI (COIN OF MANTINEA).

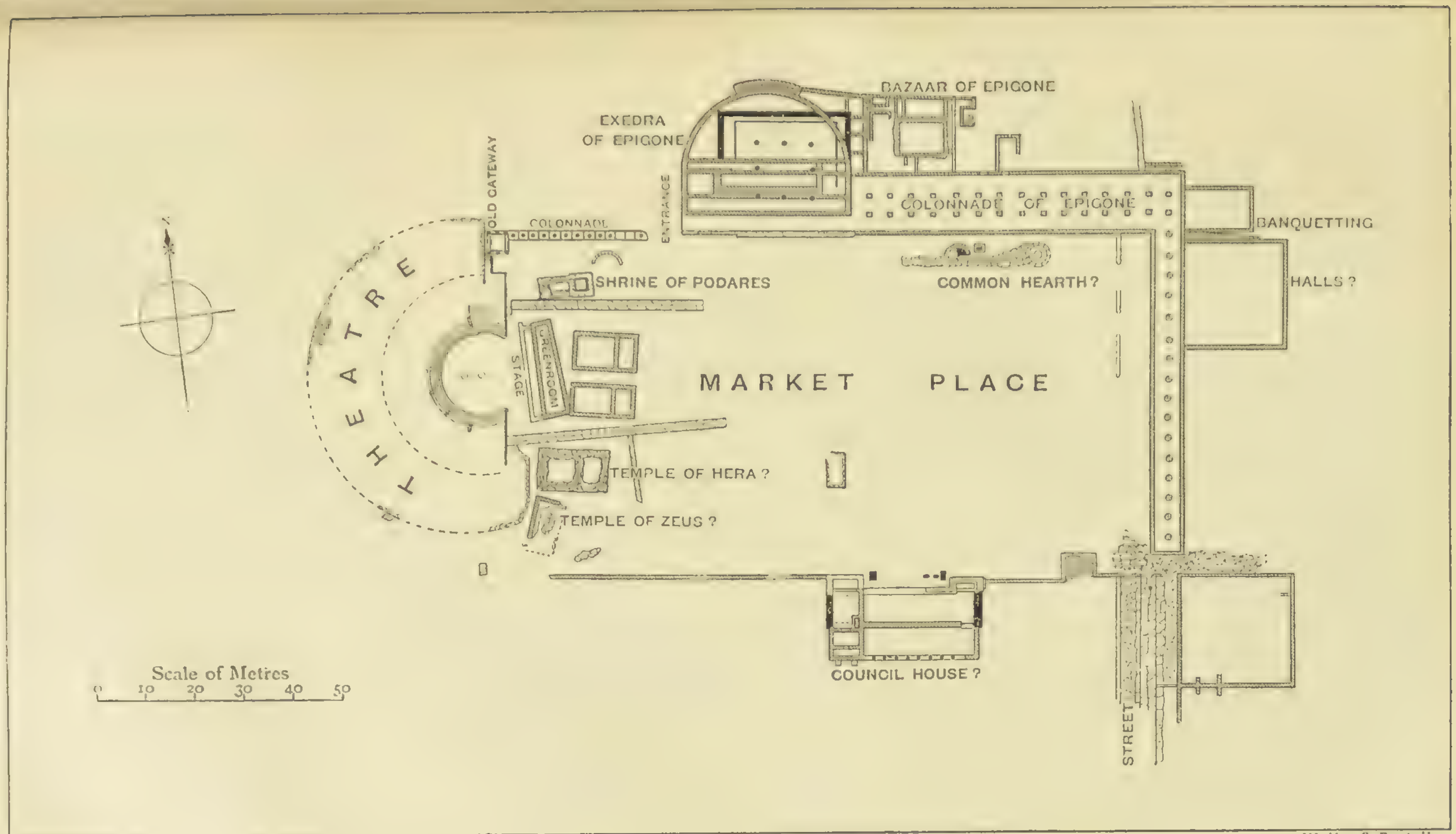


FIG. 29. — ULYSSES WITH THE OAR? (COIN OF MANTINEA).

9. 2. **one of Demeter and the Maid.** Two inscriptions found at Mantinea (?) throw some light on the ritual of this sanctuary. It appears that there was a festival called *Koragia*, *i.e.* 'The bringing of the Maid' (from the lower world, cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* κοράγειν). A procession and sacrifices formed part of the festival. Apparently a new robe was presented on this occasion to the goddess (Proserpine) and a temporary hut or shelter of some sort was erected within which her secret rites were performed. The image of the goddess was regularly received by the priest into his house. There were also certain ceremonies at the opening of the temple on the thirtieth day of the

month (ἐν τοῖς τριακοστοῖς). Although there were priests, it would seem that the ceremonies were chiefly in the hands of a corporation or chapter of priestesses called *Koragoi.* They had a special chapel called the *Koragion.* The inscriptions from which we derive this information contain decrees in honour of two women, Nicippa, daughter of Paseas, and Phaēna, daughter of Damatrius, who had liberally contributed to the celebration of the worship. The former lady is probably the Nicippe, daughter of Paseas, whom Pausanias mentions in § 6 of this chapter. See S. Reinach, *Traité d'épigraphie grecque*, p. 141 *sqq.*; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 100 *sqq.*

9. 3. **a temple of Hera beside the theatre.** The theatre at Mantinea was partially excavated by the French in 1887-88. It is situated near the centre of the area enclosed by the city-walls, but a little more to the north-east. As it was built on a dead flat, the back had to be supported artificially. This was done by means of a wall of massive polygonal blocks forming rather more than a semicircle, of which the radius was 33.50 metres (about 110 feet). Thus the total breadth of the theatre was 67 metres (about 220 feet). The space enclosed by the supporting-wall was filled with rubble and mortar, on which the seats rested. The theatre faced east. Curiously enough, the wings are not symmetrically placed with regard to each other, nor is the stage symmetrical with the rest of the theatre. Only a few of the lower tiers of seats are preserved; they were divided into seven blocks by eight staircases radiating from the orchestra, two of the staircases being at the extremities of the wings. The seats are all alike and of the simple pattern commonly adopted in Greek theatres. They consist of two parts; the back part is a hollow for the feet of the spectator sitting in the tier above; the front part is slightly raised and forms the seat proper. Some of the seats are of native limestone, others of white marble. Outside staircases led up to the seats from the wings and from the west and south-west. The orchestra is a section of a circle of which the radius was 10.85 metres (about $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet). Three walls of the stage have been preserved, namely the front wall and the two short side walls. The front wall is 21.07 metres long (about 69 feet). It is built of two courses of white limestone, of which the whole of the lower is preserved. On the upper course are the holes and traces of the columns which here, as at Oropus, decorated the front of the stage; there appear to have been sixteen such columns. In the middle of the front wall is a doorway. The stage-walls are built of rough blocks, fitted with earth and mortar. They are of Roman date, and so apparently is the rest of the theatre, except the supporting-wall and the outside western staircase, the remains of which are built of fine polygonal masonry. At the back of the stage there was a large quadrangular hall, which probably served as a greenroom. In the angle between the southern wing of the theatre and the stage buildings the remains of two rectangular edifices were discovered by the French archaeologists. Of the more northerly of the two little more than the foundations are preserved. They measure about 54 feet by 30 feet. The building is turned east and west and appears to have been a temple



Walker & Boutall sc.

FIG. 30.—GROUND-PLAN OF THEATRE AND MARKET-PLACE OF MANTINEA.

of the sort called *prostyle in antis*, *i.e.* with two columns between *antae* on the front, but without a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*). It may have been the temple of Hera, which, as Pausanias tells us, was near the theatre. The other edifice is still more ruinous. It is a rectangle 12.10 metres long by 6.75 m. broad, turned north and south. Mr. Fougères conjectures that it may have been the sanctuary of Zeus in the market-place where a copy of the treaty of alliance between Mantinea, Athens, Elis and Argos was deposited in 420 B.C. (Thucydides, v. 47. 11). See G. Fougères, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), pp. 248-254; *Guide-Joanne*, p. 375 *sq.*

9. 3. **fetched his bones from Maenalus** etc. Cp. viii. 36. 8.

9. 5. **one is of a round form** etc. In the market-place of Mantinea (see note on § 9), near the north-east corner, the French excavators laid bare the pavement of a circular building composed of limestone slabs arranged in concentric rings round a central circular slab. It measures 6.10 metres across. The workmanship is good. On the outer ring, at the north side, is a block of marble, which I took to be a base of a statue; but it may have been, as Mr. Fougères suggests, part of the base of a circular colonnade. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), p. 261. This circular building may possibly have been the tomb of Antinoe or 'Common Hearth,' as it was called. But its distance from the theatre (about 140 yards) is against the identification. As to Antinoe see viii. 8. 4; as to the Common Hearth, see note on viii. 53. 9.

9. 5. **Grylus, son of Xenophon.** Cp. viii. 11. 6.

9. 6. **a temple of Aphrodite.** L. Ross (*Reisen*, p. 125 *sq.*) thought he perceived the foundations of this temple to the west of the theatre; but Mr. Fougères thinks it probable that he was deceived by the lines of stones with which the peasants have bordered certain paths in order to keep carts and horses out of their fields. It is these rows of stones, according to Mr. Fougères, which several travellers have mistaken for the lines of the ancient streets (*Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), p. 246).

9. 6. **Nicippe, daughter of Paseas.** See note on § 2 above ('one of Demeter and the Maid').

9. 6. **They also worship Athena Alea, and they have a sanctuary and image of her.** A mutilated archaic inscription found at Mantinea contains a list of debtors of Alea, doubtless the goddess whom Pausanias calls Athena Alea. As interpreted by Mr. Homolle the inscription relates to a crime which had been perpetrated in the sanctuary of the goddess. Several men and a girl had been murdered; twelve of the criminals had been tried and condemned, while a thirteenth man, Phemandros by name, was accused but not yet tried. The murderers were to pay fines to the goddess; and if the fines were not paid, the families or clans of the guilty persons were to be excluded for ever from the sanctuary. See G. Fougères and Th. Homolle, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 16 (1892), pp. 568-576, 580-596. The chief seat of the worship of Athena Alea was at Tegea. See viii. 45. 4.

9. 7. **Antinous is esteemed by them a god.** The head of

Antinous appears on coins of Mantinea; one such coin was found on the spot. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 423; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 95; *Catalogue of Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, *Peloponnesus*, p. 177, pl. xxxiii. 1 and 2. On some Mantinean (?) coins Antinous is identified with Pan, the inscription on the coin being ΑΝΤΙΝΟΩ ΠΑΝΙ (L. Dietrichson, *Antinoos* (Christiania, 1884), p. 304 *sq.*) An architrave, found in the Byzantine church about 200 yards to the south-east of the theatre at Mantinea, bears the following inscription, which I copied on the spot, 23rd April 1890. It has not yet, so far as I know, been published in full (cp. *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), p. 267 *sq.*) The block is about 12 feet long, and, when I saw it, lay upside down.

ΓΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΕΥΡΥΚΛΗΣΗΡΚΛΑΝΟΣΛΟΥΙΒΟΥΛΛΙΟΣΠΕΙΟΣΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝΣΥΝ
ΤΑΙΣΕΝΑΥΤΗΕΞΕΔΡΑΙΣΤΗΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΚΑΙΤΩΕΠΙΧΩΡΙΩΘΕΩΑΝΤΙΝΟΩΚΑΤ
ΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΛΙΑΤΟΝΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΝ

Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Εὐρυκλῆς Ἥρκλανος, Λ(ούκιος) Οὐιβούλλιος Πεῖος τὴν στοὰν σὺν | ταῖς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐξέδραις τῇ Μαντινέων πόλει καὶ τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ Ἀντινόῳ κατ | <ε>σκεύασε διὰ τὸν κληρονόμον.

"Gaius Julius Eurycles and Lucius Vibullius Pius built the colonnade with the halls in it for the city of the Mantineans and for the native god Antinous on account of the heir." In the last line of the inscription I presume that Λ (after ΣΚΕΥΑΣΕ) is for Δ (the bottom line of the letter may have been effaced, or my transcript may be wrong). Further, *κατεσκεύασε* seems to be a mistake of the mason for *κατεσκεύασαν*. The last words of the inscription ("on account of the heir") are not intelligible to me. The colonnade, with its halls, thus dedicated to Antinous, appears to have adjoined the south-east corner of the market-place (see note on § 9). The games celebrated at Mantinea in honour of Antinous (see § 8 and 10 § 1) are mentioned in an inscription found on the citadel of Argos (Dietrichson, *op. cit.* p. 328). An inscription found at Olympia mentions "the great games of Antinous," which may be the Mantinean games (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 452; cp. *id.*, No. 450). Games in honour of Antinous were also celebrated at Argos, Athens, and Eleusis, and they seem to have continued well into the third century A.D. See *C. I. G.* No. 1124; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 1202; Dietrichson, *op. cit.* p. 97 *sq.*; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. p. 345 *sqq.*

9. 7. **An Egyptian city on the Nile is named after Antinous.** Antinous died a mysterious death in Egypt, and Hadrian founded a city called Antinoupolis on the spot where he died (Dio Cassius, lxix. 11; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16. 2; cp. Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 14).

9. 7. **he receives homage.** See note on v. 4. 2. Dio Cassius says (lxix. 11) that Hadrian set up "statues, or rather images" of Antinous in all parts of the world.

9. 7. **Antinous was a native of Bithynium.** So too says Dio Cassius (lxix. 11), adding that in his time the city was called Claudiopolis.

9. 8. **the original of which is in the Ceramicus.** See i. 3. 4.

9. 9. **the market-place of Mantinea.** This was cleared by the French in their excavations of 1887-88 (see Fig. 30, p. 211). It is a large rectangular space to the east of the theatre, measuring 160 metres from east to west by 90 m. from north to south (175 yards by 98). On the north and east it was bordered by colonnades which, with the exception of the one next the theatre, appear to be of Roman date. Inscriptions found in the north colonnade and dating, apparently, from the first century A.D., speak of great reconstructions effected in the market-place by one Euphrosynus, son of Titus, and by his wife Epigone, daughter of Artemon. They restored temples, and built banqueting-halls and treasuries for societies. Epigone further erected a bazaar (*macellus*) surrounded by workshops, an *exedra* or semicircular hall "which by itself would be an ornament of the city," and a marble colonnade that added much to the beauty of the market-place.

The western side of the market-place was occupied by the theatre. At the western end of the north side, close to the northern wing of the theatre, is a small paved rectangle with traces of columns. It seems to have been originally a portal to the market-place, but to have been afterwards blocked up and rendered useless by the construction of the theatre. To the east of this portal extended a colonnade, the front line of which was found by the French archaeologists to exist for a length of 31 metres (about 102 feet). It is a pavement of white limestone with a row of nine round holes in which no doubt Doric columns were set. The massive foundations of this colonnade are a proof of its antiquity. It may be a remnant of the original market-place. In any case it is probably earlier than the reconstructions carried out in the Roman period by Euphrosynus and Epigone. In front of it are the foundations of a semicircular structure, which may have been either the pedestal of a group of statuary or a seat (*exedra*).

To the east of this colonnade, still on the north side of the market-place, was an entrance to the market-place, beyond which another line of colonnades extended eastward. First, there is a colonnade 38 metres long resting on a three-stepped basement; but as the top step or stylobate proper has disappeared it is impossible to tell the number or architectural order of the columns. At the back of this colonnade was constructed an edifice somewhat resembling the Exedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (see above, p. 72 *sqq.*) It includes a semicircular portion at the back and an oblong portion in front. The former portion is enclosed by a semicircular wall of bricks resting on a foundation of small stones; the latter is divided by partition walls into a number of compartments. The diameter of the semicircle is 38 metres. The thickness of the walls proves that the semicircular portion was roofed with an arched vault, which may have been decorated with statues. Mr. Fougères thinks that the building was in two stories. It may have been the *exedra* which is known from an inscription to have been built by Epigone, probably in the first century A.D. Within it were found the remains of an earlier edifice which must have been pulled down when the *exedra* was built. This earlier edifice would seem to have

been a square court, measuring 27 metres on each side, with rows of Doric columns in the interior. One row of columns ran along each side of the court, and there were three columns in each row. The drums of the columns have twenty flutes each; they are made of conglomerate coated with stucco, and are of a heavy dumpy shape. This square court with its columned interior may have been perhaps an old bazaar which was replaced by the new bazaar built by Epigone.

To the east of the *exedra* extended a covered gallery or colonnade with two rows of columns in the interior. The bases of the columns, roughly constructed of rubble and mortar supporting slabs, are still in their places. The columns and roof were probably of wood. At the back of this colonnade, and abutting on the *exedra* of Epigone, are a number of badly-built rooms surrounding a small paved rectangular court. This was probably the bazaar surrounded by workshops in the Oriental style which Epigone bestowed on Mantinea. The inscription, already referred to, speaks of it in lofty terms, but it seems to have been a poor affair in reality. In the room at the south-west angle there was a mosaic pavement with representations of animals. The entrance to the bazaar was on the east.

The eastern side of the market-place was bounded by another colonnade, with a single row of columns in the interior. This may have been the marble colonnade erected by Epigone. Abutting on its back, at the north-east, are two quadrangular halls built of rubble and bricks. They may be the banqueting-halls mentioned in the inscription.

At the south-east corner of the market-place a street entered it from the south, coming probably from the Tegean gate. Just before entering the market-place the street skirted on the right a long colonnade, of which eleven unfluted columns were found in their places. The columns are slender; the distance between each pair of columns is 4.30 metres (about 14 feet). At the back of the colonnade is a large building built of bricks and of slight materials and divided into a number of compartments. The French archaeologists thought that this colonnade with the rooms at the back of it might be "the colonnade and halls" dedicated by Eurycles (and Vibullius) to Antinous, of which the architrave has been found (see note on § 7). This seems improbable. The columns are, as the French themselves admit, too slender and too far apart to support this heavy stone architrave; and, as the French also admit, the style of the colonnade which has been discovered is much simpler than that of the architrave. There seems, therefore, no reason to suppose that the architrave has any connexion with the colonnade.

Just to the west of the point where the street enters the market-place at its south-east corner, a small rectangular structure projects into the market-place. The basement is of marble, carefully wrought; it supported a colonnade which ran round the three outer sides of the building (four columns in front and three at the sides, counting the columns at the angles twice over). It measures 8 metres in front and 4.50 m. at the sides. In style it resembles the architrave of Eurycles

and Vibullius, and may have been part of the buildings dedicated by them to Antinous.

To the west of this structure there is a large building opening on the market-place. It forms a quadrangle 35 metres long by 19 m. deep, with projecting wings at the ends. The masonry is good Greek work. On the south side of the building, away from the market-place, is an Ionic colonnade; it is apparently a later addition to the building: the columns, of which there were originally ten, seem to be of the Macedonian epoch. The French excavators think that the building may be the Council House. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellén.* 14 (1890), pp. 256-269; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 376-378.

9. 9. **a shrine of the hero Podares.** In the market-place, near its north-west angle and close to the theatre, the French discovered the foundations and parts of the walls of a building which may be the shrine of Podares. It is a rectangle turned east and west. The foundations are of rough stones; the walls are built of blocks well squared and carefully fitted. The workmanship is Greek, not Roman. Near the building were found fragments of tiles, of which the one was inscribed with the name of Podares (ΠΟΔΑΡΕΟΣ), the other with some letters of it (ΠΟΔΑΡΙ). The building had been converted into a Byzantine church. See *Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* 14 (1890), p. 255 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 378.

9. 10. **Grylus, son of Xenophon.** Cp. above § 5; below 11. 6; i. 3. 4; ix. 15. 5. Aristotle, cited by Diogenes Laertius (ii. 6. 55), says that the number of epitaphs and panegyrics written on Grylus, partly to console and gratify his father Xenophon, was endless.

9. 10. **Cephisodorus.** He fell in the battle while commanding the Athenian cavalry jointly with Grylus; Dinarchus mentioned him in a speech (Harpocration, *s.v.* Κηφισόδωρος; cp. Diogenes Laertius, ii. 6. 54).

10. 1. **a stadium.** On the slope of Mt. Alesius the English traveller W. G. Clark saw a semicircular grassy recess, which he took to be the round end of the stadium (*Peloponnesus*, p. 131 *sq.*)

10. 2. **the sanctuary of Horse Poseidon.** According to Polybius (ix. 8. 11) the sanctuary of Poseidon was 7 furlongs from Mantinea and the ground about it was flat (xi. 12. 6). The latter statement is quite consistent with the remark of Pausanias that the sanctuary was at the skirts of the mountain. At the hamlet of *Kalyvia*, about 1200 metres (1400 yards) south of the Tegean gate of Mantinea, Mr. Fougères found two long and broad flags of limestone deeply imbedded in the sandy soil; they appear to have formed a threshold. Now (1) the enormous weight of the blocks makes it unlikely that they have been transported from their original site; (2) fragments of antiquity, including a Doric capital and a relief representing Poseidon seated with his trident in his hand, have been found here; and (3) some marbles, scattered in the neighbouring hamlet (especially an inscription containing an act of enfranchisement dated by the priest of Poseidon), are said by the peasants to have been brought from this spot. For these reasons Mr. Fougères concludes that this stone threshold marks

the site of the sanctuary of Poseidon. The distance from Mantinea agrees well enough with the 7 furlongs of Polybius or the 6 of Pausanias. See *Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* 14 (1890), p. 80 *sq.*; and Critical Note, vol. 1. p. 595. Poseidon was the chief god of Mantinea; hence the Mantineans bore the trident of Poseidon as the scutcheon on their shields (Schol. on Pindar, *Olymp.* xi. 83). From inscriptions it appears that the Mantineans dated their years by the priests of Poseidon, as the Argives did by the priestesses of Hera. See Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 37.

10. 2. **Agamedes and Trophonius.** See ix. 11. 1; ix. 37. 4 *sqq.*; x. 5. 13.

10. 3. **merely stretched a woollen thread across it** etc. We are reminded of the tricolour ribbon which, stretched round the Temple during the days of the September massacres, protected Louis XVI. and his family from the fury of the Parisian mob. See Carlyle, *French Revolution*, bk. i. chap. 5.

10. 3. **Aepytus —— made his way into the sanctuary** etc. Cp. viii. 5. 5.

10. 4. **the wave on the Acropolis.** Pausanias here refers to the salt well of Poseidon in the Erechtheum. See i. 26. 5 note.

10. 4. **the god whom in their own tongue they call Osogoa.** He is called Zeus Osogoa (Ὀσογῶα) in inscriptions found at Mylasa. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 5 (1881), pp. 98-101. Cp. *C. I. G.* Nos. 2693 f, 2700. Strabo also (xiv. p. 659) mentions the sanctuary of Zeus Osogoa at Mylasa, and says that it was in the city.

10. 5. **a victory over Agis and the Lacedaemonians.** Cp. viii. 8. 11. This battle is not mentioned by any other ancient writer, and Pausanias's statement that Agis was killed in the battle is implicitly contradicted by Plutarch, who describes in detail how Agis was seized by conspirators in Sparta and put to death (*Agis*, 19 *sq.*) Plutarch is doubtless right, and it has been questioned whether Pausanias's account of the battle is not a blunder of his. Leake, however, thinks that the battle was probably fought "soon after the liberation of Corinth by Aratus in the year B.C. 243, Agis being then opposed to him; whereas, before his death, which happened about 240 B.C., Agis became allied with Aratus against the Aetolians" (*Morea*, 3. p. 86). Cp. Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 350 note **.

10. 7. **Aratus and his troops fell slowly back.** The tactics here described were adopted by Hannibal at the battle of Cannae. See Polybius, iii. 115 *sq*; Livy, xxii. 47.

10. 9. **gods are present at fights** etc. Cp. x. 8. 7 note; x. 23. 2 note.

10. 10. **a deer is a longer lived animal** etc. According to Hesiod the crow lived nine generations of men, deer lived four times as long as crows (hence thirty-six generations), the raven lived thrice as long as a deer, the phoenix nine times as long as the raven, and the nymphs lived ten times as long as the phoenix. See Plutarch, *De def. orac.* 11; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* vii. 153. Cp. Schol. on Oppian, *Cyneg.* iii. 117. There was a story that 100 years after the death of Alexander the

Great, live deer were found with golden necklaces which he had put on them (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* viii. 119). To restore Aeson to youth, Medea is said to have infused into his veins a decoction made partly of the liver of a stag and the head of a crow which had lived nine generations. See Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 273 *sq.* Cp. *id.*, iii. 194; Virgil, *Eclog.* vii. 30; Cicero, *Tuscul.* iii. 28. 69. Aristotle disbelieved in the longevity of deer (*Hist. anim.* vi. 29, p. 578 b, 24 *sqq.*) Cp. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1863, p. 140 *sq.*

11. 1. **the road from Mantinea to Tegea leads through the oak wood.** This wood has now entirely disappeared. The Mantinean and Tegean plains at the present day are treeless. Vineyards cover most of the southern part of the Mantinean plain.

11. 2. **she would make their old father young again** etc. This story is illustrated by a painting on a fine black-figured vase, in which the ram is depicted issuing alive from the caldron, hailed with joyful surprise by the daughters of Pelias, while the aged king himself sits looking on with interest (Miss Harrison, *Greek Vase Paintings*, pl. ii.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 1394, p. 1201). Stories like that of Medea and Pelias are current among European peasants in Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, and Italy. They tell how Christ, or St. Peter, or the Devil, going about the earth in disguise, restored an old person to youth or a dead person to life by boiling him in a kettle or burning him in a smith's forge, and how a bungler (generally a smith) tried to do the same and failed. See Grimm's *Household Tales*, No. 81, 'Brother Lustig'; Dasent's *Popular Tales from the Norse*, 'The Master Smith'; Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales*, 'The Smith and the Demon,' p. 57 *sqq.*; Crane, *Italian Popular Tales*, 'The Lord, St. Peter, and the Blacksmith,' p. 188 *sq.* Cp K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 262 *sq.*

11. 4. **At this point the road grows very narrow.** This probably refers to the point on the road between Mantinea and Tegea where the plain narrows to about a mile in width through the projection into it of two opposite spurs of the mountains, one on the west side, the other on the east. The spur on the west side is now called *Mytika* ('little nose'). It is nearly 4 miles north of the modern *Tripolitsa.* The ancient Phoezon was probably not far off. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 123; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 246; Baedeker,[3] p. 299; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 371; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 94.

11. 4. **the tomb —— of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes ('club-man').** This Areithous is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* vii. 8 *sqq.*, 137 *sqq.*) He was treacherously slain by Lycurgus, king of Arcadia (Paus. viii. 4. 10).

11. 5. **It was here that the cavalry fight took place** etc. The battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas fell, is described by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vii. 5) and Diodorus (xv. 84-87). Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 76 *sqq.*; A. Schaefer, 'Die Schlacht bei Mantinea,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 5 (1847), pp. 45-69; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 87 *sq.* It is disputed whether the battle was fought in 363 or 362 B.C. See U. Köhler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 197 *sqq.*; G. F. Unger, 'Die Mantineiaschlacht, 363 v.

Chr.,' *Philologus*, 49 (1890), pp. 121-133. Prof. Unger maintains that the battle was fought in August 363 B.C.

11. 5. **the Lacedaemonians allege that it was a Spartan who slew him.** According to Plutarch (*Agesilaus*, 35) it was a Laconian named Anticrates who gave Epaminondas his death-wound. He was rewarded with honours and immunities, and his family were to be free from taxes for ever. This immunity was actually enjoyed in Plutarch's time by Callicrates, a descendant of Anticrates. All Anticrates's descendants, according to Plutarch, bore the general name of Machaeriones because the fatal blow was supposed to have been given with a knife (*machaira*).

11. 7. **Scope ('the look').** This is commonly identified with the rocky hill of *Mytika* (see note on § 4); but this is a pure conjecture. Pausanias does not even say that the spot was an eminence. It may have been in the plain for all we know. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 112 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 282 *sq.*; *id.*, 3. p. 94; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 123; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 247; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 215; Baedeker,[3] p. 299; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 372. Mr. W. Loring plausibly identifies Scope, not with the summit of the hill of *Mytika*, which is a clear 1000 feet above the plain, but with a shoulder of it at least 600 feet lower down. Here he found the ruin of a small tower about $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, built of excellent hewn polygonal masonry with rough bossy surface, very like the masonry of a great part of the walls of Mantinea and probably dating, like them, from the fourth century B.C. The peasants call it the Windmill (*Anemomylos*), and some of the better-educated inhabitants of *Tripolitsa* regard it as the tomb of Epaminondas. Mr. Loring cleared out the inside of the tower till he reached the rock without finding any traces of human burial. Hence he concluded that the ruin was that of a small watch-tower (*skopē*, literally 'look') built on the boundary of the Mantinean and Tegean territories, of which it commands a fine view. In the time of Pausanias the border feuds between the neighbour towns had long ceased under the *pax Romana*, and with the advent of peace the watch-tower had probably fallen into decay. But it may well have retained its name, and from the name popular fancy may have evolved the tragic conception of the dying hero taking here his last lingering look at the fight, much as popular fancy has given to one of the hills near Granada the name of 'the last sigh of the Moor,' because from it the last Moorish king is supposed to have looked back wistfully for the last time at Granada. That the mortally-wounded Epaminondas should really have been carried over such rough ground to such a height is, as Mr. Loring justly observes, incredible. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 82 *sq.*

11. 10. **Similarly Hannibal was afterwards deceived** etc. This story is told also by Appian (*Syriac.* 11) and Plutarch (*Flamin.* 20), both of whom quote the ambiguous oracle. That the grave of Hannibal was at Libyssa is mentioned also by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* v. 149) and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 9. 3).

11. 12. **this Sicily is a small hill not far from Athens.** According to Suidas (p. 950, ed. Bekker) Archidamus son of Agesilaus was warned

by the Delphic oracle to beware of Sicily; so he avoided the island of Sicily, but fell in battle at Sicily, 'the three-legged hill' in Attica. The hill of Sicily is thought to be a little rocky hill south of the Ilissus, opposite the Museum hill; there are traces of walls on its northern summit. See Kaupert, in *Monatsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 17th July 1879, p. 620; Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 113. Formerly Curtius inclined to identify the hill of Sicily with the rocky hill which projects from the Museum hill on the south-west, on the north side of the Ilissus (*Rheinisches Museum*, 8 (1853), pp. 133-137). The hill of Sicily is mentioned in a fragmentary itinerary of the Piraeus, which exists only in a papyrus found a few years ago by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Hawara in Fayoom. See *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 9 (1889), p. 1546 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. cxx.

12. 1. **The oaks —— of Arcadia are of different kinds.** On the different kinds of oaks found in Greece, see Fiedler, *Reise*, i. p. 519 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 529 *sqq.*; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, pp. 376-383. Extensive oak-woods are still found on the mountains of Western Arcadia and the high plateaus of Elis, which border on Arcadia, but I do not remember to have noticed oaks on the Arcadian plains.

12. 1. **floats of it for anchors and nets.** The cork-floats which buoyed up fishing-nets are often mentioned by ancient writers. See Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 144 *sqq.*, with the Schol.; Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 506 *sq.*; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xii. 43; Alciphron, i. 1; Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 22; Ovid, *Trist.* iii. 4. 11 *sq.*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xvi. 34; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epist.* ii. 1, p. 214, ed. Baret. Cp. Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum*, pp. 432-434. The cork-tree seems not to grow wild in any part of European Greece at the present day (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 52).

12. 2. **From Mantinea a road leads to Methydrium** etc. The plain of Mantinea is bounded on the west by a low rocky range of hills which divides it from a narrow plain. This narrow plain or valley (the plain of Alcimedon) runs north and south, parallel to the Mantinean plain, from which it is entered on the east by two defiles, one at the village of *Kapsia* 2½ miles due west of Mantinea, the other at the village of *Simiades*, about 2 miles farther to the north. A traveller from Mantinea to Methydrium might go by either of these defiles, for the routes join in the plain of Alcimedon, but the route by *Kapsia* is the more direct and is probably the one taken by Pausanias. It runs due west across the plain from Mantinea for about 2 miles, passes through the defile of *Kapsia*, and turns north through the plain of Alcimedon. This narrow plain is traversed by the pebbly bed of the torrent *Kapsciros*, and is bounded on the west by the massive, pine-clad heights of Mt. Maenalus. The peak of Mount Maenalus, which now goes by the name of Mt. *St. Elias*, is probably the Mount Ostracina of Pausanias. We follow the plain northwards till we come opposite the defile of *Simiades*, which communicates with the Mantinean plain on the east. Here we turn westward up the wild ravine of the *Xerias* between the pyramidal peaks of Mt. *Aidini* on the south and the rounded summits of Mt. Ostracina on the north. Above the ravine is *Kandara*,

a hamlet of charcoal-burners. After following the bed of the torrent (which is generally dry) for about an hour and a quarter, we emerge from the gorge upon a ridge, from which the eye ranges over masses of bare, grey mountains, sparsely dotted with larch-trees. The path then runs between the wooded heights of Mt. Ostracina (*St. Elias*) on the north and walls of yellowish rock on the south. In this neighbourhood, perhaps, was Petrosaca, the boundary between the territories of Mantinea and Megalopolis.

See *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380; cp. Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 278-281; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 144; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 367; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 142; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 242 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 207, 214 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 301; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 83 *sq.* Petrosaca is mentioned by Stephanus Byz. (*s.v.* Πετρόσακα) as a place in Arcadia.

12. 4. **Hercules —— heard the jay** etc. "The lower regions of the Arcadian mountains are covered with oaks, among which are frequently heard the hoarse screams of the jay, still called Κίσσα" (Sibthorp, in R. Walpole's *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*[2] (London, 1818), p. 283).

12. 5. **two that lead to Orchomenus.** The two roads to Orchomenus seem to have led, one to the east, the other to the west of the conical hill of *Gourtsouli*, which rises in an isolated position less than a mile to the north of Mantinea. The present road goes to the west of *Gourtsouli*. Of the two routes Pausanias is generally supposed to describe the easterly one first, but in the opinion of Leake and Mr. W. Loring he describes the westerly route first (see note on § 7 'Ptolis'). See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 97; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 128 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 84.

12. 5. **Ladas.** Cp. ii. 19. 7; iii. 21. 1; x. 23. 14.

12. 5. **the poem called the Thesprotis.** This was probably the same with "the book about the Thesprotians," which was attributed to Musaeus and from which Eugamon of Cyrene, the last of the Cyclic poets (about 568 B.C.), stole without acknowledgment. See Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 2. 25, p. 751, ed. Potter; Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus*, 1. p. 311 *sqq.* (ed. 1835); W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litteratur*, pp. 63, 80.

12. 7. **a mountain —— Ptolis.** Most topographers agree in identifying this mountain with the conical hill of *Gourtsouli*, which rises, with bare uniform slopes, from the plain less than a mile to the north of Mantinea, forming a conspicuous feature in the landscape. It is crowned by a ruined chapel and some holly-oaks; but no ancient remains have been discovered. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 140; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 128; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 242; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 198 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 349; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 132; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 209; Baedeker,[3] p. 300; Fougères, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellén.* 14 (1890), p. 65; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381.

Leake, on the other hand, identified the hill of Ptolis with a lower insulated hill about a mile to the north of *Gourtsouli* (*Morea*, 3. p. 97; *Pelop.* p. 381 *sq.*), and Mr. Loring inclines to agree with him on the ground that *Gourtsouli* cannot be said to be in "a small plain" distinct

from the plain of Mantinea, whereas the other hill is hidden from Mantinea by the hill of *Gourtsouli* and so is, in a sense, cut off from the larger plain. Hence Mr. Loring is disposed to identify *Gourtsouli* with the "lofty mound of earth" which, in the time of Pausanias, was called the grave of Penelope, although *Gourtsouli* is in fact a natural hillock, not a sepulchral mound. As *Gourtsouli* is on the right of the more westerly route from Mantinea to Orchomenus, it would follow on this hypothesis that Pausanias is at present describing the westerly and not (as is commonly supposed) the easterly route to Orchomenus. Further, it would follow that Maera is to be sought, not in the neighbourhood of the village of *Kakouri*, but about a mile and a half farther west, near the khan of *Bilái*; and that Mount Anchisia is not the low range of reddish hills which rises beyond the khan, bounding the plain of Mantinea on the north, but the great mountain *Armeniades* which rises above the village of *Kakouri* and is a conspicuous landmark from all parts of the Mantinean plain. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 84 *sq.* To this view of Mr. Loring's I would object that the hill of *Gourtsouli* is too high to be regarded as a sepulchral mound. I do not know its height, but I have seen it more than once, and speaking from impression I should say it was not less than 200 feet high. Leake himself describes *Gourtsouli* as "a steep and lofty cone," and wonders that it was not included within the fortifications of Mantinea.

12. 7. Alalcomenia —— Maera. About 3 miles north of Mantinea, and three-quarters of a mile south of the village of *Kakouri*, there is a copious spring called *Karyda*; and near it, on a small hillock, Virlet observed the foundations of a temple and some other ruins. The spring may be Alalcomenia, the ruins may be those of Maera. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 149; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 243; cp. Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 97; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381. But if we accept the views of Leake (*Morea*, 3. p. 97) and Mr. Loring (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 84 *sq.*), we must look for Maera farther to the west, near the khan of *Bilái*. See the preceding note.

12. 8. Mount Anchisia. On the common hypothesis, Mount Anchisia is the low ridge of reddish hills (500 to 600 feet high) which bounds the plain of Mantinea on the north and separates it from the plain of Orchomenus. But Leake and Mr. Loring identify Mount Anchisia with the high rocky peak (about 3500 ft. high) which rises at the east end of the ridge, above the village of *Kakouri*, and which now goes by the name of Mt. *Armenia* or *Armeniades*.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 97, 98; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 149; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 243; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 205, 207; Baedeker,[3] p. 301; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 84 *sq.*

12. 9. ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite. On the southern slope of Mt. Anchisia, near the foot of the hill, is the khan of *Bilái* (see note on § 7, 'Ptolis'), about 4 miles distant from Mantinea. Here the French surveyors found some ruins which they believed to be those of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 381; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 243 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381.

13. 1. **In the territory of Orchomenus —— the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia.** The boundary between Orchomenus and Mantinea probably lay on the crest of the low rocky ridge of Mt. Anchisia, which divides the plain of Mantinea on the south from the plain of Orchomenus on the north. From the summit of the ridge a fine view extends southward and northward over the two plains. On the farther (northern) side of the plain of Orchomenus is seen rising the high hill, on the summit of which stood the ancient Orchomenus. Beyond it to the north towers the huge mass of Mt. Cyllene. From the ridge we descend into the plain of Orchomenus. To our left (westward) is the large village of *Levidi*, situated on the slope of the hill and overlooking the southern end of the Orchomenian plain. A chapel of the Panagia, situated on a knoll shaded with trees to the east of the village, is supposed to mark the site of the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. In an old church 20 minutes below the village on the left bank of the torrent Leake saw some pieces of very handsome Doric columns. He supposed that *Levidi* occupied the site of the place Elymia, mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 13). See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 276 *sqq.*; *id.*, 3. p. 99; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 380; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 149; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 222 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 205; Baedeker,[3] p. 301; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381.

As to Artemis Hymnia, see an article by Stephani, 'Apollon et Artemis,' in *Gazette archéologique*, 2 (1876), pp. 135-139. He points out that on gold coins of Syracuse the head of Artemis is represented with a lyre behind it; that on an Etruscan mirror she appears playing on the lyre; that on another she holds two flutes while Apollo holds the lyre; and that in vase-paintings she is also depicted with a lyre.

13. 1. **Essenes.** The word is said to have meant a king (Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 66; Hesychius, *s.v.* ἐσσήν), but properly a king bee (*Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἐσσήν, p. 383; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἐσσήν). (The ancients mistook the queen bee for a male and hence spoke of king bees, see Aristotle, *Hist. anim.* pp. 553 *sq.*, 623 *sqq.*; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* i. 10, v. 10 *sq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 21, 68; Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione*, p. 30 *sqq.*) As the priests of the Ephesian Artemis appear thus to have been called 'king bees,' it is worth noting that the bee was a very common type on coins of Ephesus. See B. V. Head, *Coins of Ephesus*. Mr. Head states (*op. cit.* p. 8) that the priestesses of the Ephesian goddess were called 'bees' (*Melissae*). I do not know what authority he has for this statement. But the Delphic priestess was called a 'bee' (Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 106), and the title was given especially to the priestesses of Demeter (Schol. on Pindar, *l.c.*; Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 110; Hesychius, *s.v.* Μέλισσαι; Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, 18; cp. Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 430); but also to priestesses of Proserpine (Schol. on Theocritus, xv. 94) and of the Great Mother (Lactantius, *Divin. Institut.* i. 22). Deborah in Hebrew means 'a bee.' Cp. Robert-Tornow, *op. cit.* p. 91 *sqq.*; A. B. Cook, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 11 *sqq.* The priestesses at Dodona were perhaps called 'doves' (see note on vii.

21. 2). The youths who poured out the wine at the Ephesian festival of Poseidon were called 'bulls' (Athenaeus, x. p. 425 e). The young girls who performed the sacrifices to the Brauronian and Munychian Artemis imitated bears and were called 'bears.' Legend said that this was done as an expiation for the killing of a tame bear which had lived in the sanctuary of Artemis. Every Attic maiden between the ages of five and ten was obliged thus to be a 'bear,' as a necessary preliminary to marriage (Schol. on Aristophanes, *Lysist.* 645; Harpocration, *s.v.* ἀρκτεῦσαι; Suidas, *s.v.* ἀρκτεῦσαι and ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 206, 4; *ib.* p. 444, 30). It seems not improbable that in all these cases the animal from which the worshipper took his or her name was sacred to the god or goddess; and that, in early times at least, the worshipper disguised himself in the skin of the sacred animal, or in a costume which mimicked the animal. On an Assyrian cylinder a figure in an attitude of adoration is disguised in a gigantic fish-skin. At a still earlier period the animal may have been the god himself, and the person who dressed in its skin would play the part of the god. See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] pp. 292 *sq.*, 435 *sqq.*; Back, *De Graecorum caerimoniis in quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur* (Berlin, 1883), p. 26 *sqq.* At the festival of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis the worshipper, after sacrificing a sheep, spread the skin on the ground, knelt on it, drew the feet over his shoulders and the head over his head, and in this attitude prayed the goddess to accept the sacrifice. See Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 55.

13. 2. **The former city of Orchomenus.** The ancient Arcadian city of Orchomenus occupied the summit of a high conical hill, which rises to the height of 3070 feet above the sea. The hill, isolated on three sides, is connected by a low ridge of bare brown earth with the higher mountains on the west. On the north and south it slopes steeply to two plains (the northern and southern plains of Orchomenus), while on the east it is bounded by a narrow and deep defile, which divides it from the rugged slopes of Mount Trachy. The defile connects the two plains with each other; and through it after rainy weather the water pours in a rapid stream from the southern into the northern plain, which is 100 to 200 feet lower than the other. Copious springs rising at the foot of Mount Trachy contribute still more to render marshy the southern part of the northern plain. Indeed throughout the winter and as late as the end of May this part of the plain is still an impassable swamp, as it was in the days of Pausanias (§ 4 and viii. 23. 2). Orchomenus thus occupied a strong and commanding position, overlooking the two plains (of which the northern is considerably the larger) and dominating the defile through which the direct road went from Tegea and Mantinea to Pheneus and the north of Arcadia. The hill itself, though steep and lofty, is nowhere precipitous. The slopes are of earth littered with stones; the rock hardly crops up on the surface. Owing to the great elevation above the sea of the plains from which it springs the hill hardly appears high. It is dwarfed by the lofty mountains around, and cannot vie in grandeur of aspect with the imposing Acro-Corinth or the Larisa of Argos. The summit, which is crowned by a ruined mediaeval

tower built as usual of small stones and mortar, may be some 800 feet or so above the plain. The view from it is fine. At our feet lies stretched the wide flat expanse of the northern plain with its patchwork of maize-fields, through which a stream, issuing from the springs at the foot of Mount Trachy, winds its sluggish way. The springs are in full view from the hill-top, and just beyond them the road to Pheneus and the road to Stymphalus are seen to diverge, the former striking straight northward across the plain, the latter skirting the foot of the mountains that bound the plain on the east. Beyond the plain to the north loom grandly the great mountains about the Lake of Pheneus, their high grey summits partly clothed with dark pine-woods. Rugged and lofty mountains rise also on the north-east in the direction of Stymphalus; a high and toilsome pass leads across them to Alea. Turning now to the south we see the other plain, which may measure some 2 miles in length and breadth, spread out beneath us. Except for a stretch of vineyards in the middle it is now mostly in corn, and so in autumn presents only an expanse of brown earth. At the south-western end of the plain a long gradual slope leads up to the large village of *Levidi*, above which tower the grand peaks of Mount Maenalus. Over the low ridge that forms the southern boundary of the plain is seen in the distance the plain of Mantinea and Tegea, with far blue mountains terminating it on the south.

Considerable but scattered remains of the ancient walls and towers of Orchomenus may still be seen encircling the hill some way below the summit. They may be best visited from *Kalpaki*, a poor hamlet which stands on the south-eastern slope of the hill below the line of the ancient walls but at some distance above the plain, near the entrance to the defile. The line of the city wall is far from being continuous; isolated pieces of it, varying in height from two to five courses of stones, and in length from a few feet to a good many yards, are preserved at intervals more or less wide. To find them all, if the traveller's time is limited, it is desirable to procure a guide at *Kalpaki*. The highest piece of wall seen by me measured 9 feet; the longest about 80 yards or so. The latter piece was on the south-eastern side of the hill. Square towers, averaging about 21 feet in breadth, projected at intervals from the walls; I counted remains, more or less ruinous, of fifteen of them, mostly on the south-eastern side of the hill. The masonry of both walls and towers is on the whole quadrangular, though the blocks are in general not very accurately squared and jointed, and the courses not always strictly horizontal. Some of the blocks are very massive, especially in the towers; for in Greek fortification the towers as a rule, on account of their exposed position, are built of larger blocks and in a more careful style than the rest of the walls. It has been stated that three distinct lines of walls, one above the other, can be distinguished on the sides of the hill, the lowest being built in the regular quadrangular or ashlar style, and the two upper in the Cyclopean style. I cannot confirm this from my own observation. It is true that the pieces of walls which I observed were often widely separated from each other and stood at different heights on the hill-side, but I could not be sure that they did

not all belong to a single circuit-wall. However, on the south-eastern slope of the hill, where it faces across to Mount Trachy, I did observe a small piece of very regular masonry resembling the walls of Mantinea and Messene, and a few yards above it another piece of wall built in a quite different and much more irregular style, with rather loose joints and with some polygonal blocks in the courses. The length of this latter piece of wall was some 20 or 30 yards, and its height about 7 feet 6 inches. One of the blocks in it was 5 feet 6 inches long. The hill is strewn with fragments of plain red pottery.

Below the line of the walls a few ancient remains of a different sort may be seen. Thus at a small chapel and a threshing-floor, just outside the west end of the hamlet of *Kalpaki*, there are a few marble blocks and apparently three Doric capitals, though two of them are now so worn as to be almost unrecognisable. Two of the blocks lie in the chapel before the holy pictures. These are apparently the miserable remnants of a Doric temple, of which Dodwell caused some pieces to be excavated at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He says: "The cottage which we occupied stood upon the remains of a Doric temple of white marble, some large masses of which are scattered about in the vicinity. I employed the countrymen to excavate, and they dug out some Doric capitals in perfect preservation, and of an elegant form. The columns had only eighteen flutings." Leake observed here two Doric capitals of white marble, differing from each other in size and shape; in one of them the echinus met the abacus almost at a right angle; the other had "the elegant acute, or flattened capital [echinus] of the more ancient Doric." These may be the remains of one of the two sanctuaries of Poseidon and Aphrodite mentioned by Pausanias. For the village of *Kalpaki* probably stands on the site of the Orchomenus of Pausanias's days, which, as he tells us, was lower down than the circuit of the ancient walls. Leake observed traces of walls below *Kalpaki* which seemed to show that the later Orchomenus reached nearly to the plain. At the south-eastern foot of the hill, below *Kalpaki*, a spring issues from a wall of the kind so common in modern Greece. The water flows into a marble basin, and an ancient squared block of marble lies beside the spring. This is probably the spring mentioned by Pausanias from which the people of Orchomenus procured their water. Leake saw two fluted shafts of monolith columns near the spring: and I was told that the two marble blocks in the chapel to the west of the village had been brought from the spring. Here therefore may have stood the other sanctuary of which Pausanias speaks.

Another spring rises at the opposite or north-western foot of the hill, a little above the northern plain. The marble basin into which the water flows is made of an ancient block. A few yards to the north-west of the spring are the remains of a small edifice built of grey stone; some of the blocks seemed to me ancient: but whether the building itself was so or not, I could not decide. The place is a quarter of a mile or so to the east of the hamlet of *Rhousi*, which stands on the ridge that runs westward from the hill of Orchomenus.

Dodwell saw near a spring, at the northern foot of the hill, a church

of the Panagia, which was entirely built of the ruins of a Doric temple, amongst which he noted triglyphs, plain metopes, and fluted drums of columns, all of white marble, but of small proportions. Here too he saw some fragments of antefixes of terra-cotta painted with dark red foliage. Farther down in the plain, towards the marsh, he found another church built of ancient blocks of stone and marble, with an Ionic capital near it. And still farther, toward the village of *Rhousi*, he saw yet another church in which were some marble triglyphs.

I have described Orchomenus mainly from my own observations, made on 13th October 1895. See also Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 425 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 144 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 369 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 99 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 149 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 219 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 203 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 302; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 73 *sq.*

13. 2. **it stands in a great cedar** etc. The image may have stood either in the hollow trunk of the tree or among the branches. See C. Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, figures 45-48. As to Artemis as a tree-goddess see Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 428 *sq.*

13. 3. **Down from the city are cairns.** Large cairns, composed of rough stones, have been observed by modern travellers in the plain at the southern foot of the hill of Orchomenus. They are on the left as you approach the hill from the south. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 425; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 100; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 222. It has been customary in many lands to rear heaps of stones, branches, etc., upon the graves of persons who have died violent deaths, and every one who passes has to add a stone, a twig, or a clod to the pile. The motive sometimes assigned for the custom is to prevent the ghost of the buried man from coming forth and doing harm to the traveller or to other people. The custom is best known in Europe (as in Germany, France, Sweden, and Scotland), but is also practised in many other parts of the world. Thus of the Maoris of New Zealand it is said that "whenever they pass the place where a man has been murdered, it is customary for each person to throw a stone upon it" (R. A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand*, p. 186). As to the Creek and kindred tribes of Indians in North America it is said that "to perpetuate the memory of any remarkable warrior killed in the woods . . . every Indian traveller as he passes that way throws a stone on the place" (Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 184). In Bolivia "wherever a murder has been committed, heaps of stones called 'apachetas' . . . are placed, and each Indian who passes spits out his juice of coca-leaf and adds another stone" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 47 (1877), p. 211). Near Caracas in Venezuela are two small heaps of stones by the wayside, marking the spot where a man was murdered; whoever passes the place takes up a stone, kisses it, and throws it on the heap (K. Martin, *Bericht über eine Reise nach Niederlandisch West-Indien*, Erster Theil (Leyden, 1887), p. 166). In some parts of Celebes there are great heaps of stones over places where men have been murdered; and hardly any one will pass such spots without adding a stone to the heap (B. F. Matthes, *Einige Eigenthümlichkeiten in den*

Festen und Gewohnheiten der Makassaren und Buginesen, p. 25). About an hour to the north-west of Kanakir in Armenia is a great cairn, under which some martyred Christian nuns are said to lie buried: every Tartar who passes by it flings a stone on the cairn, but every Armenian passer-by takes one away (Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, 1. p. 222). The ancient Greeks had also their cairns by the wayside to which every passer-by added a stone. They were called *Hermaea*, and were said to be raised in honour of Hermes. But the legend told to explain the origin of the custom seems to show that, in some cases at least, these cairns may have been erected over the graves of murdered persons. For it was said that when Hermes was tried by the gods for the murder of Argus, all the gods flung stones at him as a mode of ridding themselves of the pollution contracted by bloodshed; the stones thus thrown made a great heap, and the custom of rearing such heaps continued ever after. See *Etymolog. Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖον, p. 375 *sq.*; Cornutus, *De natura deorum*, 16; Babrius, xlviii. 1 *sq.*; Suidas, *s.v.* Ἑρμαῖον; Schol. on Nicander, *Ther.* 150; Eustathius, on *Odyssey*, xvi. 471. The three cairns on which perhaps stood the images of Hermes that marked the boundary between Argolis and Laconia, are still called by the natives 'the place of the slain.' See note on ii. 38. 7. Perhaps, then, the heaps of stones seen by Pausanias near Orchomenus were cairns of this sort; they were reared (as he tells us) over men who had been slain, and each passer-by may have added a stone to the pile. In modern Greece such cairns are still reared, but, in some cases at least, for a different purpose. "The method used by a modern Greek to draw down curses upon his enemy is this. He takes a quantity of stones and places them in a conspicuous part of the road, cursing his neighbour as he places each stone. As no man is supposed to be anathematized without having committed some heinous sin, it becomes the duty of all good Christians to add at least one stone, and its consequent curse, to the heap, so that it often increases to a considerable size." These heaps are called *anathemata*. See Gell, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 71 *sq.* Rough stones were heaped over the murdered Laius and his attendant (Paus. x. 5. 4). On the custom of rearing heaps of stones, etc., over graves and in other connexions, see F. Liebrecht, in *Philologus*, 20 (1863), pp. 378-382; *id.*, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 267-284; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, pp. 46-58; B. Schmidt, 'Steinhaufen als Fluchmale, Hermesheiligtumer und Grabhügel in Griechenland,' *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 39 (1893), pp. 369-395.

13. 4-5. **a deep gully between the city and Mount Trachy** etc. We now follow Pausanias on his way to Pheneus. Descending from the hill of Orchomenus we turn northward into the deep gully or defile which divides the hill of Orchomenus from Mount Trachy (see above, p. 224). Though deep and narrow the defile is short, only a few hundred yards in length. The sides of the hills on both sides are steep but not precipitous. In the bottom of the defile is the bed of a stream, which, when I traversed the gully (13th October 1895), was dry. After passing through the defile we emerge on the northern plain of Orchomenus. The routes now diverge. The one to the left, skirting the

swamp at the northern foot of the hill of Orchomenus, leads westward to the ruins of Caphyae, which lie at the foot of the hills that enclose the plain on the south-west (see viii. 23. 2 note). The route to the right skirts the foot of Mount Trachy, on the eastern side of the plain. Following this latter route, which is the one to Pheneus, we come, in about thirty-five minutes from Orchomenus (*Kalpaki*), to a fine source rushing in several clear streams out of the rocks at the foot of the mountain. The water forms a swamp in front of the springs. This source is no doubt the springs called Teneae by Pausanias (§ 5). Shortly before reaching them Gell saw a large heap of stones which he took to be the tomb of Aristocrates mentioned by Pausanias. Beyond the springs the roads again diverge. The road to Stymphalus continues to skirt the foot of the mountains in a north-easterly direction, but the road to Pheneus turns to the left and strikes northward across the plain, following the line of an ancient causeway, of which some remains are to be seen. However, in winter and as late as the end of May this direct road to Pheneus is impassable on account of the swamps; my dragoman told me that he once nearly lost a mule in attempting to follow it. At such times, therefore, the route to Pheneus continues to coincide with the road to Stymphalus for some way farther, hugging the foot of the hills instead of striking out boldly across the plain. At the point where the roads to Pheneus and Stymphalus diverge, about a mile beyond the springs of Teneae, the French surveyors observed some massive ruins near another spring; Peytier thought that these ruins might mark the site of Amilus mentioned by Pausanias.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 429 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 150; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 370 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 102 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 150; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 223 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 203; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 302.

13. 5. **one leads to Stymphalus.** The road to Stymphalus, after diverging from the road to Pheneus (see the preceding note), continues to skirt the foot of the mountains in a north-easterly direction. Behind us we leave Mount Trachy, which seen from the north is an imposing mountain, its steep sides rent by parallel gullies. Gradually the hill and plain of Orchomenus disappear behind us, and the path leads into a savage glen, hemmed in by wild rocky mountains, bare and desolate, towering high on either side. Away up in the face of a precipice on the right of the path is seen the little monastery of *Kandyla*, hanging in what appears an almost inaccessible position. In winter a torrent flows down the middle of the glen to swell the marsh in the plain of Orchomenus. A mile or so beyond the monastery we reach the village of *Kandyla*, straggling in the wide gravelly bed of the torrent, shaded by plane-trees and mulberry-trees, and shut in on all sides by high rocky mountains, their sides covered with fir-woods and their summits tipped with snow for a good part of the year. From the upper end of the village a pass leads eastward over the mountains to *Bougiati* and the ancient Alea; the path, which is very rough and steep, ascends a wild gully overhung on the south by a huge beetling crag; the descent

on the eastern side of the mountains, towards *Bougiati*, is so steep as to be almost impassable for horses. But at present we are following the path to Stymphalus, which, leaving the village of *Kandyla* in a northerly direction, ascends the mountain by zigzags along the edge of precipices. The snow sometimes lies deep here as late as March, making the ascent difficult and dangerous. The pass runs north-east between the lofty Mount *Skipieza*, nearly 6000 feet high, on the left, and the sharp-peaked Mount *St. Constantine*, crowned with a Frankish castle, on the right. We reach the first *col* or summit of the pass in about an hour and twenty minutes from *Kandyla*. From this point a path branches off to the right, descending into the narrow valley of *Skotini* which we see stretching eastward down below. Our path keeps on to the left, skirting the side of Mount *Skipieza*. Half an hour more takes us to a second *col* or summit, from which we look down on the plain and lake of Stymphalus and across to the majestic mass of Mount Cyllene towering on the farther side of the valley. The way now goes down a ravine shut in on both sides by lofty fir-clad mountains and known as the Wolf's Ravine (*Lykorrheuma*) from the wolves that are said to abound in it. Thus descending we reach the valley of Stymphalus and the western end of the lake.

The pass which has just been described was crossed from the side of Stymphalus by a Macedonian army in the dead of the winter of 218 B.C. The snow lay deep on the ground, and it was with difficulty and suffering that the army forced its way across. See Polybius, iv. 70. The opposite end of the pass, on the side of Orchomenus, was the scene of a battle in 221 B.C. between an Achaean army under Aratus and a marauding force of Aetolians. Most of the fighting would seem to have taken place in the glen, near the site of the modern *Kandyla*. The Achaean army was beaten, and might have been cut in pieces if the towns of Orchomenus and Caphyae had not opened their gates to the fugitives from the battle-field. See Polybius, iv. 11 *sq*. The Mount Oligyrtus mentioned by Polybius in his narrative of both events is probably the modern Mount *Skipieza*.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 429 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 146 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 105 *sqq.*, 122 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 206-208; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 383. I followed the route described only as far as *Kandyla*, from which place I crossed the mountains to Alea.

13. 6. On the road to Pheneus etc. After crossing the northern plain of Orchomenus from a point beyond the springs of Teneae (see above, p. 229) the road to Pheneus passes the monastery of the Holy Trinity (*Hagia Triada*) on the right and ascends a wooded and rocky glen. A rugged and difficult ascent of about half an hour brings us to a bleak plateau, overgrown with bushes, between Mount *Skipieza* on the right (east) and Mount *Saïta* on the left (west). In a quarter of an hour more we reach a *col* or summit of the pass, from which we see stretched below us on the north the deep blue waters of the lake of Pheneus. We then descend towards the lake through the ravine mentioned by Pausanias. It is a deep and beautiful gully walled in and

darkened by lofty precipices. Formerly it was overhung with oak-trees, which with the dark pines on the higher slopes of the mountains and the birches and other northern trees in the glen itself, added much to the gloomy magnificence of the scene. Well down in the glen we pass a fine spring gushing from a rock near a chapel and forming a stream at once. It is probably the spring mentioned by Pausanias. Soon after we reach the village of *Ghioza* or *Guioza*, prettily situated near the southern end of the lake. In this neighbourhood must have stood the ancient Caryae.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 150 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 371 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 203; Baedeker,[3] p. 302; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382 *sq.*

14. I. **The plain of Pheneus.** The lake of Pheneus (for what was a plain in the time of Pausanias is now a lake) is a broad and beautiful sheet of greenish-blue water encircled by lofty mountains which descend in rocky declivities or sheer precipices to the water's edge, their upper slopes clothed with black pine-woods and their summits capped with snow for many months of the year. Right above the lake on the north-east towers the mighty cone of Cyllene, nearly 8000 feet high, the loftiest mountain but one in Peloponnese; while on the north-west *Dourdouvana* (nearly 7000 feet high) rears its long serrated crest, culminating in a sharp bare peak of grey rock, at the foot of which, embowered in trees and gardens, nestles the village of *Phonia*, the representative of the ancient Pheneus. Here on the north, between the village and the lake, is the only stretch of level ground that breaks the mountain ring, and the luxuriant green of its vineyards and maize-fields contrasts pleasingly with the sombre hue of the pine-forests all around. The first sight of this blue lake embosomed among forest-clad mountains takes the traveller by surprise, so unlike is it to anything else in Greece; and he feels as if suddenly transported from the arid hills and the parched plains of Greece to a northern land—from the land of the olive, the vine, and the orange, to the land of the pine, the mountain, and the lake.

So completely is the lake fenced in by mountains on all sides that no stream can issue from it above ground, and the water escapes only by two subterranean emissories or *Katavothras*, as they are called by the Greeks, at the south-eastern and south-western ends of the lake. Through the latter emissory the water passes under the mountain, and issuing on the other side, about 6 miles from the lake and 800 feet below its level, forms the source of the Ladon (see viii. 20. I note). On the state of these emissories it depends whether the great mountain-basin of Pheneus is a fertile plain or a broad lake. From antiquity down to the present century the periods in which the basin has been completely drained have alternated with periods in which it has been occupied by a lake. In the time of Theophrastus (fourth century B.C.) the bottom of the valley seems to have been generally dry land, for he mentions that once, when the emissories had got choked up, the water rose and flooded the plain, drowning the willows, firs, and pines, which

however reappeared the following year when the flood subsided (Theophrastus, *Histor. Plant.* iii. 1. 2; cp. *id.*, v. 4. 6). In the following century part of the valley at least would seem to have been a lake, for the geographer Eratosthenes, quoted by Strabo (viii. p. 389), informs us that the river Anias formed in front of the city of Pheneus a lake which was drained by subterranean passages, and that when these passages were closed the water rose over the plain, but that when they were opened again it was discharged into the Ladon and hence into the Alpheus in such volume that the sacred precinct at Olympia was flooded, while the lake on the other hand shrank. Strabo himself mentions (*l.c.*) that the flow of the Ladon was once checked by the obstruction of the emissories consequent upon an earthquake. According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxi. 54) there had been down to his time five changes in the condition of the valley from wet to dry and from dry to wet, all of them caused by earthquakes. In Plutarch's time the flood rose so high that the whole valley was under water, which pious people attributed to Apollo's anger at Hercules, who was said to have stolen the prophetic tripod at Delphi and carried it off to Pheneus about a thousand years before (*De sera numinis vindicta*, 12). However, later on in the same century the waters had again subsided, for Pausanias found the bottom of the valley to be dry land, and knew of the former existence of the lake only from tradition. From the time of Pausanias down to the beginning of the nineteenth century we have no record of the condition of the valley. In 1806 when Leake and Dodwell visited it, the great valley was still a swampy plain, covered with fields of wheat or barley except at the south-western end, where round the entrance to the emissory the water formed a small lake which never dried up even in summer. But in 1821, doubtless through the obstruction of the emissories, the water began to rise over the plain, and by 1829-1830, when the French surveyors mapped the district, the whole basin was occupied by a deep lake 5 miles long by 5 miles wide. On January 1st, 1834, the emissories suddenly opened again, the Ladon became a deep and raging torrent, the valley was drained, and fresh vegetation sprang up on the rich slimy soil. But when Welcker visited Pheneus in 1842, the valley was again occupied by a lake, and had been so, if he was correctly informed, since 1838 at least. And a lake it would seem to have been ever since. At least Beulé, who travelled in Peloponnese about the middle of the century, describes the lake as 8 miles long by 7 miles wide. In 1853 the Swiss scholar Vischer found a great lake, exactly as the French surveyors had represented it on their map; the hill on the north-west side of the valley, on which are the scanty remains of the ancient acropolis, projected like a peninsula into the lake, and the site of the ancient city was deep under water. W. G. Clark in 1856 describes with enthusiasm the "wide expanse of still water deep among the hills, reflecting black pine-woods and grey crags and sky now crimson with sunset"; according to him the lake was 7 miles long and as many wide. In June 1888 Mr. Philippson found a broad clear lake of deep green colour; and in September-October 1895 I viewed with pleasure the same beautiful scene.

though I would describe the colour of the water as greenish-blue rather than green. The lake has shrunk, however, a good deal since the middle of the century. A long stretch of level plain, covered with vineyards and maize-fields, now divides the ancient acropolis of Pheneus from the margin of the lake. The water would seem to be still sinking; at least the depth of the lake at the eastern emissory in 1888 was only 15 metres (49 feet), whereas it is said to have been 30 metres (98 feet) in 1883. The lake is about 2300 feet above the level of the sea.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 436-441; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 151 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 373 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 135 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 153 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 107; G. F. Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 302 *sq.*; E. Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 147 *sqq.*; E. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 184 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 494 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 311 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 198 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 302 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 383 *sq.*; A. Meliarakes, Γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας, p. 145 *sqq.*; A. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 126 *sq.*, 144 *sqq.*

14. 1. **there remain on the mountains certain marks to which, they say, the water rose.** The marks observed by Pausanias are still to be seen. About 100 feet above the present level of the lake a horizontal line, exactly like a high-water mark, runs round the sides of the mountains which environ the lake, especially at its southern end. The trees and shrubs extend down the sides of the mountains to this line and there stop abruptly. Below the line the rock is of a light yellow colour, and almost totally bare of vegetation. Travellers differ as to the explanation of this sharp line of discolourment. Some, like Pausanias, regard it as an old high-water mark. Leake suggested that it might be due merely to evaporation; W. G. Clark that it might be the junction of two geological strata. The German geologist Mr. Philippson, to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of the geology of Peloponnese, is of opinion that the line is undoubtedly a water-mark and indicates the level of the water as it was in 1830, the date of the French survey. But surely the mark is as least as old as the time of Pausanias.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 436, 441; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 152; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 374; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 147 *sqq.*; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 5. p. 327; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 135 note; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 188 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 317 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 146.

14. 1. **Mount Oryxis, and another mountain, Sciathis** etc. One of the two chasms or emissories (*Katavothras*) mentioned by Pausanias is on the south-eastern side of the lake, at the foot of a branch of Mt. *Skipieza*, between the villages of *Guioza* and *Mosa*. The other is toward the south-west corner of the lake, at the foot of Mt. *Saïta*. One of these mountains must therefore be Sciathis and the other Oryxis. From the similarity of names Leake concluded that *Saïta* was Sciathis, and hence that the branch of *Skipieza* was Oryxis. On the other hand Curtius urged plausibly that Oryxis ('digging') means the Canal-Mountain, and that this must be Mount *Saïta*, since the canal or channel dug by Hercules led in the direction of Clitor (see viii. 19. 4)

and hence to the south-western emissory at the foot of Mt. *Saïta*, not to the south-eastern emissory at the foot of the branch of Mt. *Skipieza.* Hence Curtius identified Mt. *Saïta* with the ancient Oryxis and the branch of Mt. *Skipieza* with the ancient Sciathis. He is followed by Bursian and Baedeker (Lolling). See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 142, 151; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 153; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 187; Baedeker,[2] p. 302; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 383; A. Meliarakes, *Γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας*, p. 150.

14. 2. **these chasms are artificial, having been made by Hercules** etc. Down one of these chasms, according to the local legend, Pluto carried off Proserpine (Conon, *Narrat.* 15). The story now told by the natives is as follows. Once on a time the lake was owned by two devils. One devil resided at *Guioza* on the south side of the lake, while the other had his abode on the west side, somewhere toward *Lykouria.* The two often quarrelled, as it is the nature of devils to do. At last, however, they settled their differences by a most internecine combat at a spot near the top of Mt. *Saïta.* The devil who lived on the west side of the lake was the wilier of the two and pelted his foe with balls made of the fat of oxen. As soon as these balls touched the devil's burning-hot skin they took fire and scorched him so that he fled and burst a passage for himself through the mountain. The waters flowed in after him and left the plain dry. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 148 *sq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 156; cp. Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 440.

14. 3. **Hercules dug a bed for the river Olbius.** At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the lake of Pheneus was dried up, the work which Pausanias attributes to Hercules could be seen extending for some distance along the middle of the plain, on the left bank of the river Aroanius or Olbius. It had, however, the appearance of having been a causeway or embankment erected to prevent the river from flooding the southern and eastern side of the plain rather than of having been an artificial canal for the river to flow in. It was a mound of earth paved with stones. Perhaps when the canal became damaged and useless, as it was in Pausanias's time, it may have been turned into an embankment for the purpose indicated. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 440; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 373 *sq.*; *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 151; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 151 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 186 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 303.

14. 3. **the river Olbius, which some of the Arcadians call Aroanius.** At the northern end of the lake of Pheneus, as we have seen, there is now a fertile plain of some breadth. A stream called the *Phoniatiko* traverses it in a broad gravelly bed, coming down from near *Karya*, a village about 10 miles distant to the north-east. A smaller stream descends from the north-west through a narrow valley between the back of the mountain of *Phonia* and the mountain of *Zarouchla.* This latter stream enters the lake separately to the west of the *Phoniatiko;* but formerly, when the lake was dried up, the streams united in the plain, a little to the south of the hill of Pheneus. It has been conjectured that one of these streams was the Olbius and the other the

Aroanius, and that after their junction the united stream was by some called the Olbius and by others the Aroanius. As Pausanias mentions the Aroanius on his way from Pheneus to Pellene and Aegira (viii. 15. 6), the main stream which comes down from *Karya* would seem to be the Aroanius. Strabo calls the united stream the Anias (viii. p. 389).

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 141 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 154; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 186, 194; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 494; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 155; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 198 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 126.

14. 4. **the city of Pheneus.** The ancient Pheneus has bequeathed its name to *Phonia*, a considerable village prettily situated among fine fig-trees and gardens on the first slope of the mountains that bound the great valley on the north-west. The village is in two divisions, an upper and a lower, of which the lower is the larger. A wide and fertile plain now intervenes between the village and the northern margin of the lake. Ten minutes to the south-east of, and lower down than, the village a low conical hill rises on the edge of the plain. At the time of the French Survey in 1829-1830 this little hill, which seems to have been the acropolis of Pheneus, was a peninsula jutting into the lake. Now the lake has retired a long way to the south, and the hillock (for it is hardly more) is surrounded by luxuriant vineyards, which when I visited the place in October 1895 were loaded with clusters of green and purple grapes. The height of the hill may be perhaps 200 feet. It rises to a point with uniformly steep but not precipitous slopes. Its sides are slippery as well as steep, and they are partly overgrown with prickly shrubs, which to some extent conceal the remains of the ancient fortification-wall. The most considerable piece of the ancient wall is at the north-west side of the hill, about a third of the way up the slope. It is some 20 or 30 yards long by about 10 feet high. At its southern end a short wall, a few feet long and a few feet high, projects from it at right angles; it was probably the side of a square tower. Farther to the south, on the west face of the hill, is another considerable piece of the ancient wall. It is about 27 paces long and is standing to a height of 5 to 6 feet. Between these two considerable fragments of the fortification-wall there are two smaller isolated pieces. All these remains of walls are built of large rough polygonal blocks fitted together with fair accuracy; the outsides of the blocks are not smoothed, only roughly hewn. A small piece of the ancient wall may also be seen farther north than those I have mentioned. On the summit, which is very small, there are some very indistinct remains of a mediaeval or modern building, and inconsiderable remains of edifices of a similar style exist lower down the eastern side of the hill. To the south the hill sends out a sort of tongue, at the south end of which I observed a block of stone standing, much worn and weathered, probably a drum of a column. These, with a couple of large blocks, seemingly ancient and in their original positions at the south-western foot of the hill, were all the remains of the ancient Pheneus which I could discover (October 1895). To the east the acropolis hill sends out a low flat-topped spur, on which stands a chapel

of St. Constantine. The ruins seem to have been more extensive some forty years ago, for W. G. Clark in 1856 distinguished three towers, one of them about 15 feet square. He says: "Some of the stones composing the wall are as much as 3 feet long, and the masonry is as regular as that of Messene." From the observations of previous travellers it appears that the indistinct remains on the top of the hill are the ruins of a small mediaeval castle.

It is difficult to reconcile Pausanias's description of the acropolis with the low smooth-sided, though steep, hill just described. Such a hill must always have needed strong fortifications to render it defensible: whereas from Pausanias's description we should expect to find a hill so defended by precipices as to render fortification almost superfluous. But nothing in the least resembling a precipice is to be seen on the hill of Pheneus. To meet this difficulty it has been suggested that the ancient acropolis may have been quite separate from the lower city, and that we should look for it on one of the heights in the neighbourhood. Lolling (in Baedeker's *Guide*) thought that Pausanias's description pointed to the summit of Mt. St. Elias, opposite the modern *Phonia*; but on the summit there is nothing but a ruined chapel and remains of mediaeval fortifications. It was perhaps these remains which Dodwell visited in 1806, and which he describes as follows: "In our inquiries for antiquities in this vicinity we learned that the remains of an ancient city existed in the mountains above the village of Phonia. We accordingly set out on the 14th, provided with proper guides to conduct us to the spot. On quitting the village we began to ascend by a steep path trodden only by goats; the way was consequently extremely difficult. The country was bold, wooded, and picturesque. In forty minutes we reached the foot of the hill on which the ruins were situated. It consisted of a lofty rock of a conical form, interspersed with pine-trees, and covered with loose stones, and so exceedingly steep that its summit could be reached only by pursuing a path of circuitous inflections. Having dismounted from our horses, we commenced the difficult ascent, and, after an hour of laborious climbing, we reached the highest point, where we found our trouble but ill repaid. The area of the hill, which is flat and circular, is encompassed by walls of dubious antiquity, as they have nothing characteristic in their construction, except in being composed of a thick mass of small unhewn stones, united with a certain degree of care, but without mortar. A few ancient tiles are also seen scattered about the ruins; but we could not discover a single block of hewn stone, or any object of architectural interest. I have seen other similar remains in the mountainous parts of Greece: and they may possibly be of very early date, and were perhaps the *κωμοπόλεις* or walled villages of the ancients. The view from this rock embraces only a mass of mountains, with wild glens and rugged indentations. It is a deep solitude, where the voice of man is not heard, and not a single habitation is seen." It is very unlikely that the remains described by Dodwell are those of the acropolis of Pheneus. We can scarcely suppose that the acropolis was separated by nearly a two hours' ascent from the lower city.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 437 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 117, 139 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 153; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 190 *sq.*, 211; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1, p. 303; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 495 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 318; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 200; Baedeker,[3] p. 303 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 384; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 127. My visit to the ruins of Pheneus was paid 1st October 1895.

14. 5. dedicated by Ulysses. Cp. viii. 44. 4; and J. N. Svoronos, 'Ulysse chez les Arcadiens,' *Gazette archéologique*, 13 (1888), pp. 257-280. Mr. Svoronos argues that Arcadia and not (as some classical writers supposed) Epirus was the country to which Ulysses went in order to find a man who did not know what an oar was. Cp. Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 121 *sqq.*

14. 5. Artemis —— the Horse-finder. The association of Artemis with horses is very rare. See Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 450.

14. 7. Their mode of making bronze images has been already explained by me etc. See iii. 17. 6.

14. 8. Rhoecus —— Theodorus. See Index, and Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 273-293. The father of Rhoecus is called Philaeus by Pausanias here and elsewhere (x. 38. 6). Herodotus calls him Phileas (iii. 60). The chronology of these early Samian artists has been much discussed. It has been maintained that there were two or even three Samian artists of the name of Theodorus. H. Brunn held that there was but one. He thought that Theodorus, son of Telecles, worked in conjunction with Rhoecus, son of Phileas, though he was, perhaps, a younger contemporary, and that the main period of their artistic activity fell about 580-541 B.C. K. O. Müller and L. Urlichs, on the other hand, held that there were two Samian artists named Theodorus, and that Rhoecus was the father of one of them, thus:—

Rhoecus
Theodorus I — Telecles
Telecles
Theodorus II.

Urlichs thought that the date of Rhoecus was before Ol. 40 (620 B.C.); that of his sons before Ol. 50 (580 B.C.); and that of the second Theodorus before Ol. 60 (540 B.C.)

See K. O. Müller, *Handbuch d. Archäol. d. Kunst*, § 60; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. pp. 30-38; *id.*, 2. pp. 380-390; *id.*, 'Die Kunst bei Homer,' *Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Munich), Philosoph.-philolog. Cl. 11 (1868), iii. Abtheil. pp. 29-43; *id.*, 'Zur Chronologie der ältesten griech. Künstler,' *Sitzungsberichte d. kön. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Munich), Philos.-philolog. Cl. 1 (1871), pp. 517-542; L. Urlichs, 'Ueber die älteste samische Künstlerschule,' *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 10 (1856), pp. 1-29; *id.*, *Skopas*, pp. 228-259; C. Bursian, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 2 (1856), p. 509 *sqq.*; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 74 *sq.*; W. Klein, in *Archaeologische-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 9 (1885), pp. 173-191; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 77-80; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 198 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 75-83; M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. p. 154 *sqq.*

14. 8. the emerald signet which Polycrates —— wore etc. See Herodotus, iii. 41. Theodorus made a bronze statue of himself at

Samos, holding a file in his right hand and a scarab in his left hand: the scarab was engraved with the design of a four-horse chariot (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 83). It is a plausible conjecture that the gem thus represented in the sculptor's hand was no other than the famous seal which he had made for Polycrates, and that the scarab itself was one of the gifts which we know were sent to Polycrates by his friend Amasis, king of Egypt. See Herodotus, ii. 182; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 78. Clement of Alexandria, however, says that the seal used by Polycrates was inscribed with a lyre (*Paedag.* iii. 59, p. 289, ed. Potter); and according to another interpretation of Pliny (*l.c.*) what Theodorus held in his left hand was not a scarab, but a minute model of a chariot (E. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 1. p. 100). In the temple of Concord at Rome a sardonyx set in gold was shown to the credulous as the ring of Polycrates (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxviii. 4). Cp. J. H. Middleton, *The engraved gems of Classical Times*, p. 69 *sq.*

The story that Polycrates flung the signet-ring into the sea and that it was afterwards found in the belly of a fish which a fisherman brought to the king (Herodotus, iii. 41 *sq.*), is a folk-tale to which there are many parallels.

See Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenberg*, p. 134, No. 178; Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, 2. p. 194, No. 331: J. W. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen*, p. 246 *sq.*, No. 152: A. Kuhn, *Westfälische Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen*, 1. p. 375 *sq.*, No. 421; Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 303, No. 347; F. Liebrecht, *Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 77 note **.

14. 9. **the sons of Actor.** See v. 2. 1 note.

14. 10. **the god whom the people of Pheneus most revere is Hermes.** The worship of Hermes at Pheneus is mentioned by Cicero (*De natura deorum*, iii. 22. 56). Cp. Paus. v. 27. 8; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 781; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 80 *sqq.* An inscription found at Olympia in 1877 records that a certain Acestorides of Alexandria Troas had won a victory in the games at Pheneus as well as at other places (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 184). The games of Pheneus to which the inscription refers are probably the Hermaea mentioned by Pausanias.

14. 10. **an Athenian, Euchir, son of Eubulides.** Inscriptions from the pedestals of statues by this sculptor have been found. He seems to have flourished in the middle of the second century B.C., and to have belonged to a family of sculptors in which the names Euchir and Eubulides alternated from father to son. See Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 222-229; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 2235-2244; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 551 *sq.*; G. Hirschfeld, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 30 (1873), pp. 25-29. His name occurs in an inscription on the south substruction-wall of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Wescher et Foucart, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, No. 18, line 73; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 198). Cp. note on i. 2. 5.

14. 10. **Myrtilus.** For the story of Myrtilus, his treachery, and

his death, see Apollodorus, ed. R. Wagner, p. 184 *sq.*; *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Wagner, p. 59 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Schol. on Euripides, *Orestes*, 990. Cp. Index.

15. 2. **certain writings which bear on the mysteries.** As to sacred books about the mysteries, see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 193 *sqq.*

15. 3. **Demeter Cidaria.** The epithet Cidaria may be derived from *kidaris*, a kind of head-dress or tiara (Hesychius, *s.v.* Κίδαρις), or from *kidaris*, an Arcadian dance (Athenaeus, xiv. p. 631).

15. 3. **this mask the priest puts on his face — and smites the Underground Folk with rods.** By wearing the mask of Demeter the priest clearly acted as a representative or personification of the goddess. Such personifications of a deity by a priest or other human being have been common in the religious ceremonies of various peoples, notably of the ancient Mexicans. The priestess of Athena at Pellene on certain occasions wore armour and a triple-crested helmet, doubtless to represent the goddess herself (Polyaenus, viii. 59). Cp. Paus. vii. 18. 12; Fr. Back, *De Graecorum caerimoniis in quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur* (Berlin, 1883). On the use of masks in religious ceremonies, see W. H. Dall, 'On masks, labrets, and certain aboriginal customs,' *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), pp. 73-151. As the priest, in the ceremony described by Pausanias, played the part of Demeter, the goddess of the corn, it may be conjectured that when he smote the ground with rods the intention was to promote the fertility of the soil. This interpretation of the custom is supported by analogous customs elsewhere. The Guarayos, a peaceful agricultural tribe of Indians living secluded in the vast forests of eastern Bolivia, worship a god whom they call Tamoï ('grandfather'). He once lived among them, taught them to till the ground, and promised them his aid. Then he soared away toward the east, while the angels beat with bamboos on the ground, because the sound was pleasing to him. In memory of his divine promises the Guarayos perform a certain ceremony at the sacred hut. The men sit and beat on the ground with bamboos, chanting hymns in which they ask Tamoï to give them a plentiful crop or a genial rain. The women stand behind and join their voices to those of the men. The ceremony ends with libations. See D'Orbigny, *L'homme Américain*, 2. pp. 319 *sq.*, 329 *sq.*; Von Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, p. 218. At the Jewish harvest-festival the people beat on the ground with bundles of willow-withs till all the leaves were stripped off. During the festival water from the brook Siloam mixed with wine was poured on the ground, and there was a tradition that these ceremonies had reference to the wished-for rainfall before seed-time and to a fruitful year. See W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 283. In many parts of Europe it has been and still is customary to beat the fruit-trees in order to make them bear well. For example, in Sussex and Devon it is or used to be the custom on New Year's Eve for a troop of boys to go round the orchards rapping the trees with sticks and singing:

Stand fast root, bear well top,
Pray God send us a good howling-crop;
Every twig, apples big;
Every bough, apples enou;
Hats full, caps full,
Full quarter sacks full.

See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 1. p. 9 *sq.* (Bohn's ed.) For other examples, see Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 275 *sqq.* Among the Zulus the diviner causes the persons who consult him to smite the ground with rods while he questions them (Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, 3. p. 284 *sqq.*; Grout, *Zulu-land*, pp. 138, 141 *sq.*, 157). But this custom probably belongs to a different class from those cited above. Hera smote the ground with her hands when she prayed to Earth and the gods of the under-world (Homer, *Hymn to Apollo*, 332 *sqq.*): this was doubtless to attract their attention. It is said that in Lincolnshire the people used to go out every spring and wake the earth from its winter sleep by lifting a little earth from the molehills in all the field (*Folklore*, 2 (1891), p. 261). Perhaps the intention of the custom here described by Pausanias was to attract the attention of the earth-spirits by knocking on the ground.

15. 4. **they think it an unclean kind of pulse.** In the Eleusinian mysteries (of which the rites at Pheneus were an exact copy) the initiated were forbidden to eat beans (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 16). According to Herodotus (ii. 37) the Egyptians did not eat beans, and the priests would not even look at them. Cp. Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 8. 2. Diodorus, on the other hand, only says (i. 89) that some of the Egyptians would not eat beans. At Rome the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to touch or even name beans (Aulus Gellius, x. 15; Festus, *s.v. fabam*, p. 87, ed. Müller; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 119). Pythagoras, we are told, forbade his followers to eat beans (Plutarch, *De educ. puer.* 17; *id.*, *Quaest. Rom.* 95; Diogenes Laertius, viii. §§ 24, 33 *sq.*; Jamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* 109; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 43; Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 6; *id.*, *Dial. mort.* xx. 3; *id.*, *Gallus*, 4; Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haeres.* vi. 27; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29; *Geoponica*, ii. 35; Cicero, *De divin.* i. 30. 62 and ii. 58. 119; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 118). On the other hand, Aristoxenus, a pupil of Aristotle, asserted that Pythagoras approved of beans as food and ate them largely (Aulus Gellius, iv. 11). In general we are told that persons who had to observe rules of ceremonial purity abstained from beans (Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 95), that such abstinence was enjoined by the celebrants of mystic rites (Diogenes Laertius, viii. 33), and that beans were excluded from every mystic rite and every sanctuary (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* i. 68). In particular, persons who wished to receive an oracle in a dream abstained from beans, because beans were supposed to be unfavourable to dreaming (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 10. 2; *Geoponica*, ii. 35). A verse, attributed to Orpheus, was often quoted, to the effect that to eat beans was equal to eating the heads of one's parents (*Geoponica*, *l.c.*; Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29; Eustathius, on Homer, p. 948; cp. Sextus Empiricus, Ὑποτυπ. iii. p. 174, ed.

Bekker; Lucian, *Gallus*, 4; *id.*, *Dial. mort.* xx. 3). To explain the rule of abstinence from beans many fanciful reasons were alleged. It was said that the souls of the dead were in beans (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 118); that the flower of the bean was marked with letters of woe (Festus, *l.c.*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 119; *Geoponica*, ii. 35); that beans resembled the genital organs (Diogenes Laertius, viii. § 34; Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 6), etc. Yet we find beans employed by the ancients in a number of religious and magical rites. The Attic festival of Pyanepsia took its name from the boiled beans which were prepared and eaten at it (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 22; Harpocration, *s.v.* Πυανόψια; Suidas, *s.v.* Πυανεψιῶνος; Eustathius, on Homer, p. 948). On the first of June the Romans offered beans and the fat of bacon to the goddess Carna, and the worshippers partook of these dishes; it was believed that nothing could afterwards hurt the inside of a man who had eaten beans and bacon on that day (Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 33; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 169 *sqq.*) A porridge made of beans was offered to the gods at certain public sacrifices (Festus, *s.v. Refriva fabra*, p. 277, ed. Müller). On the first of March the Romans smeared each other's faces with the juice of beans (Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv. 29). Black beans were also offered to the dead at the Roman festivals of the *Parentalia* and *Feralia* in February (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 576; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 118; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 95). Joannes Lydus (*l.c.*) says that beans were thrown into the graves. This probably refers to the *Feralia*. Again, at the Roman festival of the *Lemuria* in May each householder threw black beans behind his back, saying, "With these beans I redeem myself and my family." The ghosts of the family were supposed to gather up the beans. Then the householder clashed a pair of cymbals and begged the ghosts to leave the house, saying, "Go forth, ye spirits of my fathers." See Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 436 *sqq.* Diviners placed beans and salt before the persons who came to inquire of them (Zenobius, i. 25; Diogenianus, i. 50; Gregorius Cyprius, i. 11). At harvest the Romans seem to have brought back a bean or beans to the house for the purpose of a sacrifice at which omens were taken (Festus, *s.v. Refriva fabra*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xviii. 119). It was thought lucky to take beans with one to auctions (Pliny, *l.c.*)

15. 5. **the road that leads from Pheneus to Pellene.** This road probably followed the valley of the *Phoniatiko* river, which extends in a north-easterly direction, terminating at *Karya*, a village inhabited only in summer, near the source of the river. The valley narrows as you proceed northward; its sides are partly wooded with pines. The distance of *Karya* from Pheneus (*Phonia*) is about 10 miles. At *Karya* the road bifurcates; the branch to the right leads south-eastward over a ridge which protrudes northward from Mt. Cyllene and which is perhaps the Mt. Chelydorea of Pausanias (viii. 17. 5 note). This road takes us to *Trikala*, from which we follow the valley of the Sys or Sythas downward to Pellene. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 141; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 126. As to *Trikala* see above, note on vii. 27. 9, 'the Mysaeum.'

15. 5. **a temple of Pythian Apollo.** Boblaye thought that this

temple must have been opposite the site of *Goura*, a modern village standing high up on the slope of the hills on the east side of the *Phoniatiko* river, about 2½ miles north-east of *Phonia* (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 154 *sq.*; cp. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 126).

15. 6. **Elephenor who led the Euboeans to Ilium.** See Homer, *Il.* iv. 463 *sq.*

15. 6. **he had previously been knocked on the head by Amphitryo** etc. See ix. 19. 3.

15. 8. **Porinas.** This has been variously supposed to be a small branch of the upper river *Phoniatiko*, descending into it from Mt. Cyllene (Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 142); or a *col* or pass (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 154); or a height above the modern village of *Karya* (Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 194; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 201).

15. 8-9. **Mount Crathis. In this mountain are the springs of the river Crathis.** The river Crathis is the modern *Akrata*, as is proved by Pausanias's statement that the Styx flowed into it (viii. 18. 4), for the Styx flows into the *Akrata* a little way below the village of *Solos*. The sources of the river are on the northern slopes of a high, double-peaked, and beautifully-wooded mountain which rises to the north-west of the hill of *Phonia*. The mountain takes its modern name from *Zarouchla*, a village which stands embowered in the most luxuriant vegetation at the northern foot of the mountain, and at the head of the deep narrow valley of the Crathis. It follows that the mountain of *Zarouchla* is the ancient Mount Crathis. The route from Pheneus to the glen of the Styx crosses Mount Crathis to *Zarouchla*, passing the monastery of St. George, which is delightfully situated on the wooded southern slope of the mountain. See below, note on viii. 17. 6.

Others, however, have preferred to identify Mount Crathis with the high mountain, very steep and barren, which rises behind *H. Varvara* (Santa Barbara), a large village on the right bank of the Crathis. A stream descends from the mountain beside the village to join the Crathis; but it can hardly be regarded as the head-water of the river, since *Zarouchla* is undoubtedly at the head of the valley and *H. Varvara* is half an hour's ride lower down it. From this it follows that the mountain of *Zarouchla*, not the mountain of *H. Varvara*, is the ancient Mount Crathis.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 150 *sq.*, 157 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 154 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 304; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 384 *sq.*

15. 9. **to fetch fire from the sanctuary —— for the Lernaean rites.** On the custom of fetching a new fire from a sacred source, see vol. 2. p. 392 *sq.*

16. 1. **To the east of Pheneus there is a mountain-top called Geronteum** etc. To the east of the valley and lake of Pheneus lie the valley and lake of Stymphalus. The two lakes are only divided by the high ridge which running north and south connects Mt. Cyllene with Mt. *Skipiesa*, or rather with that northern spur of the latter which seems to have been called Mt. Sciathis (see viii. 14. 1 note). This ridge or some part of it was probably Mount Geronteum.

Two roads lead from Pheneus to Stymphalus. The more northerly of the two crosses the valley of the *Phoniatiko* river in a north-easterly direction to the village of *Goura.* From here it ascends the ridge of a mountain (4300 feet high), which bends in a semicircle round the west and south-west sides of Mt. Cyllene, being divided from it by a long narrow upland valley. This great outwork, as it were, of Cyllene is perhaps the Sepia of Pausanias (see § 2). After crossing the ridge the path runs through the valley, shut in between the towering mass of Cyllene on the left and its neighbour mountain on the right. We pass through the villages of *Basi* and *Kionia*, and reach the ruins of Stymphalus in 3 hours 40 minutes from *Phonia.*

The more southerly route is rather shorter, and is the one generally taken. Traversing the plain of Pheneus, with its vineyards and maize-fields, we cross the broad gravelly bed of the *Phoniatiko* river and reach the village of *Mosa* at the north-eastern side of the lake. The path now gradually ascends the mountain and winds through pine-forest high above the margin of the lake. It is often exceedingly narrow, and the descent to the lake on the right very steep. The views of the blue waters of the lake, seen far below framed between the trunks of the pines, are very beautiful. The summit of the ridge is said to be some 4000 or 5000 feet above the sea. On reaching it we lose sight of the lake of Pheneus, and begin to descend towards the valley of Stymphalus, which does not, however, appear as yet. The descent is long, steep, stony, and tortuous. On our right (south) a huge mountain slope, covered with pine-forest, soars high above us. It may be Mt. Sciathis or Mt. Geronteum. On the left (north) we see the summer village of *Kastania*, prettily situated among trees on the slope of the opposite mountain, but so near that the sound of a church bell ringing in it can be heard across the valley. Finally the path leads down to a water-course, the broad dry bed of which it follows for some way to the winter village (*Kalyvia*) of *Kastania*, which lies at the extreme west end of the valley of Stymphalus, just at the foot of the mountains. Hence the path runs, first through a shady green lane between vineyards, and then across fields of maize to the edge of the lake of Stymphalus. The time from *Phonia* to the ruins of Stymphalus by this route is 3 hours 25 minutes.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 5. p. 320 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 435 *sqq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 380 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 148 *sq.*, 154; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 114 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 199 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 303 *sq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 157; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 319 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 496 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 304; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 386 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 126. I followed the southern route from Pheneus to Stymphalus (but in the reverse direction) in September 1895, and have described it from my own observation. But the times of both routes are taken from the *Guide-Joanne.*

16. 1. **Tricrena** (**'three fountains'**). The 'three fountains' are identified by Beulé and the writer of the *Guide-Joanne* with three tiny rills which descend the bare rocks on the eastern side of Mt. Geronteum to form the stream which feeds the swampy lake of Stymphalus. Since Pausanias, going eastward, says that Mt. Tricrena was on the left (north)

of Mt. Geronteum, it would appear that the name Tricrena was given to a part of the ridge between Mt. Geronteum on the south and Mt. Sepia on the north. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 116 ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 199 : Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 157 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 387.

16. 2. **Here Aepytus —— is said to have been killed by the snake.** The species of snake was called *seps.* See viii. 4. 7. Hence the mountain seems to have taken its name (Sepia) from these snakes. In the mountains to the west of Cyllene a peasant told Beulé a story of a prince who had been killed by the bite of a serpent and buried on the mountain with all his treasures (Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 179 *sq.*)

16. 3. **Homer mentions the tomb.** See *Iliad*, ii. 604. The "large tumulus, surrounded and sustained by a circular wall of rough stones," which Gell proposed to identify with the tomb of Aepytus, can-not possibly be the one described by Pausanias ; for whereas the latter was somewhere at the south-western foot of Mt. Cyllene, the tumulus seen by Gell was away to the east of the Stymphalian lake, on the road to Phlius. The tumulus observed by Gell had been cut into on both sides, and it occurred to Gell that perhaps the excavations had been directed by Pausanias. But the antiquaries who made these excava-tions were more probably of the Dousterswivel than of the Oldbuck sort. See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 168 *sq.* ; *id.*, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 72 ; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 384 *sq.*

16. 3. **the dance wrought by Hephaestus** etc. See Homer, *Il.* xviii. 590 *sqq.* ; Paus. ix. 40. 3 note.

16. 4. **one at Halicarnassus** etc. The site of the famous Mauso-leum at Halicarnassus, which the ancients reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world (Strabo, xiv. p. 656 ; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 30 *sq.* ; Vitruvius, ii. 8. 11 ; Lucian, *Dial. mort.* xxiv.), was discovered by the English expedition sent out in 1856 under the direction of the late Sir C. T. Newton. The precious remains of the Mausoleum, including the Amazon frieze and the colossal statue of Mausolus himself, are now in the British Museum. See Sir C. T. Newton, *Travels and discoveries in the Levant*, 2. p. 84 *sqq.* ; and his article 'Mausoleum,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities.*[3]

16. 4. **Mausolus, king of that city.** Ancient writers often speak of Mausolus as a king. See Strabo, xiv. p. 656 ; Cicero, *Tusc.* iii. 31. 75 ; Vitruvius, ii. 8. 10 ; Lucian, *Dial. mort.* xxiv ; Polyaenus, vii. 23. Pliny speaks of him (*Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 30) as 'petty king' (*regulus*) of Caria. Diodorus (xv. 90 ; xvi. 7 and 36) describes him as 'dynast of Caria.' Aulus Gellius, however, mentions (x. 18. 1) that by some Greek historians Mausolus was described as lieutenant-governor (*satrap*) only ; and that his authorities were right is proved by inscriptions found at Mylasa, which speak of Mausolus as holding the office of *satrap* (ἐξαιθραπεύοντος) in the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia. See Froehner, *Inscr. grecques du Louvre*, No. 96 ; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 76 ; Hicks, *Greek historical Inscriptions*, No. 101 ; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*^{2} Nos. 492-494. An inscription of Erythrae, recording a decree of the senate and people of Erythrae in

honour of Mausolus, has been restored so as to describe Mausolus as king, thus:

M]αύσσωλλο[ν Ἑ]κατ[όμνω βασιλ]έα.

But perhaps, as Mr. Foucart and Prof. Dittenberger have proposed, the inscription should be restored thus:

M]αύσσωλλο[ν Ἑ]κατ[όμνω Μυλασ]έα.

For Mausolus was a native of Mylasa (Vitruvius, ii. 8. 11). See Hicks, *op. cit.* No. 102; Dittenberger, *op. cit.* No. 84; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellén.* 5 (1881), p. 503. It is possible, however, that, after his revolt from Artaxerxes, Mausolus may have assumed the title of king. This is made the more probable by an inscription of Amorgos which, as restored by Mr. R. Weil, contained the words [ἐπὶ βα]σιλέως Μ[αυσώλλου]. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 1 (1876), p. 312 *sq.*

17. 1. **Mount Cyllene, the highest mountain in Arcadia.** Mount Cyllene, a grand pyramidal mountain of reddish-grey rock, which is clearly visible even from Attica, is the highest mountain in Arcadia, as Pausanias correctly says. Its height, as determined by the French survey, is 2374 metres (7789 feet), which is only about 60 feet more than that of its neighbour on the west, Mt. *Chelmos* (the ancient Aroanius), whose height, according to the French survey, is 2355 metres (7726 feet). These two mountains are, with the exception of Mt. *St. Elias* in Laconia (2409 metres = 7903 feet), the highest peaks in Peloponnese. Snow lies on the summit of Cyllene for about eight months of the year. The mountain is easily ascended in three and a half hours from *Trikala*, a village on the north side (see above, p. 184 *sq.*) On the summit Mr. Peytier found no traces of the temple of Hermes mentioned by Pausanias. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 154; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 122-124, 138-141.

17. 1. **Elatus.** See viii. 4, §§ 2, 4, 6. The name Elatus perhaps means 'fir-man,' from *elatē* (ἐλάτη), a 'fir-tree.' Fir-trees seem to have been as plentiful on Cyllene and the neighbouring mountains in antiquity as they are now, for Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* v. 4. 6) speaks of the bridges of fir-wood made by the people of Pheneus. The western and higher mass of Cyllene is indeed treeless on the north side, but the eastern mass is clothed with fir-woods up to the height of 5000 feet and more (Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 124). Describing the mountain as seen from the south-east, Mr. W. G. Clark says: "Where all other vegetation has ceased, a scattered forest of black pines has rooted itself in the grey limestone. From among the pines rises an irregular cone, utterly bare" (*Peloponnesus*, p. 324).

17. 2. **The kinds of wood out of which men of old made images etc.** According to Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* v. 3. 7) the woods out of which images were carved were the varieties of cedar, cypress, lotus, and boxwood; smaller images were also made of olive-roots. Pausanias often mentions images made of various kinds of wood. See ii. 17. 5 (image of Hera made of the wood of the wild pear); ii. 30. 4 (images of Damia and Auxesia of olive-wood); iii. 14. 7 (image of

Aesculapius of *agnus* wood); iii. 15. 11 (image of Aphrodite Morpho of cedar-wood); vi. 18. 7 (statues of athletes of fig-wood and cypress-wood); ix. 10. 2 (image of Ismenian Apollo of cedar-wood). We should naturally expect the image of a god to be made of the tree which was sacred to him, and which at an earlier time may, in some cases, have been regarded as the god himself. Thus the image of Aesculapius was made out of his sacred tree (iii. 14. 7). But other considerations, such as the beauty or durability of the particular kind of wood, may have determined the image-maker to carve a god out of it. Thus the different sorts of wood here mentioned by Pausanias are all (except the yew) reckoned by Theophrastus among the woods which are least apt to rot (*Hist. plant.* v. 4. 2; cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xvi. 213). The image of Artemis at Ephesus was generally said to be of ebony, but the Consul Mucianus affirmed that it was of vine-wood (Pliny, [illegible]) The image of Artemis dedicated by Xenophon in the little temple on his estate was of cypress-wood (*Anab.* v. 3. 12), which Theophrastus (*l.c.*) considered to be the most durable of all woods (compare what Pausanias says, vi. 18. 7). The comic poet Hermippus spoke of cypress-wood exported from Crete "for the gods" (Athenaeus, i. p. 27 f.), meaning perhaps that images were carved out of it. In Rome there was an old image of Veiovis made of cypress-wood (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xvi. 216). Two images of Queen Juno made of cypress-wood were carried in procession through the streets of Rome in 207 B.C. (Livy, xxvi. 37). Cp. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 229 *sq.* (p. 213 *sq.*, Engl. trans.) Pliny mentions that cedar-wood, on account of its durability, was used to make images of. The image of Sosian Apollo at Rome, which had been brought from Seleucia, was of cedar-wood. See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xiii. 53. Pausanias twice mentions images of cedar-wood (see above); and the wooden image of Artemis in the great cedar-tree at Orchomenus may also have been of cedar-wood (viii. 12. 2). But it must be remembered that under the name cedar (κέδρος) the Greeks sometimes included the juniper or some species of it. See Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* iii. 13. 3; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xvi. 52; Fiedler, *Reise*, i. p. 516 *sq.*; Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 368 *sq.* The *Juniperus oxycedrus*, which grows in Peloponnese, Euboea, and on Helicon, is still called by the Greeks 'cedar' (κέδρος); its wood is fragrant, does not rot easily, and resists the ravages of insects (Fiedler, *l.c.*) Some of the images described above as of cedar-wood may have been really of juniper. On the woods used for making images, see C. Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 215 *sq.* As to the word which I have translated 'yew,' see note on iv. 26. 7. Among the Damaras of South Africa each totem-clan has a particular tree or shrub sacred to it; and the image of the household deity, who is a deceased parent or ancestor, consists of two pieces of the wood of that particular tree or shrub (C. J. Anderson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 228 *sq.*)

17. 2. juniper. The Greek word is *thuon* (θύον). According to Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* v. 3. 7) the tree was called either *thuon* or *thua*; it grew in the oasis of Jupiter Ammon and in the district of Cyrene. Theophrastus describes it as resembling the cypress (especially

the wild cypress) in branches, leaves, stem, and fruit; its wood did not rot readily. Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xiii. 100) identified it with the tree which the Romans called *citrus*. See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *θυία*.

17. 3. **the blackbirds there are white all over.** The white blackbirds of Mt. Cyllene are first mentioned by Aristotle. He says (*Hist. anim.* ix. 19. p. 617 a 11 *sqq.*): "There are two kinds of blackbirds. One is black and is found everywhere. The other is quite white and as big as the other, and its notes are similar; it is found on Cyllene in Arcadia, but nowhere else." Again, the author of the *De mirab. auscultationibus* (who may be Aristotle) says, § 15 (14): "They say that on Cyllene in Arcadia, but nowhere else, the blackbirds are white, and utter varied notes, and come forth to the moon; but if any one makes an attempt on them by day, they are extremely hard to catch." The white blackbirds of Cyllene are also mentioned by Aelian (*Nat. anim.* v. 27) on the authority of Sostratus; by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* x. 87); and by Eustathius (on Homer, p. 300). Eustathius clearly copies from the *De mirab. auscult.* Priscian (*Periegesis*, 415) mentions white blackbirds in Arcadia. With regard to the alleged white blackbirds of Cyllene, I asked Professor Alfred Newton whether, considering that snow lies on Mt. Cyllene the greater part of the year, it was possible that a breed of white blackbirds might have been produced there by natural selection, the white colour acting as a protection, as in the case of the white-furred and white-feathered creatures of the Arctic regions. I have to thank Prof. Newton for his courteous answer. After pointing out (what critics of Pausanias, myself included, appear to have overlooked hitherto) that the statement about the white blackbirds is to be traced to Aristotle, he wrote: "It may easily have happened that a white Blackbird, or more than one, may have been reported to Aristotle from Cyllene, and he, not having heard of one from elsewhere, may have been justified in saying that it was the only place where such a *lusus* occurred. I should prefer this interpretation to thinking that there was a particular breed or race of white Blackbirds on this mountain—though I will not deny the possibility of there having been such a thing, for albinism is commonly transmitted and would doubtless more often become hereditary, did it not carry with it the heavy penalty of making the albino or albinescent animal so conspicuous as to become the easy prey of his predatory fellow-creatures — *i.e.* under ordinary circumstances, for of course there are the exceptional cases of such fur or feathers acting as a protection by assimilating the wearer's colour to snow."

17. 3. **the lake of Tantalus.** See note on v. 13. 7, vol. 3. p. 555.

17. 5. **Chelydorea.** This is probably *Mavron Oros* ('Black Mountain'), the high, precipitous, fir-clad mountain to the north of the modern village of *Karya*. Its modern name is derived from the almost perpendicular precipices of dark rock which descend on its east, north, and west sides, giving the mountain a very imposing appearance. From the northern side of the mountain the torrent of *Zacholi* descends through a savage and wooded glen to the sea. Leake suggested that Chelydorea might perhaps be the ridge which protrudes northward from Cyllene in the direction of *Karya*, but on the south side of that

village. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 141, 220 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 18; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 200; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 398; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 124 *sq.*

17. 6. **the road to the left leads to the city of Clitor.** The road is described below, from 19. 4 to 21. 1.

17. 6. **the road to the right leads to Nonacris and the water of the Styx.** The route from Pheneus to the Styx, at least so far as the modern village of *Zarouchla* at the head of the valley of the Crathis, is one of the most beautiful in all Greece. The grandeur of the mountains, the richness of the vegetation, the fragrance and charm of the pine-forests, the distant views of the blue lake of Pheneus, all contribute to render the impression which the day's journey leaves on the memory one of the most agreeable that the traveller brings back with him from Greece. From the lower village of *Phonia* we ascend through the luxuriant gardens and lanes of the village to the ridge which bounds the plain of Pheneus on the north-west. On reaching it, a magnificent view westward of the mighty Mount *Chelmos* (the ancient Aroanius), with its bare summit and pine-clad lower slopes, bursts upon us. The mountain is seen rising above a deep basin-like valley, the bottom and sides of which are clothed with the richest vegetation. High up on the slope of the mountain to the north-west (Mount Crathis), among trees, is the delightfully-situated monastery of St. George. Our path leads down into the valley; on the slope grow white poplars and cypresses, and the ground is partly carpeted with ferns. From the bottom of the valley, which is chiefly occupied by a charming grove of plane-trees, we ascend through fine woods, mostly of oak, to the monastery of St. George. Still ascending after we have passed the monastery, we plunge again into a maze of beautiful woods and dense tangled thickets, threaded by rills of sparkling water. Vegetation of such rank luxuriance is rarely met with in Greece. On emerging from these delightful woodlands we traverse, always ascending, a stretch of bare bushy slopes which intervenes between the verdant glades below and the sombre pine-forests higher up. When these slopes are passed, we enter the pine-forest, through which our way now goes for several hours. Few things can be more delightful than this ride through the pine-woods. It was a bright October day when I passed through them on my way to Solos; in many places the forest was carpeted with ferns, now turned yellow, and between the tree-trunks we could see across the valley the great slopes of Mount Cyllene, of a glowing purple in the intense sunlight. From time to time, too, we had views backward over the blue waters of the lake of Pheneus embosomed in its dark pine-clad mountains. Added to all this were the delicious odour of the pines and the freshness and exhilaration of the air at a height of about 6000 feet. But the culmination of beauty, so far as distant views go, is reached on the summit of the ridge, before we begin to descend the northern slope towards *Zarouchla*. On the one side, toward the south-east, we look back to the lake of Pheneus and the great mountains which encircle it, Mount Cyllene above all. On the other side, toward the north-west, we look down into the long narrow valley of the river Crathis, hemmed in

on either hand by high mountains, above which soars the bare sharp peak of Mount *Chelmos* on the south, while at the farther end of the valley the view is closed by the blue Acarnanian mountains across the Gulf of Corinth. From the ridge we now descend through the forest by a steep winding stony path, till we reach the bed of a stream flowing among romantic rocks and woods to join or rather to form, with other streams, the Crathis. In the bottom of the valley the richness of the vegetation even increases. We rode through thickets of planes, growing as great bushes or small trees, so dense that we had constantly to stoop to the horses' necks to prevent our faces from being brushed by the branches. Other trees and plants, of which I did not know the names, grew in profusion around us. And above all this Eden-like verdure of woods and lanes and thickets shot up the huge sharp peaks of *Chelmos* and its sister mountains, blue and purple in the sunlight. In this paradise lies the village of *Zarouchla.* The time from *Phonia* to *Zarouchla* is a little under four hours. Beyond *Zarouchla* the path follows the valley of the Crathis (*Akrata*), keeping for the most part on the right bank of the stream. The valley is very narrow, and is enclosed by immense steep mountains, the sides of which, wherever it is practicable, are terraced for vines or other cultivation. The Crathis, when I saw it in October 1895, was a clear rushing stream, easily fordable at any point. At first the path runs in the bottom of the valley through tangled thickets. Here and there, where the valley is wide enough to admit of it, a patch of maize is grown. But soon, as we proceed, the valley contracts too much to allow even of this, and so the path, often rough and difficult for horses, ascends and leads along the barer mountain-side at some height above the stream. Thus advancing we at last arrive opposite to the mouth of the deep glen down which the Styx comes to join the Crathis on its left (western) bank. Here we cross the Crathis and strike up the glen of the Styx. The scenery of the profound and narrow glen is almost oppressively grand. The mountains are immense and exceedingly massive; above they are bare and rocky; but their lower slopes are terraced so as to resemble gigantic staircases, and on the terraces are several very picturesque villages, the houses scattered at different levels and embowered among trees. At the upper end of the glen soars the mighty cone of Mount *Chelmos* (Aroanius). The grandeur of the scenery, which would otherwise be almost awful, is softened by the wonderful luxuriance of the vegetation in the glen. The horse-chestnut trees especially, with their enormous gnarled and knotted trunks, are a sight to see. The nightingales are said to be very common here and to sing from February to June. A long laborious ascent by a winding path brings us to the prosperous village of *Solos* on the eastern side of the glen. The villages on the opposite side of the glen, dispersed over the terraced slopes, are *Gounarianika*, *Mesorougi*, and *Peristera.* Together the four villages form almost a single settlement, and as such go by the name of *Kloukinaes.* One of them probably occupies the site of the ancient Nonacris. The time from Pheneus (*Phonia*) to *Solos* is about five and a half hours.

I traversed this route, 1st October 1895, and have described it from my own observation. See also Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 156 *sqq.*, 169 *sq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 166 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 489 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*, p. 311 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 304; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 384 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 132 *sq.*

17. 6. **a high cliff —— the water of Styx.** The village of *Solos* stands, as we have seen, on the right bank of the Styx, near where that stream falls into the Crathis. But the source of the stream is at the head of the glen, some miles to the south, where the water tumbles or trickles, according to the season, over the smooth face of an immense perpendicular cliff, the top of which is not far below the conical summit of Mount *Chelmos* (nearly 8000 feet high). The walk from *Solos* to the foot of the fall and back is exceedingly fatiguing, and very few travellers accomplish it; most of them are content to view the fall from a convenient distance through a telescope. In the first two miles or so from *Solos* the path is practicable for horses, and travellers who are resolved to make their way to the waterfall will do well to ride thus far and to have the horses waiting for them here on their return. It is also necessary to take a guide or guides from *Solos*. The path winds up the glen, keeping at first high on the right bank. The bed of the stream is here prettily wooded with poplars and other trees and is spanned by a bridge with a single high arch. For a considerable distance above the village the water of the Styx, as seen from above, appears to be of a clear light blue colour, with a tinge of green. This colour, however, is only apparent, and is due to the slaty rocks, of a pale greenish-blue colour, among which the river flows. In reality the water is quite clear and colourless. In about twenty minutes from leaving the village we come in sight of the cliff over which the water of the Styx descends. It is an immense cliff, absolutely perpendicular, a little to the left or east of the high conical summit of Mount *Chelmos*. The whole of this northern face of the mountain is in fact nothing but a sheer and in places even overhanging precipice of grey rock—by far the most awful line of precipices I have ever seen. The cliffs of Delphi, grand and imposing as they are, sink into insignificance compared with the prodigious wall of rock in which Mount *Chelmos* descends on the north into the glen of the Styx. The cliff down which the water comes is merely the eastern and lower end of this huge wall of rock. Seen from a distance it appears to be streaked perpendicularly with black and red. The black streak marks the line of the waterfall, to which it has given the modern name of *Mavro-nero*, 'the Black Water.' The colour is produced by a dark incrustation which spreads over the smooth face of the rock wherever it is washed by the falling water or by the spray into which the water is dissolved before it reaches the ground. In the crevices of the cliffs to the right and left of the fall great patches of snow remain all the year through. I saw them and passed close to the largest of them on a warm autumn day, after the heat of summer and before the first snow of winter. In about twenty-five minutes after leaving *Solos* we cross the Styx by a ford, and henceforward the route lies on the left or western bank of the stream. Five

minutes from the ford bring us to a mill picturesquely situated among trees, where a brook comes purling down a little glen wooded with willows and plane-trees. Just above the mill the Styx tumbles over a fine rocky linn in a roaring cascade. Beyond this point the steep slopes of the hills on the opposite bank of the stream are covered with ferns, which when I rode up the glen were tinged with the gold of autumn. In front of us looms nearer and larger the cone of Mount *Chelmos* with its long line of precipices. Ten or twelve minutes beyond the mill the horses are left and the traveller sets forward on foot. As we advance, the glen grows wilder and more desolate, but for the first half-mile or so it is fairly open, the track keeps close to the bed of the stream, and there is no particular difficulty. A deep glen now joins the glen of the Styx from the south-east. Here we begin to ascend the slope and cross an artificial channel which brings down water to the mill. All pretence of a path now ceases, and henceforward till we reach the foot of the waterfall there is nothing for it but to scramble over rocks and to creep along slopes often so steep and precipitous that to find a foothold or handhold on them is not easy, and stretching away into such depths below that it is best not to look down them but to keep the eyes fixed on the ground at one's feet. A stone set rolling down one of these slopes will be heard rumbling for a long time, and the sound is echoed and prolonged by the cliffs with such startling distinctness that at first it sounds as if a rock were coming thundering down upon the wayfarer from above. In the worst places the guides point out to the traveller where to plant his feet and hold him up if he begins to slip. Shrubs, tough grass, and here and there a stunted pine-tree give a welcome hold, but on the steepest slopes they are wanting. The last slope up to the foot of the cliff—a very long and steep declivity of loose gravel which gives way at every step—is most fatiguing. As I was struggling slowly up it with the guides, we heard the furious barking of dogs away up the mountains on the opposite side of the glen. The barking came nearer and nearer, and being echoed by the cliffs had a weird impressive sound that suited well with the scene, as if hell-hounds were baying at the strangers who dared to approach the infernal water. However, the dogs came no nearer than the foot of the slope up which we were clambering, and some shouts and volleys of stones served to keep them at bay. At the head of this long slope of loose gravel we reach the foot of the waterfall. The water, as I have indicated, descends the smooth face of a huge cliff, said to be over 600 feet high. It comes largely from the snowfields on the summit of Mount *Chelmos*, and hence its volume varies with the season. When I visited the fall early in October, after the long drought of summer, the water merely trickled down the black streak on the face of the cliff, its presence being shown only by the glistening appearance which it communicated to the dark surface of the rock. At the foot of the cliff it formed a small stream, flowing down a very steep rocky bed into the bottom of the glen far below. The water was clear and not excessively cold. Even when, through the melting of the snows, the body of the water is considerable, it is said to be all dissolved into spray by falling through such a height

and to reach the ground in the form of fine rain. Only the lower part of the cliff is visible from the foot of the waterfall, probably because the cliff overhangs somewhat. Certainly the cliffs a little to the right of the waterfall overhang considerably. With these enormous beetling crags of grey rock rising on three sides, the scene is one of sublime, but wild and desolate grandeur. I have seen nothing to equal it anywhere. On the third side, looking down the glen and away over the nearer hills, we see the blue mountains of Acarnania across the Gulf of Corinth; my guide said these mountains were in Roumelia. In the face of the rock, a few yards to the right of the waterfall, are carved the names or initials of persons who have visited the spot, with the dates of their visits. Among the names is that of King Otho, with the date 1847. The time from *Solos* to the foot of the waterfall is about three hours and a half.

I visited the fall of the Styx, 2nd October 1895, and have described the fall and the route to it from my own observation. See also Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 160 *sq.*, 172; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 155; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 398 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 195 *sq.*; Beulé, *Etudes sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 166 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 490 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 302; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 202; Baedeker,[3] p. 304 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 385; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 133 *sq.*

Apuleius tells us that one of the tasks imposed on Psyche by Venus was to fetch water from the Styx. The waterfall was shown to the hapless maid afar off by her cruel taskmistress: "Dost see, rising above yon high, high cliff, the summit of a lofty mountain from which the dark rills of a sable fount flow downward and, shut within the trough of a narrow dale, water the Stygian fens?" Apuleius represents the water as guarded by fierce dragons. See Apuleius, *Met.* vi. 14 *sq.* This belief that the water was guarded by dragons explains the name of the Dragon Water, by which the cascade is sometimes still known. It is a common idea that springs of water are guarded by dragons or serpents. See note on ix. 10. 5. The dark colour of the water, as seen against the black incrustation on the face of the cliff, was explained by a fable that Demeter, mourning for her lost daughter, and angry at the importunate courtship of Poseidon, came to the spring, and seeing her dark lowering features mirrored in the water, loathed it and made it black. See Ptolemaeus, *Nov. Hist.* iii. (*Mythogr. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 186). It thus appears that for both the modern local names of the Styx, namely the Black Water and the Dragon Water, mythological explanations are to be found in ancient writers. It seems probable, therefore, that these have always been the local names for the waterfall, while Styx may have been a name given to it by the learned. When Leake discovered the waterfall in 1806, the natives knew nothing of the Styx as the name for the fall. They called it the Black Water or the Dragon Water. Now of course they are, through travellers, familiar with the name of Styx. The passages of Apuleius and Ptolemaeus, which I have cited, have apparently been overlooked by modern writers.

18. 1. **Hesiod, in the Theogony** etc. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 383. The father of Styx, according to Hesiod, was Pallas. Elsewhere (*Theog.*

785 *sqq.*, 805 *sq.*) Hesiod describes the Styx as a cold water dripping from a high precipitous crag and flowing through a rugged place. This accurate description seems to show that Hesiod either had seen the fall of the Styx himself or had talked with those who had. The water of the fall, being chiefly fed by melted snow, is in general very cold. Hesiod, moreover, says (*Theog.* 777 *sqq.*) that abhorred Styx dwelt in "a stately palace roofed with lofty rocks, and all around were silver pillars propped against the sky." Is it fanciful to see in the "silver pillars" the enormous icicles which in winter must hang over the cliff? It is said that when a cloud rests on the summit of the precipice, the water of the cascade seems to drop straight from the sky. In winter the clouds must often be down on the mountain, and the icicles will then look like "silver pillars propped against the sky."

18. 2. **Witness me now, earth and the broad heaven above** etc. The lines are *Iliad*, xv. 36 *sq.*

18. 2. **in the list of the troops under Guneus.** See *Iliad*, ii. 748-755.

18. 3. **he makes it a water in hell** etc. See *Iliad*, viii. 366-369.

18. 4. **This water is deadly to man** etc. A draught of the water of Styx was supposed to be instantly fatal (Theophrastus, cited by Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. mirab.* 158 (174); Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 231, xxxi. 26; cp. Strabo, viii. p. 389). Seneca, who reports the deadly quality of the water, admits that there was nothing in the appearance or smell of it to excite suspicion (*Natur. quaest.* iii. 25. 1). Ovid says that the water was injurious by day but harmless by night (*Met.* xv. 332 *sqq.*, where, if we adopt the reading *lacus* instead of *locus*, Ovid seems to have confused the water of the lake of Pheneus with the water of Styx). Ovid's statement is repeated by Lactantius Placidus (*Narr. Fab.* xv. 23). Chemical analysis has shown that the water contains no substances held in solution; hence any injurious effects which it may produce can only be imputed to its extreme coldness, for it is snow-water. Landerer observed that in July the temperature of the water was 5° centigrade, while the temperature of the air was 35°. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 134. The belief in the deadly nature of the water probably explains why solemn oaths were taken by it. The oath was in fact a sort of poison-ordeal; the water would kill the man who forswore himself, but spare the man who swore truly. When Cleomenes, the banished king of Sparta, tried to band the Arcadians together against his native land, he was eager to persuade the chief men of Arcadia to go with him to Nonacris and swear by the water of the Styx that they would follow wherever he might lead (Herodotus, vi. 74). Although this is the only instance of the sort recorded in history, we may safely infer that from time immemorial an oath by the water of the Styx had been regarded by the Arcadians as a very solemn oath; and that when the poets made the gods swear by Styx they were only transferring to heaven a practice which had long been customary on earth. That the old oath did not simply attest the Styx but was accompanied by a libation or draught of the water, or at all events by contact of some sort with it, seems proved by the fact that Cleomenes thought it needful to

take his men to the spot in order to put the oath to them. Hesiod represents Iris as fetching the water of the Styx in a golden jar for the gods to swear by; and his words seem to imply that the oath was accompanied by a libation (*Theog.* 784 *sqq.*) Among the Sicelians the most solemn oaths were taken at the pools called the caldrons or craters of the Palici (see note on iii. 23. 9). According to Polemo, the form of swearing at these pools was as follows. The oath was administered by persons who read it out from a written copy which they held in their hands. The man who swore recited the oath after them, keeping one hand on the caldron or crater. In the other hand he waved a branch (of olive ?), and he wore a garland and a single tunic without a girdle. If he swore truly, he went home unscathed; but if he forswore himself, he died on the spot. See Polemo, quoted by Macrobius, *Saturn.* v. 19. 28 *sq.* Damascius describes a rocky pool at the foot of a high waterfall in Arabia, by which solemn oaths were taken; it was believed that a perjured man would die of dropsy within a year (Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 199). The oath by the Styx may originally, as I have said, have been accompanied by a draught of the supposed poisonous water. We have seen that near Aegira there was an ordeal by drinking bull's blood which was supposed to be poisonous (vii. 26. 13). Oaths accompanied by a draught of water, over which prayers have been uttered or ceremonies performed, are common in many parts of the world. To give a few instances. In Cambodia and Siam an oath of allegiance to the king is taken twice a year by the mandarins and officials; the oath is accompanied by a draught of water in which the king's weapons have been dipped. See Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, 1. p. 251 *sqq.*; Aymonier, *Notice sur le Cambodge*, p. 37 *sq.*; Lemire, *Cochinchine française et Royaume de Cambodge*, p. 392 *sq.*; Loubere, *Le Royaume de Siam*, 1. p. 247 *sq.* (p. 81, Engl. trans., London, 1693); Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam*, 1. p. 261; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 3. pp. 309 *sq.*, 519 *sq.* The meaning of dipping the king's weapons into the water is stated by Mr. Moura to be that the weapons will pierce the perjured man. This idea comes out still more clearly in the ceremony of making peace which is in vogue among the Karens of Burma. When two villages have been at war with each other and resolve to conclude a peace, they prepare what is called the "peace-making water." Filings are made from a sword, a spear, a musket-barrel, and a stone; a dog is killed; the filings are mixed with its blood and also with the blood of a hog and a fowl; and the whole is put into a cup of water. This is the "peace-making water." Then the skull of the dog is chopped in two, and the representative of one village hangs the dog's lower jaw by a string round his neck, while the representative of the other village takes the skull and upper jaw of the dog and hangs it round his neck in like manner. They next take the cup in hand, promise solemnly to observe the peace, and then drink the water. After drinking they wish that, if any one breaks the engagement, the spear may pierce his breast, the musket his bowels, and the sword his head; that the dog, the hog, and the stone may devour him, etc. See F. Mason,

'On dwellings, works of art, laws, etc. of the Karens,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 37 (1868), pt. ii. p. 160 *sq.* Similarly in the island of Buru (East Indies), when an oath is to be sworn, the head of a household takes a calabash full of water, and puts into it salt, a knife, a sword, and a spear, stirring the water with the spear. After the oath has been sworn, he says to the persons who have taken it, "Reflect, both of you, and speak the truth; otherwise ye shall melt as salt, be stabbed with the spear, and have your throat cut with the knife." Then the persons swearing drink the water. See J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 11. For other examples, see Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, pp. 166, 174, 208, 213 *sq.*, 215, 216, 262; *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, N. S., 7 (1879), p. 382 *sqq.*; Ad. Bastian, *Indonesien*, 1. p. 144; Bosman's 'Guinea,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 16. p. 397 *sq.*; T. J. Hutchinson, *Impressions of Western Africa*, p. 159 *sq.*

18. 5. **Glass, crystal —— are all broken by the water** etc. The fable that the water of Styx burst or corroded vessels made of almost every material is mentioned by many ancient writers, but they are not at one as to the material which alone was supposed capable of holding the water. According to Pausanias (§ 6), with whom Justin (xii. 14) agrees, the only substance which could resist the action of the water was a horse's hoof; according to others it was a mule's hoof (Vitruvius, viii. 3. 16; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxx. 149; cp. Quintus Curtius, x. 10. 31; Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 27. 1); according to others, it was the hoof of an ass (Plutarch, *Alex.* 77; cp. *id.*, *De primo frigore*, 20); according to others, it was any vessel made of horn (Callimachus, cited by Stobaeus, *Eclogae*, i. 41. 51; Antigonus Carystius, *Histor. Mirab.* 158 (174); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 706; Schol. on Oppian, *Halieut.* i. 401; Eustathius, on Homer, p. 718. 31 *sq.*); according to others, it was the horn of a Scythian ass (Philo of Heraclea, cited by Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 41. 52; Aelian, *Nat. anim.* x. 40), which last, as Leake drily observes, must have been exceedingly difficult to obtain. According to Theophrastus (cited by Antigonus Carystius, *l.c.*) persons who wished to procure the water did so by dipping sponges, fastened on sticks, into it. There was a curious legend that Hyllus, son of Hercules, had a little horn growing out of the left side of his head, and that he was slain in single combat by Epopeus of Sicyon, who took the horn, carried the water of the Styx in it, and became king of the land (Ptolemaeus, *Nov. hist.* iii.)

18. 5. **morrhia.** This was the substance which the Romans called *murrha*, of which the famous *murrhine* vases were made. It seems to have been some sort of mineral; onyx, opal, agate, fluor-spar, and jade have been suggested, but the question is not decided. See Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*,[2] p. 765 *sqq.*; Blumner, *Technologie*, 3. p. 276 *sq.*; Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*,[3] *s.v.* 'Murrhina.'

18. 5. **the word of the Lesbian poetess.** The passage of Sappho referred to by Pausanias is lost. A scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 407) also refers to it, but the lines quoted by him seem to be Pindar's. See Böckh's note on the passage.

18. 6. **the diamond —— is melted away by the blood of a billy-**

goat. This curious statement is repeated by Marcellus (*De medicamentis*, xxvi. 95). As the blood of a he-goat was supposed to possess this power of dissolving the hardest of all stones, a draught of it, properly administered, was believed to be a cure for stone, thus. Take a billy-goat, wild, and one year old. Shut him up in a dry place for three days in the month of August, feed him on bay-leaves only, and give him nothing at all to drink. On the third day kill him, the day being either a Sunday or a Thursday; let the slaughterer be chaste and pure, and the patient also. Let the blood be caught by beardless boys and burned in an earthenware pot, which must be covered up and smeared with gypsum when it is put in the oven. When you have taken it out, grind it to powder. Then take three parts of the billy-goat's blood, one of white pepper, one of the ashes of a burnt polypus, one of thyme, one of penny-royal, one of parsley-seed, etc. Pound all these up separately, reduce them to fine powder, and give a spoonful of the mixture to the patient on a Sunday or a Thursday in a drink of wine or any other sweet beverage. Do this, and he will very soon have no more stone. See Marcellus, *op. cit.* xxvi. 94 *sq.* This is a fair average specimen of the remedies prescribed by the sapient Marcellus.

18. 6. **Whether Alexander, son of Philip, really died of this poison** etc. The absurd report ran that the water of the Styx had been sent in a horse's or mule's or ass's hoof to Alexander by Antipater, at the instigation of Aristotle. See Justin, xii. 14; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 77; Arrian, *Anab.*, vii. 27. 1; Q. Curtius, x. 10. 31; Vitruvius, viii. 3. 16; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxx. 149.

18. 7. **the Aroanian mountains.** Now called Mt. *Chelmos*, one of the highest and most imposing mountains in Peloponnese (see note on viii. 17. 1). Its western slopes are covered with pine-woods. On the north, as we have seen, the mountain falls away in enormous precipices to the glen of the Styx. The ascent of the summit may be accomplished either from *Solos* (see above, p. 249 *sq.*) or *Kalavryta* (see below, p. 257). From *Solos* we proceed up the glen of the Styx a short way, cross the stream to its left bank by the single-arched bridge which has been already mentioned (p. 250), and ascend the long and very steep slope of the mountain, past the scattered village of *Goumariánika*, to the high bare stony plateau of *Xerokampos*, from which the upper slopes of Mt. *Chelmos* rise abruptly and grandly on the south. Here on the tableland, if we have left *Solos* in the afternoon, we can find night quarters in the huts of the shepherds who camp out with their flocks during the summer on these elevated pastures. Starting the next morning at break of day we can reach the summit in about two hours, early enough to see the sun rise. The horses must be left behind with the shepherds, for the rest of the ascent has to be accomplished on foot. We follow a long gully, where the snow hardly disappears even in summer. Then by toilsome goat-paths we cross a low height and a ridge from which we obtain a glimpse down into the awful depths of the ravine of the Styx. Thus we reach the long crest, shaped like a horse-shoe, of Mt. *Chelmos*, above which the four peaks rise but little. The highest peak (7726 feet) is at the middle of the horse-shoe. The view

from it embraces nearly the whole mountain-system of Greece, from Parnassus, Helicon, Cithaeron, and the mountains of Attica, on the north, away to the distant Taygetus in Laconia on the south. The time from *Solos* to the summit is about four hours.

The ascent from *Kalavryta* is longer, as *Kalavryta* is considerably farther than *Solos* from the base of the mountain. From the valley of *Kalavryta* the way goes southward through pine-woods over Mt. *Velia* (a north-western spur of Mt. *Chelmos*) to the plain of *Soudena*, on the eastern side of which rises Mt. *Chelmos* in a long unbroken slope, clothed with pine-forests. From the village of *Soudena*, which stands at the foot of the mountains in the north-east corner of the plain, the path ascends, first between bare slopes broken by watercourses, and then more steeply through the pine-forest, to the plateau of *Xerokampos*, where the route joins the one from *Solos*. The time from *Kalavryta* to the summit is about eight hours.

See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 129-132, 141-144; Baedeker,[3] pp. 305-307; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 386. I crossed Mt. *Chelmos* from *Solos* to *Soudena* (see below, p. 258), but did not ascend to the summit.

A third ascent of Mount *Chelmos*, not to be attempted except by persons of active limbs and steady heads, is from the foot of the waterfall of the Styx. Here a narrow ridge of rock known as the *plaka* ('board') slants upward, like a buttress, from the foot of the fall to the top of the great cliff. The surface of the ridge is covered with treacherous loose stones, and over its shelving edges you look down into the dizzy depths below. Crawling up it on hands and feet the adventurous traveller can climb out of the glen of the Styx to the great trough, generally filled with snow, from which the waterfall takes its leap. From this point there is no further difficulty. The way goes over easy slopes of loose stones and rocky declivities to the summit. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 134.

18. 7. a cave. When the path from *Solos* to *Soudena* (see below) has climbed the long steep slope of Mt. *Chelmos* above the village of *Gounarianika*, it passes on the left two caves, one of which may well be the cave, described by Pausanias, where the frenzied daughters of Proetus were said to have sought refuge. The caves are quite near each other, on the brow of the mountain, overlooking the profound glen of the Styx, at the edge of the high stony plateau called *Xerokampos*. The upper of the two caves, which is just on the edge of the plateau while the other is a little lower down, is marked out by some fantastic rock-formations above its mouth. The lower cave stands at the head of a tremendous slope; bushes grow in front of it. A little lower down there is a remarkable natural door in the rock, of gigantic size, formed perhaps by the action of water eating away the middle of the rock; at the side of the great door is a smaller opening like a window. The situation of the caves (which I have described from personal observation) tallies well with the itinerary of Pausanias; for he says that the cave of the daughters of Proetus was on Mount Aroanius (*Chelmos*), and he mentions it between Nonacris and Lusi. Now the two caves I have

described are on Mt. Aroanius, beside the path which leads from *Solos* to *Soudena*, which may be taken to represent approximately the sites of Nonacris and Lusi. Possibly, however, the cave mentioned by Pausanias is to be identified with a deep cavern on the western side of Mt. *Chelmos* in which the inhabitants of *Soudena* took refuge during the War of Independence (Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 155; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 197 *sq.*)

18. 7. **Lusi.** This is supposed to have occupied the site of *Soudena*, a large village which stands at the western foot of Mt. *Chelmos* (Aroanius), on the eastern edge of a high but well-cultivated plain. It is divided from *Solos* by the great outlying mass of Mt. *Chelmos*, the summit of which consists of a bare tableland known as *Xerokampos* ('dry plain'). The route from *Solos* to *Soudena*, as far as this high plateau, has been already briefly described (p. 256). From the bridge by which we cross the Styx there is a fine view up the glen to the great conical summit of Mt. *Chelmos*; and the poplar-trees and clear rushing water in the bed of the stream add to the beauty of the scene. The ascent from the bridge to the plateau is long and tiring. It leads at first through picturesque villages dispersed among trees on the steep slope. At the head of the long ascent we pass near the two caves which have been already described and find ourselves on the tableland —a bare stony uneven expanse, partly covered with the low green shrubs and dry brown prickly plants so common in Greece. Skirting the upper slopes of Mt. *Chelmos*, which tower grandly on the south, we cross the plateau to its western edge, from which a romantic rocky path leads down through the pine-forest that clothes all this side of the mountain. As we descend through the woods, beautiful views are to be had, if the day is clear, of range beyond range of mountains, dappled with sunshine and purple shadows, in the west. In time the plain of *Soudena*, traversed by the broad stony bed of the Aroanius (*Katsana* river), and bounded on three sides by bare rounded hills, opens out below us. The last part of the descent is between low treeless slopes broken by watercourses. The village of *Soudena*, supposed to represent the ancient Lusi, stands on the lowest slopes of the hills which bound the plain on the north-east. It is about two hours' ride south of *Kalavryta*, from which it is divided by Mt. *Velia*, a steep ridge wooded with firs on its northern slope, which projects from Mt. *Chelmos* on the north-west. The village of *Soudena* is in two divisions, a northern and a southern. Trees grow among the houses of the northern division; and at the foot of the hill, in front of the village, there are verdant patches of gardens. Here, too, stands the village church under the shadow of some fine holly-oaks. The time from *Solos* to *Soudena* is about four hours.

I rode from *Solos* to *Soudena*, 3rd October 1895, and have described the route as I saw it. As to *Soudena* and the route to it from *Kalavryta*, see Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 208-210; *id.*, 3. pp. 168 *sq.*, 180; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 446 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 155 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 299; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 197, 375; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 480; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 265 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 307; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 368; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 129. As to *Xerokampos* compare Philippson, *op. cit.* p. 133.

An inscription, found at Olympia in 1877 and dating apparently from the end of the third century B.C., proves that athletic games were held at Lusi (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 184).

18. 8. **Agesilas, a man of Lusi, was proclaimed victor** etc. According to Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 12), Eurybatus, who won the first wrestling-match at Olympia in Ol. 28 (668 B.C.), was a native of Lusi, though others held that he was a Spartan. Cp. v. 8. 7 note.

18. 8. **Melampus drew down the daughters of Proetus** etc. See ii. 18. 4 note. According to another story the daughters of Proetus were healed of their madness at Sicyon. See ii. 7. 8; cp. Apollodorus, ii. 2. 2. According to others, they were healed by Melampus at the river Anigrus in Elis. See v. 5. 10; Strabo, viii. p. 346. Hesychius says (*s.v.* Ἀκουχεῖ) that Melampus founded a sanctuary of Artemis on a mountain called Acrum in Argolis after he had healed the daughters of Proetus; but Hesychius does not expressly say that the cure was supposed to have been effected there. Again, different accounts are given of the way in which Melampus healed the women. According to Dioscorides (περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς, iv. 149), he gave them black hellebore, which was hence called Melampodium. Pliny says (*Nat. hist.* xxv. 47) that he gave them the milk of goats which had browsed on the kind of hellebore called Melampodium. According to Ovid (*Met.* xv. 326 *sq.*) Melampus made use of herbs and an incantation. The comic poet Diphilus represented Melampus purifying Proetus, his daughters, and an old woman, with one torch, one squill, brimstone, and bitumen (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 4, p. 844, ed. Potter). According to Servius (on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 48) Melampus put something in the spring out of which the daughters of Proetus were wont to drink. Vitruvius says (viii. 3. 21) that he sacrificed beside a spring. The purification of the daughters of Proetus by Melampus is illustrated by two works of ancient art which have come down to us. (1) On a fine Greek cameo the seer is represented holding in one hand a pig over one of the women, while in the other hand he grasps a branch (of laurel?). See note on ii. 31. 8. The pig seems to have been especially used in the ceremony of purifying from madness. See Plautus, *Menaechm.* ii. 2. 15-19. (2) On a vase in the Naples Museum, painted with yellow figures on a black ground, the three daughters of Proetus are depicted sitting round an archaic image of a goddess, who is probably Artemis Hemerasia. The goddess is clad in a long, tight-fitting robe, and holds a spear in her left hand and a torch in her right. Her image appears to be standing on the same altar or flat pedestal on which the women are seated. To the left of the spectator stands Melampus, a sceptre in his left hand. Behind him, on the extreme left, is seated Silenus. On the extreme right of the picture stands Dionysus, a goblet in his right hand, a branch in his left. See Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. ii., No. 11; *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), p. 126 *sq.*

At Lusi there was a spring into which Melampus was said to have thrown the things which he had used in purifying the daughters of Proetus (τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα); it was fabled that, in consequence of this, whoever drank of the spring lost his taste for wine and could not even

bear the smell of it. See Vitruvius, viii. 3. 21 ; Ovid, *Met.* xv. 322-328 ; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀζανία ; Athenaeus, ii. p. 43 f ; Sotion. 12 (*Script. rer. mirab. Graec.*, ed. Westermann, p. 184) ; *Etymol. Magnum*, *s.v.* Κλιτόριον, p. 519. 50 *sqq.* ; Isidorus, *Origines*, xiii. 13. 2 (where for *Italiae* we should perhaps read *Arcadiae*). One of the causes assigned for the madness of the daughters of Proetus was the wrath of Dionysus, whose rites they had refused to accept (Hesiod, cited by Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1 ; Diodorus, iv. 68). This would explain why those who drank of the spring in question were thought to lose their taste for wine ; the aversion of the daughters of Proetus for Dionysus had been communicated, by means of the ἀποκαθάρματα, to the water. On the whole story, see J. De Witte, 'Mélampos et les Proetides,' *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), pp. 121-131.

The spring at Lusi to which ancient writers refer may perhaps be the small *Pouliou-vrysis* ('Bird's spring'), which rises on the western side of Mt. *Chelmos* above *Soudena.* Its water flows into the plain below the village and joins the Aroanius. The spring, though small, furnishes water for the cattle that pasture on the mountain in summer, and the inhabitants of *Solos* and its neighbour villages imagine that if a person, ill of a dangerous malady, drinks of the spring, he speedily recovers or dies. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 169 ; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 130 ; Baedeker,[3] p. 307 ; and below, note on 'a sanctuary of Artemis.'

18. 8. a sanctuary of Artemis. The sanctuary of Artemis at Lusi is mentioned by Polybius ; he says it was between Cynaetha and Clitor and was esteemed inviolate by the Greeks. Sacred animals of the goddess lived within the precinct. A roving band of Aetolians threatened to pillage the sanctuary, but the inhabitants of Lusi succeeded in buying them off. See Polybius, iv. 18, cp. 25 ; *id.*, ix. 34 ; Callimachus, *Hymn to Diana*, 235 *sq.* Towards the end of the plain of *Soudena*, north of the village of that name, Dodwell saw "some traces of antiquity, apparently the cella of a temple." He thought that this might be the site of the temple of Artemis Hemeresia (*Tour.* 2. p. 447). In the plain to the west of *Soudena* there are three copious springs, the sources of the stream (the Aroanius) which runs through the gorge of *Karnesi* into the valley of Clitor. At the middle spring of the three Leake observed some ancient foundations, which he thought might be those of the temple of Artemis Hemerasia. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 109, 110 ; *id.*, 3. p. 181. Cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 375. One of these springs may have been the one into which Melampus was said to have thrown the things with which he had purified the daughters of Proetus. See the preceding note.

19. 1. Cynaethaeans. The city of Cynaetha seems to have stood on or near the site of the modern *Kalavryta*, the most important town of north-western Arcadia. The elevated valley of *Kalavryta* runs east and west. It is open and treeless, and the hills which enclose it on the north and south are low and tame. But the scenery is redeemed by the lofty mountains of Erymanthus on the west and (*Chelmos* (Aroanius) on the south-east. The town of *Kalavryta* is situated at the eastern end of the valley, where a glen runs up from it to the north-western ridge of

Chelmos, known as Mt. *Velia*. It takes its name of *Kalavryta* ('fair springs') from the rills of clear water which traverse its streets and which, with the abundance of trees, give the little town a pleasant aspect. The main street, indeed, resembling a bazaar, is built along the bed of a watercourse which, though generally dry, is sometimes filled with a raging torrent that occasionally floods the bazaar. The great peak of Mt. *Chelmos*, rising conspicuously above the town beyond the nearer ridge of Mt. *Velia*, forms a picturesque and striking background. Great patches of snow are visible low down its slopes as late as the middle of May, when the air in the streets of *Kalavryta* is close and hot. A branch railway, carried through the romantic wooded gorge of *Diakopton* (see above, p. 174), now connects *Kalavryta* with the main line from Athens to *Patras*. To the east of the town rises a high rocky hill crowned with the ruins of a mediaeval castle called *Tremola*; the walls of the castle follow the edge of the precipice which defends the tabular summit of the hill. Some tombs at a place called *Salmena*, forty minutes to the north-east of *Kalavryta*, are supposed to mark the site of the acropolis of Cynaetha.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 447 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 109-113; *id.*, 3. p. 179 *sq.*; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 5. p. 341 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 157 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 382 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 175; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 481; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 266 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 306 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 365; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 128 *sq.*

Polybius describes the Cynaethaeans as a savage and lawless people, whose internal history was stained with many deeds of blood; they were rent into factions, which were perpetually plundering, massacring, and banishing each other. The historian attributes their ferocity to the neglect of a musical education which in the rest of Arcadia was compulsory, and was designed to soften the harsh, stern temper engendered by the bleak, mountainous character of Arcadia. The district of Cynaetha, according to Polybius, was the ruggedest, and its climate the bleakest, in all Arcadia. The valley of *Kalavryta* (Cynaetha) certainly stands high (about 2300 feet above the sea), but it is not so high as the neighbouring valley of *Soudena* (Lusi) to the south of it. On one occasion, after perpetrating a peculiarly atrocious massacre, the Cynaethaeans sent envoys to Sparta. The various Arcadian states through whose territories the envoys went testified their abhorrence of the deed and of the people by ordering the envoys out of the country; and the Mantineans, after the envoys had departed, purified themselves and their belongings by sacrificing victims and carrying them round the city and the whole of their land. See Polybius, iv. 17-21. Similarly the Athenians expressed their horror of the massacre at Argos known as the *skutalismos* or 'clubbing' by causing purificatory offerings to be carried round the public assembly (Plutarch, *Praecept. ger. reipub.* xvii. 9).

19. 1. **dedicated at Olympia the image of Zeus** etc. See v. 22. 1. Cp. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 400.

19. 2. **a spring of cold water** etc. This is supposed to be the large spring of *Kalavrytine*, which rises at the foot of an ivy-clad rock

near the town of *Kalavryta*. In front of the spring lie a number of blocks of marble; they may have formerly enclosed it. See Baedeker,[5] p. 306 *sq.* Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 109 *sq.*

19. 4. **Of the roads from Pheneus leading westward** etc. Of the two roads leading westward from Pheneus, Pausanias having described the right hand or more northerly of the two (see 17. 6 *sqq.*) now proceeds to describe the one which led to the left (south-west) to Clitor. In his day the valley of Pheneus was a plain, not a lake: hence starting from Pheneus he followed the artificial canal (see note on 14. 3) across the plain till he came to Lycuria. At present the path skirts the lake on the left, then rises steeply through pine-woods to the broad summit of the ridge which bounds the lake on the south-west. It then drops down steeply to the small, straggling village of *Lykouria* in a cultivated valley, enclosed by lofty hills. The time from Pheneus is two hours and a half. The modern village of *Lykouria* can hardly occupy the site of the ancient place of that name. For Pausanias's description of the route to it implies that it was situated in the plain of Pheneus, lower down than the city of Pheneus, and that it was on or near the canal. Moreover, he says (20. 1) that Lycuria was 50 Greek furlongs (5½ miles) from the springs of the Ladon; whereas the modern *Lykouria* is only 2½ miles (less than 20 furlongs) from the springs. Probably when the plain of Pheneus became a lake, the inhabitants shifted their quarters over the ridge to the present site.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 441; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 152 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 143; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 225 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 156; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 198; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 146; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 202; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 127.

20. 1. **the springs of the Ladon.** The Ladon of Arcadia, the greatest of the tributaries of the Alpheus, rises in the middle of a valley on the western side of Mount *Saita* (the ancient Oryxis), about 2½ miles to the south-west of *Lykouria*. The valley at this point, after extending in a southerly or south-westerly direction from *Lykouria*, bends round to the west. It is of some breadth, and its bottom is furrowed on both sides by the dry beds of two watercourses. Between the two watercourses there rises in the midst of the valley a low hill of reddish rock, which ends on the south in a precipitous face some 150 feet high. At the foot of this red precipitous rock lies a large still pool of opaque dark blue water, fringed by sharp-pointed grasses and other water plants, while a few stunted willows, holly-oaks, and plane-trees grow among the rocks beside it. This pool is the source of the Ladon, which rushes from the pool in a brawling impetuous stream of dark blue water, its margin fringed with willows. The water enters the pool, not from the rocks above, but from a deep chasm in the earth which is only visible when, as sometimes happens, the source dries up. A peasant who was beside the pool when I visited it in 1895 told my dragoman that three years before, after a violent earthquake, the water ceased to flow for three hours, and the chasm in the bottom of the pool was exposed, and fish were seen lying on the dry ground. After three hours

the spring began to flow a little, and three days later there was a loud explosion and the water burst forth in immense volume. Mr. Philippson was informed on the spot of a like event which had taken place in 1880. We have seen (p. 232) that similar sudden eruptions of water at the source of the Ladon have been reported earlier in the present century and in antiquity. The stoppage of the water and its abrupt reappearance are doubtless due to the alternate obstruction and clearance of the subterranean passages (*katavothras*) by which the Lake of Pheneus is drained. For the ancients were right in supposing that the water which rises at the source of the Ladon comes directly underground from the Lake of Pheneus. It has the same deep greenish-blue tinge as the water of the lake, and is flat and tepid to the taste like standing water, not cold and fresh like the water of a mountain spring. The source is distant only about 5 miles from the lake, from which it is divided by the high range of Mt. *Saita* (Oryxis). The hills on the opposite or western side of the valley are much lower; their slopes of reddish rock are partly covered with low green bushes. Numbers of peasant women may be seen washing clothes beside the pool in the usual Greek fashion; after soaking the clothes in water they beat them with a sort of broad paddle in a wooden trough.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 442 (who gives a view, not very accurate, of the source); Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 266; *id.*, 3. p. 151; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 129; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 156; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 198, 374; Beulé, *Etudes sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 145; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 366; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 127. I visited the source of the Ladon, 4th October 1895, and have described it mainly from my own observation.

20. 2. **the story of Daphne told by the Syrians —— beside the Orontes.** Pausanias refers to the famous sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne on the Orontes, dedicated by the Macedonian kings of Syria. Gibbon has described the luxurious and stately temple "deeply embosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of 10 miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water issuing from every hill preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love" (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xxiii. vol. 4. p. 118 *sqq.*, ed. 1811). To the authorities cited by Gibbon add Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 16.

20. 2. **the story as told by the Arcadians** etc. The story of Daphne and Leucippus which follows is told in almost exactly the same way by Parthenius (*Narrat. Amat.* 15) on the authority of Phylarchus and Diodorus, an elegiac poet of Elaea.

20. 3. **He was keeping his hair long for the river Alpheus.** See viii. 41. 3 note.

21. 1. **The road from the springs of the Ladon is a narrow defile beside the river Aroanius.** Pausanias is now pursuing his way from the source of the Ladon to the city of Clitor. Following him, we proceed down the valley of the Ladon from its source. The valley,

which is here fairly open and possesses no very striking features, trends first south-west and then westward. The blue river runs fast between groves of willows; the flat expanse of the valley is covered with maize-fields divided by low hedges; on its northern side rises a rocky mountain, with several caves high up in its face. In about half an hour from the source of the river we come to the point where another valley opens up on the north. It is narrow and wooded and is hemmed in by high mountains on either side. Down it flows the Aroanius (the modern *Katsana* river) to join the Ladon. We turn up this beautiful valley, cross the Aroanius by a wooden bridge to its right bank, and proceed northward along the foot of the hills that bound the valley on the west. Soon the valley contracts to a defile through the protrusion of the hills on either side; maize is grown in the bottom. Farther north the defile suddenly ends, the valley expands to a width of perhaps half a mile, and is beautifully wooded in places with groves of cypresses, poplars, and mulberry trees. Still farther north the valley expands still further; its level surface is divided into fields by low hedges or rows of shrubs; amongst the crops grown here is Indian or, as the Greeks call it, Arabian corn. We cross by a bridge the Clitor river flowing south-east to join the Aroanius, and a mile or so farther on enter the large village of *Mazeika* or *Klitoria*, the representative of the ancient Clitor. The village or rather small town is a new one, having been built about sixty years ago, but it seems prosperous, and the houses have more pretensions to architectural style than is usual in Greek villages. The climate, however, is very unhealthy, owing to the marshy nature of the surrounding plain, and in the height of summer the town is deserted by its inhabitants, who flee to the mountain villages to escape the fever. The town stands at the south-eastern corner of the plain of Clitor, which here opens out on the valley of the Aroanius from the west. In this plain, about a couple of miles to the west of *Mazeika*, are the scattered ruins of the ancient Clitor (see below, p. 266 *sqq.*) The path to them leads through a fine grove of walnut trees and then through vineyards. The time from the springs of the Ladon to the ruins of Clitor is about two hours and three quarters. The actual distance, according to the French surveyors, is 11 kilometres (7 miles 1 furlong), which agrees very fairly with the 60 furlongs ($6\frac{2}{3}$ miles) at which Pausanias estimated it.

I traversed the route described, in the reverse direction, 3rd and 4th October 1895, and have described it from personal observation. See also Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 442 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 130; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 261-267; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 156; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. pp. 296-298; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 374-378; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 479 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 263; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 367 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 127 *sq.*

A few words of description may be given to the upper course of the Aroanius (the *Katsana* river) from its source near *Soudena* (the ancient Lusi) to its junction with the Clitor at *Mazeika*. After traversing the upland plain of *Soudena* in a broad stony bed, which in autumn is dry, the river enters a defile at the south-eastern corner of the plain.

Through this defile, formed on the east by the slopes of Mt. *Chelmos* and on the west by the hills that close the plain of *Soudena* on the south, the Aroanius and the road to Clitor run side by side. At first the space between the hills is broad and level, dotted here and there with trees. Soon, however, the valley contracts and begins to descend, affording a beautiful prospect of range behind range of mountains in the south, shading away according to the distance from dark purple to pale blue. The path runs at first on the left (east) bank of the river-bed, which had no water in it when I saw it (3rd October 1895). But after being joined by a tributary, which comes down from Mount *Chelmos* in a deeply-excavated bed between slopes of red earth, the river attained the dimensions of a good-sized Scotch burn. Gradually as the mountains close in on either side the valley becomes a glen, through which the stream flows among plane-trees in a prettily-wooded bed. Here the path crosses to the right or west bank, which it follows henceforward. Farther on, the glen contracts into a deep rocky gorge between steep mountains, but only to expand again and allow the river to flow, with a pleasing murmur, in its wooded bed through a stretch of cultivated ground. Thus gradually the valley opens out into the plain of Clitor. Vineyards and maize-fields occupy its lower reaches. It was the time of the vintage when I traversed this beautiful valley. Bunches of ripe grapes lay as offerings before the holy pictures in the little wayside shrines; we met strings of donkeys laden with swelling wine-skins or with paniers of grapes; and in the vineyards as we passed the peasants were at work pressing the purple clusters, with which they insisted on loading, for nothing, the aprons of our muleteers.

21. 2. **Amongst the fish in the Aroanius are the so-called spotted fish** etc. These fish were no doubt trout, for trout are still found both in the Aroanius and the Ladon, and are much esteemed as food. They are caught in nets or shot with dynamite bullets. The absurd fable that the trout sing, which the cautious Pausanias records without confirming, is repeated by other ancient writers and is believed by the people of the neighbourhood to this day, as I ascertained on my visit to *Klitoria* (*Mazeika*) in 1895. Philostephanus of Cyrene, in a book on wonderful rivers, mentioned that in the river Aroanius the fish called spotted sang like thrushes (Athenaeus, viii. p. 331 d e). This writer, however, confused the Aroanius which flows into the Ladon with the Aroanius which flows into the Lake of Pheneus (see viii. 14. 3), and thought that the singing fish were in the latter. But that the fable was told of the other Aroanius (the modern *Katsana* river) in the territory of Clitor is proved by the testimony of Pausanias, which is confirmed (1) by the statement of Mnaseas of Patrae (quoted by Athenaeus, viii. p. 331 d), that there were singing fish in the Clitor (a tributary of the Aroanius); and (2) by the statement of Clearchus (in Athenaeus, viii. p. 332 f) that near Clitor in Arcadia the fish in the river Ladon (of which the Aroanius is a tributary) sang loudly. The vocal fish in the district of Clitor are also mentioned by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* viii. 70). To come down to modern times, I was told at *Klitoria* (*Mazeika*) in 1895 that the trout sing at any time, but especially when

caught in the nets; their song was said to be like the chirping of small birds. An educated Greek gentleman, in whose house I lodged, maintained in all seriousness that when many of the fish are together they emit a low musical note ('*un petit bruit harmonieux*') which, according to him, gave rise to the popular belief in their vocal powers. I did not see (much less hear) any of the trout myself, but Dodwell saw a fisherman who had just pulled out of the water "some trout of a fine bright colour and beautifully variegated," and who informed the English traveller "that the river abounds most in this species of fish, that it is seldom taken of more than a pound and a half in weight, and that it forms a considerable object of traffic with the neighbouring villages; particularly in fast time, for which period they are salted and smoked" (*Tour*, 2. p. 445 *sq.*)

21. 3. The city of Clitor etc. The ancient Clitor stood in a plain which extends east and west for about 5 miles with an average breadth of 1 mile. On the east the plain opens into the valley of the Aroanius (*Katsana* river) which flows southward to join the Ladon. On all sides the prospect is bounded by hills of varying form and height. The hills on the south are pointed but of no great height: they form rather a succession of isolated hills than a single coherent chain. Higher mountains bound the plain on the east, beyond the Aroanius: while on the north rises a range of bare hills partly covered with shrubs. The hills on the western side of the plain are low, but above them appear the loftier Arcadian mountains in the west. Along the southern side of the plain a small stream, the Clitor, flows eastward at the foot of the hills to join the Aroanius. About 2 miles to the west of the large village of *Mazeika* or *Klitoria* this stream is joined from the north by another, the river of *Karnesi*. Immediately to the west of the *Karnesi* river, in the angle between it and the Clitor river, are the ruins of the ancient city of Clitor. They consist chiefly of remains of the city walls and towers scattered at intervals over the plain. The acropolis was formed by a low ridge, some 80 feet or so high, which runs east and west for a few hundred yards near the southern side of the plain. In the middle the ridge dips a little, so that its highest points are its eastern and western ends. The little river Clitor skirts the ridge on the south, flowing eastward to join the Aroanius. At both the ends of the acropolis there exist remains of the fortification-wall with large semicircular towers or bastions projecting from it. The wall faced south, for the bastions project from it on that side. At the eastern end of the acropolis ridge two of these bastions may be seen, united by two long parallel rows of ancient blocks, which are, no doubt, remains of the outer and inner facings of the curtain or intermediate wall. The bastions measure about 8 paces across. At the eastern end of the ridge, moreover, a single course of an ancient wall may be observed running down the slope in a northerly direction. At the west end of the ridge remains of three similar semicircular towers or bastions exist; two of them on the southern face of the ridge are apparently united by vestiges of the curtain. Of these two bastions the western is the best preserved of all. Three courses of blocks are standing to a height of

about 4 feet. The masonry, like that of all the bastions, is roughly quadrangular. The blocks are large and solid; the largest measures about 3 feet in length; they are not smoothed on the outside, but left more or less rounded or bulging. In none of the bastions is more than the outer semicircular wall (one block thick) preserved.

Remains of similar bastions and walls are also to be seen in the plain to the west and north of the ridge. Evidently the city extended from the acropolis in these two directions. I counted seven bastions in the plain, preserved more or less to a height of one or two courses. The most westerly bastion seemed to me about 300 yards, and the most northerly about half a mile, distant from the acropolis ridge. The interval between two of the bastions I found to be 36 paces. To the north-west of the acropolis, near one of the bastions, I observed also a piece of a massive fortification-wall 16 paces long and standing to a height of two courses. The wall faces south. Its masonry resembles that of the bastions; it is quadrangular and the blocks are not smoothed on the outside; one of them is 4 or 5 feet long. Some hundreds of yards to the north of this wall is a piece, perhaps 100 yards long, of the fortification-wall extending in a north-easterly direction. Both faces of the wall are partially preserved; the distance between them is 4 paces, which gives roughly the thickness of the wall. The outer of the two faces ends at a semicircular bastion—the farthest north of all the bastions I observed. When Le Bas visited Clitor in 1843, the fortifications seem to have been much better preserved than at present; for on his plan of the city the line of wall, strengthened by semicircular towers or bastions, extends almost unbroken on the west and north sides of the city; on the eastern side it had apparently already disappeared. The distance of the north wall from the acropolis ridge, estimated by Le Bas's plan, was about 900 metres or 1000 yards.

Besides these remains of the fortified enclosure I was shown some small drums of fluted and unfluted columns built into walls a little to the south-east of the most northerly bastion; and a little to the west of the *Karnesi* a sculptured slab lying face downward on the ground, and close to it a fragmentary sculpture of white marble (?) representing the head and raised arm of a woman; a number of squared blocks scattered in various parts of the site; and, finally, two drums of columns and some large blocks a little to the east of the *Karnesi* river.

A conspicuous conical hill rises from the plain a little to the north-west of the ruins. I was informed that the scanty remains of a temple are to be seen on its summit; but the fall of night prevented me from visiting them.

At the beginning of the present century Leake saw at Clitor some remains of a small theatre facing westward near the west end of the acropolis ridge; many fragments of the seats were scattered on the slope, they had the small ledge in front which is characteristic of the seats of ancient theatres. The thickness of the wall on the crest of the ridge, between the bastions, was found by Leake to be $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet. At a ruined church under a large oak towards the *Karnesi* river he further observed some pieces of Doric columns

with flutes 2½ inches wide. Another ruined church, between the east end of the acropolis ridge and the junction of the *Karnesi* river with the Clitor, on the left bank of the latter stream, was thought by Leake to have been an ancient temple. Lastly, in a third ruined church at the foot of the conical hill already mentioned, Leake saw pieces of Doric columns with flutes 2½ inches wide, resembling the fragments of columns which he observed in the church towards the *Karnesi* river. It is possible that these three churches may have succeeded to the sites of the three temples of Demeter, Aesculapius, and Ilithyia which Pausanias mentions. Outside of the city to the west Bursian seems to have observed the foundations of a large building with pieces of columns: he thought that these remains might mark the site of the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, which, according to Pausanias, was 4 furlongs from the city.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 443; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 257-261; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 156 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 296 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 376 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 479; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 263 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 367; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 128. A plan of the site is given by Le Bas (*Voyage archéologique*, Itinéraire, pl. 34). I visited Clitor, 3rd October 1895, and have described its remains chiefly from my own observation.

21. 4. **On the top of a mountain —— stands a temple of Athena Coria.** As Pausanias does not mention the direction in which this mountain lay from Clitor, we have no clue to determine the situation of the temple, except the very vague one of its distance. Topographers have conjecturally placed it to the north or the south or the west of the city. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 260 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 377; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 264; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 367. Athena Coria was said to be a daughter of Zeus by Coryphe, a daughter of Ocean, and the invention of four-horse chariots was ascribed to her (Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 23. 59).

22. 1. **Stymphalus.** The valley of Stymphalus lies immediately to the east of the valley and lake of Pheneus, from which it is divided only by the ridge of Mount Geronteum. The route from the one valley to the other has been already described (viii. 16. 1 *sqq.*, with the note), as well as the route from Orchomenus to Stymphalus (viii. 13. 4 *sq.*, with the notes). The general features of the valleys of Stymphalus and Pheneus resemble each other. Both are shut in so closely on all sides by mountains and hills that the water which accumulates in them has no outlet except by underground chasms, and forms in the bottom of each valley a lake which shrinks in summer. But the valley of Stymphalus is smaller and narrower than the valley of Pheneus, and its lake is quite different. Instead of a deep sea-like expanse of blue water, we have here a small lake of the most limpid clearness, the shallowness of which is proved to the eye by the patches of reeds and other water-plants that emerge from the surface of the water even in the middle of the lake. The palm of beauty is generally, I believe, awarded to the lake of Pheneus; but the charms of Stymphalus are of a rarer and subtler sort. Blue lakes encircled by steep pine-clad mountains may be found in many

lands ; but where shall we look for the harmonious blending of grand mountains and sombre pine-forests with a still, pellucid, shallow, but not marshy lake, tufted with graceful water-plants, such as meets us in Stymphalus?

The lake of Stymphalus may be a mile and a half long by half a mile wide. On the north it bathes the foot of a ridge or chain of low heights, covered with rugged grey rocks and overgrown with prickly shrubs, which reaches its highest point (perhaps 400 feet above the lake) on the west and descends gradually in terraces to the east, where its last rocks are elevated above the plain and lake by only a few feet. On the crest of this rocky ridge, towards its eastern end, are some remains of the citadel of Stymphalus. At the back of the ridge a stretch of level ground, perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, divides it from the steep slopes of the majestic Cyllene, which rises like a wall on the northern side of the valley. The sides of this great mountain are mostly bare and of a reddish-grey hue; but the grey shoulder of its sister peak on the east, joined to it by a high ridge, is mottled with black pines. The mountains on the southern side of the lake are also steep and high ; low bushes mantle their lower and dark pine-forests their upper slopes. Conspicuous on the south-west is the deep glen (the Wolf's Ravine), between immense pine-covered slopes, through which the road goes to Orchomenus. On the west an expanse of level plain about 3 miles long, mostly covered with maize-fields and vineyards, intervenes between the lake and the high mountains which divide the valley from the lake of Pheneus ; the sides of these mountains are grey with rocks or black with pine-woods. On the eastern side of the lake another plain, swampy and traversed by canals and ditches, stretches to the foot of the lower hills which bound the valley of Stymphalus on the east. The road to Sicyon and Corinth goes that way. The whole length of the valley from east to west is about 8 miles, and its breadth from north to south about a mile.

The chief source of the lake of Stymphalus is at *Kionia*, a mean little Albanian hamlet, which stands among trees and flowing water at the southern foot of Mount Cyllene, a mile or so distant from the lake. Here a copious spring of clear water rises, and forms a considerable stream which flows rapidly south-west to join the lake. Another spring of pellucid water rises at the foot of the rocky ridge which bounds the lake on the north. The lake is drained near its south-eastern end by an artificial tunnel dug through the mountain-side. At this point there is a dip or gully in the range of mountains which bounds the valley of Stymphalus on the south. Through the gully the path goes to Phlius ; and at the foot of the hill, immediately below the gully, is the tunnel. A deep cutting in the soil leads to its mouth, which is enclosed by a culvert. Two or more canals, with banked-up sides, conduct the water of the lake to the tunnel. This drainage work was executed by a company which undertook in 1881 to drain the lakes of Stymphalus and Pheneus, but which has up to the present time (1896) only partially effected its purpose. The tunnel perhaps follows the line of the aqueduct of Hadrian (see § 3 note). The natural

outlet of the lake is through a chasm at the foot of the mountains some 2 or 3 miles to the west of the tunnel (see below, note on § 3).

The area of the lake has varied greatly at different times. I have described it as I saw it in the autumn of 1895, at the time when, after the drought of summer and before the beginning of the rains, its waters might be supposed to be at their lowest. But in the time of Pausanias the lake dried up completely in summer (§ 3), and when W. G. Clark visited the valley on May 13, 1856, there was no semblance of a lake. He says: "We expected a lake and found a field. Having known and believed in the Stymphalian lake from childhood, we were disappointed to see it in rig and furrow." On the other hand, Leake and Dodwell in 1806 were assured by the natives that the lake never dried wholly up even in summer, though it then shrank to a small area round the subterranean outlet. At the time of the French Survey in 1829 it occupied a considerably larger area than at present.

Solitude and silence, broken by the strident cries of the water-fowl that haunt the mere, reign in the valley. A few hamlets nestle in the nooks and glens at the foot of the mountains; but in the wide strath and on the banks of the lake not a human habitation is to be seen. The impression left by the scenery on some minds is that of gloom and desolation. Yet on a hot day, when all the landscape is flooded with the intense sunlight of the south, it is pleasant to sit on the rocky ridge of Stymphalus, looking down on the cool clear water of the lake and listening to the cries of the water-fowl, the drowsy hum of bees, and the tinkle of distant goat-bells. In such weather even the dark pine-forests on the mountains, gloomy as they must be under a bleak clouded sky, suggest only ideas of coolness and shade; and we can well imagine that the ancient Stymphalus, with its colonnades and terraces rising from the lake, must have been a perfect place in which to lounge away the languid hours of a Greek summer. For the high upland character of the valley contributes with the expanse of water to temper the heat of the summer sun. The traveller who passes, as he may do, in a single day from the cool moist air of the valley to the sultry heat of the plain of Argos is struck by the contrast between the climates. In the morning he may have left the cherry trees in blossom at Stymphalus; in the evening he may see the reapers getting in the harvest in the plain of Argos.

See Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, 5. p. 317 *sqq.*; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 432 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 108 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 148, 154, 168; *id.*, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 70; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 380 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 147 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 54 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 304 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 200 *sqq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 158; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 496-501; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnese*, p. 319 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 194 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 304; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380 *sqq.*; A. Meliarakes, Γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας, p. 152 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 72, 144.

Here and elsewhere (ii. 3. 5; v. 10. 9; viii. 4. 6; ix. 11. 6) Pausanias calls the place Stymphelus and the people Stymphelians. Once, however, he calls the place Stymphalus (ii. 24. 6); and that the correct

forms were Stymphalus and Stymphalian, not Stymphelus and Stymphelian, is proved by the usage of ancient writers both Greek and Latin (Herodotus, vi. 76; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 1. 11; Scylax, *Periplus*, 44; Strabo, viii. pp. 275, 371, 389; Ptolemy, iii. 14. 35, ed. Müller; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 6; Polybius, ii. 55, iv. 68 and 69; Diodorus, iii. 30, iv. 13 and 33, xix. 63; Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21; Aelian, *Var. hist.* ii. 33; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Στύμφαλος; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iv. 20; Lucretius, v. 29; Statius, *Sylv.* iv. 6. 101; *id.*, *Theb.* iv. 298), as well as by the coins of Stymphalus (Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 380; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, p. 199), and an inscription found on the site (*Bulletin de Corr. hellénique*, 7 (1883), p. 486 *sqq.*)

22. 1. **proved by the verses of Homer.** See *Iliad*, ii. 603 *sqq.*

22. 1. **Stymphalus their founder was a grandson of Arcas.** Stymphalus was said to be a son of Elatus, who was a son of Arcas. See viii. 4. 1-6.

22. 2. **Hera —— Child —— Full-grown —— Widow.** On these three titles of Hera see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. pp. 190-192. Mr. Farnell suggests that as Hera was essentially a goddess of women, so the various stages of a woman's life may have been represented by the three different aspects of the goddess which were indicated by these titles. With the legend told to explain her title of Widow he compares the legend of the origin of the festival called Daedala at Plataea (ix. 2. 1 *sq.*); and he conjectures that both legends arose from a practice of concealing the image of the goddess for a time in some lonely place.

22. 3. **The present city.** Remains of the ancient city of Stymphalus are to be seen on, and at the southern foot of, the rocky ridge which rises from the northern edge of the lake (see above, p. 269). The ridge descends in terraces from west to east. The lower eastern portion of the ridge, divided from the western by a dip, seems to have been the acropolis. On its western and highest point are the massive remains of a quadrangular tower measuring about 25 paces from north to south by 8 paces from east to west. The north wall of the tower, which is the best preserved, is about 9 feet high. It is constructed of very massive blocks roughly hewn in polygons. The area of the summit, which is very small, is overgrown with prickly shrubs. From this square tower, as a keep, strong fortification-walls ran along both the northern and southern edges of the ridge. They were about 10 feet thick, and were built partly of polygonal but mostly of regular quadrangular masonry; round towers projected from the southern of the two walls. These walls and towers existed down to the middle of the nineteenth century; but, with the exception of the ruined square tower on the summit, which still stands, they seem to have since disappeared; at least I failed to find them on my visit to the ruins in September 1895. The crest of the ridge, which may be some 60 yards broad at the broadest, is mostly encumbered by a mass of rough natural rocks and overgrown with prickly shrubs. But at the eastern foot of the summit, on which is the square tower, and only a few feet below it, the ground has been cleared

artificially, and on this clearing are the well-defined foundations of a quadrangular building, apparently a temple with a fore-temple (*pronaos*) or portico facing east or south-east. The foundations of the temple (?) without the portico are 8 paces long by 6 paces wide; the fore-temple or portico, of which the foundations are preserved, was 4 feet deep. Only the outer foundation-walls are preserved; they are built of large squared blocks.

The southern face of the ridge, along the margin of the lake, has been scarped in various places and hewn into seats, a staircase, etc. One of the scarps may be 100 yards long by 20 feet high. At the extreme east end of the ridge the face of the rock has been hewn away in a curve to a height of 10 or 12 feet, while at the foot of the cutting a ledge has been left to form a seat. A hundred yards or so to the west of this cutting is a small *exedra* or semicircular seat cut out of the face of the rock; it may measure 6 or 7 feet across. Above it are steps or seats also cut out of the rock. Between the southern face of the ridge and the edge of the water there intervenes a narrow strip of level ground, on which may be seen several cuttings in the rock and foundations of edifices. Thus in the flat ground to the east of the great scarp there is a base hewn out of the rock, with one step running all round it. The base may be 10 feet long and 7 feet wide. In front of the long scarp there are foundations of two buildings which may have been temples. One of them, measuring 18 paces from east to west by 8 paces from north to south, would seem to have been a temple with fore-temple (*pronaos*) and back-chamber (*opisthodomos*); the foundations of the outer walls and of the cross-wall which divided the fore-temple from the *cella* are preserved; but of the cross-wall which divided the back-chamber from the *cella* only two blocks remain. These remains may be 80 yards distant from the foot of the ridge. A few yards beyond it to the south, at the very edge of the water, a long straight foundation-wall runs along the brink of the lake. It was doubtless part of a dam built to exclude the water of the lake from the flat ground at the foot of the ridge. In this line of wall I observed the semicircular foundations of a tower or bastion projecting into the lake. Farther to the west, but still in front of the great scarp, are foundations which seem to have formed part of a fountain; grooves are cut in the upper surfaces of several of the blocks as if to serve as water-channels, and from under the ancient masonry a spring of the most limpid water flows with a purling sound. This spring is one of the sources of the Stymphalian Lake; its water was probably enclosed by a wall, through which it flowed in several spouts.

So much for the remains of the ancient city which are to be seen on or in front of the rocky ridge. At the back of the ridge, as we have seen (p. 269), a stretch of flat ground, perhaps a quarter of a mile wide, intervenes between the ridge and the high abrupt slopes of Mt. Cyllene. In this little plain, at the foot of Cyllene, are the remains of a large Byzantine basilica, about 130 feet long by 60 feet wide. The walls, which are standing to a considerable height, contain many squared blocks, which may be ancient; the core is rudely constructed of small

stones, bricks, and mortar. Two columns with rude capitals are built flat against the inner side of the south wall. About a hundred yards or more to the south-west of the basilica are the ruins of a mediaeval tower with a gateway through it; the masonry is rough. The gateway is supposed to have formed part of a large fortified enclosure, within which the basilica stood. A wall or causeway about 12 feet wide seems to have run from the gateway across the flat ground to the northern foot of the ridge which formed the acropolis of Stymphalus. Probably the greater part of the ancient city stood on this level ground. At the eastern end of the basilica I observed the remains of an ancient Greek foundation-wall built of massive squared blocks. They may have belonged to the Doric temple of which Dodwell in 1806 saw the ruins (including fluted drums of Doric columns and pilasters, and large blocks of marble and stone) close to the basilica. The larger columns seen by him measured 3 feet in diameter, the smaller only 18 inches. It was doubtless from these columns, which have now disappeared, that the place acquired its modern name of *Kionia* or 'the columns.' The name is now transferred to the wretched little Albanian hamlet which stands some three-quarters of a mile away to the east, at the spring which is the chief source of the Stymphalian Lake (see above, p. 269). It is at the hamlet of *Kionia* that travellers who wish to visit the ruins of Stymphalus find quarters for the night.

The foregoing description of the site and the ruins is based almost entirely on my own notes, made on the spot 30th September 1895. The fortifications seem to have been much better preserved down to the middle of the century. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 433 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 110 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 147; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 54 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 203 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 305 *sqq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 163 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 497 *sq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 320 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 196 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 387 *sq.*

22. 3. **a spring from which the Emperor Hadrian** etc. This is no doubt the copious spring, now called by the general name of *Kephalo-vrysi* ('source,' 'spring'), which rises at the hamlet of *Kionia*, about a mile to the north-east of the ruins of Stymphalus. See above, p. 269. At periods when the lake is low the river formed by the spring flows obliquely in a south-westerly direction across the plain for 2 miles or so before it disappears into the chasm on the southern side of the valley. But when the lake is high, as it is at present, the river is engulfed in it about a mile from the spring. Near the village of *Zaraka*, at the foot of Mt. Cyllene, to the north-east of the ruins of Stymphalus, Gell observed the arches of an aqueduct, which may have been the one erected by Hadrian. The remains of it are said to be still visible on the north-east bank of the lake, and again near the sea, to the west of Corinth, at a place where there are some mills on the *Longo-Potamos* river.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 433; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 384; Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 109; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 201, cp. 206; *id.*, 2. p. 592; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 498; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 322; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 388, 389.

According to the French surveyors the course of the aqueduct seems to have been this. A subterranean channel probably conducted the

water from the Stymphalian valley into the long valley of *Skotini* or Alea (see viii. 23. 1 note). The aqueduct followed the eastern side of this latter valley, and crossing a pass toward *Apano-velesi* reached the northern end of the valley of the Inachus, keeping at a great height in order to cross by the pass of the Tretus (see ii. 15. 2 note). Thence, instead of following the valley of the *Longo-Potamos* northward, it turned east, passed below the village of *Hagios Vasilios*, and then skirted the eastern flanks of Mt. *Skona* and the Acro-Corinth. Thus from the time it entered the pass of the Tretus it appears to have followed the line of the modern railway from Argos to Corinth. By taking this route Hadrian's engineers were able to dispense with arches and almost wholly with subterranean works, as the slope of the ground was exactly what was required. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 148. If the French surveyors are right, the arches seen by Gell, and the remains near the mouth of the *Longo-Potamos*, cannot be those of Hadrian's aqueduct.

22. 3. **in summer there is no mere** etc. See above, p. 268 *sqq.* Pausanias clearly says that the lake, when it existed, was close to the spring, and that the river flowed from the lake into the chasm; hence he supposed that the lake was at the north side of the valley, since the spring is on that side. In point of fact the lake, when it exists, seems always to extend to the chasm on the south side of the valley, and the river flows from the spring into the lake, not from the lake into the chasm. Hence perhaps, as W. G. Clark observed (*Pelop.* p. 320 note 3), Pausanias visited Stymphalus in summer, when the lake was wholly dried up, and misunderstood what the natives told him as to the position of the lake.

22. 3. **This river goes down into a chasm** etc. This chasm is a cavern at the foot of a limestone precipice, which terminates the slope of a steep rocky mountain on the southern side of the valley. W. G. Clark, who visited the valley when the lake was quite dried up, says: "We soon came to a stream running swiftly in a channel 10 or 12 feet deep, which it had scooped for itself in the accumulated sand, hastening to the cavern which yawns for it at the foot of an abrupt limestone cliff. At the mouth of the cavern were wooden piles, broken here and there by the violence of the current, the object of which was to prevent any large solid substance being carried in which might stop the passage. . . . The grey face of the rock, tufted with red flowers, the dark cave, and the turbid river, making its mad plunge from sunlight to darkness, presented a striking picture to the eye and the imagination" (*Peloponnesus*, p. 319 *sq.*) Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 108 *sq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 382; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 201. The view mentioned by Pausanias that the water which here enters the cavern reappears as the Erasinus river near Argos (see ii. 24. 6 note), is still held by the natives of the valley. They say that fir-cones, thrown in large quantities into the cavern, have reappeared in the Erasinus (Gell, *op. cit.* p. 382 *sq.*) Leake inclined to believe that the experiment had actually been made in ancient times, and that the tradition had survived; otherwise it is difficult to account for the belief in the identity of the two

waters, "as the distance between the two points is much greater than the length of any of the other subterraneous rivers of the Peloponnesus, and several high mountains and intersecting ridges intervene" (*Morea*, 3. p. 113 *sq.*) At Stymphalus there appears to have been an image of the Erasinus river in the shape of a bull (Aelian, *Var. hist.* ii. 33). There is now an artificial outlet for the waters of the lake some 2 or 3 miles east of the natural chasm. See above, p. 269.

22. 4. **man-eating birds once bred beside the water of Stymphalus** etc. On some coins of Stymphalus the head of one of the Stymphalian birds is represented; it is the head of a water-fowl, not of a monster. On other coins of the city Hercules appears striking at the Stymphalian birds with his club. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 99, with pl. T x. xi. xii. On a black-figured amphora in the British Museum (B. 163) Hercules is depicted stoning the Stymphalian birds with a sling; the birds appear as long-necked water-fowl with variegated plumage. See *Gazette archéologique*, 2 (1876), pl. 3. The subject is represented in a few other vase-paintings, on Roman sarcophaguses, and on various other ancient monuments. See De Witte, 'Hercule et les oiseaux de Stymphale,' *Gazette archéologique*, 2 (1876), pp. 8-10. The legend, mentioned by Pausanias on the authority of Pisander of Camira, that Hercules drove away the birds by the noise of a bronze rattle, is mentioned also by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.* ii. 1052 *sqq.*, with the scholiast on verse 1054). Apollodorus says (ii. 5. 6) that the birds roosted in the dense forest which overhung the lake; that Hercules plied the bronze rattle which he had received from Athena; and that when the startled birds flew up out of the wood, he brought them down with his arrows. Some have fancied that the man-eating Stymphalian birds are a mythical expression for the supposed pestilential vapours exhaled by the marshes (Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 203; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 195). The water of the lake is beautifully clear, but nevertheless the inhabitants of the valley are said to suffer much from fever (A. Meliarakes, *Γεωγραφία τοῦ νομοῦ Ἀργολίδος καὶ Κορινθίας*, p. 154; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 144). This is not strange, since the plain immediately to the east of the lake is swampy.

22. 7. **an old sanctuary of Stymphalian Artemis.** Leake conjectured that the ruins of a Doric temple beside the Byzantine basilica (see above, p. 273) may have been the remains of the sanctuary of Artemis (*Morea*, 3. p. 110 *sq.*) His conjecture is perhaps confirmed by the discovery, in this neighbourhood, of an inscription which mentions the sanctuary of Artemis and seems to have been set up in it. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 7 (1883), p. 490. Curtius and Vischer thought that the sanctuary may have occupied the site of the basilica (Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 205; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 498 *sq.*) On the other hand, Bursian conjectured that the temple of which remains are to be seen on the acropolis below the western tower (see above, p. 271 *sq.*) may have been the sanctuary of Artemis (*Geogr.* 2. p. 197).

23. 1. **Alea.** Very considerable remains of the walls and towers of Alea are to be seen near *Bougiati*, a village about 8 miles due south of the ruins of Stymphalus. The distance by road, however, from Stym-

phalus to Alea is not less than 10 miles. The route at first coincides with that to Phlius. It goes south-eastward across the Stymphalian plain, somewhat to the east of the lake, ascends the stony gorge in the mountains immediately above the artificial outlet of the lake (see above, p. 269), and then descends into a long valley which runs in a southerly direction. Here at the head of the valley the road to Phlius diverges to the east and ascends a narrow valley which joins the main valley from the east. We continue to follow the main valley southward, riding for some distance beside the artificial banked-up channel in which the water of the lake of Stymphalus, after traversing the tunnel, is conveyed away. Maize and vines are grown in the broad flat bottom of the valley. We pass on the west the mouth of a long narrow valley in which stands the village of *Skotini*, surrounded by fruit-trees. About 5 miles farther to the south we come to the entrance of the valley of *Bougiati*, which opens up on the west side of the main valley which we have been following. The village of *Bougiati* stands at the foot of a very steep slope a mile and a half or so up the valley. A high and rugged pass, barely practicable for horses, leads over the mountains from *Bougiati* to *Kandyla*, and so to Orchomenus (see above, p. 229). The mouth of the valley of *Bougiati* is partially closed on the east by a hill which projects southward from the higher mountains on the north. This is the hill of Alea. A saddle connects it on the north with the higher mountains, and from here it slopes gradually southward in the form of a ridge till it subsides into the plain. But while the slope from north to south is long and gradual, the ridge falls away steeply, though not precipitously, on the east and west; its eastern slope is to the main valley, its western slope is to the side valley of *Bougiati*. These steep slopes to the east and west are overgrown with holly-oak bushes. At its highest point, on the north, the hill may be some 600 feet above the plain. The city walls of Alea are well preserved on the eastern and western sides of the hill or ridge. On the west side they descend the whole length of the ridge from north to south. On the east side they do not follow the ridge southward to its termination, but strike down the steep slope in a south-easterly direction till they reach the plain. The terminations of these two lines of wall in the plain must have been formerly united by a third wall skirting the foot of the hill, but no remains of it exist. On the other hand the angle formed by the convergence of the two walls on the top of the hill has been cut off by two cross-walls from the rest of the hill. These inner cross-walls are at right angles to each other and make, with the two outer walls, an irregular quadrangle, which formed the acropolis. Both the outer and the inner walls are well preserved. They are built of grey limestone in the polygonal style. The masonry is solid and substantial but rather rough; the blocks are not cut and jointed with the exquisite precision which characterises, for example, the great terrace-wall of the temple at Delphi. In the outer west wall there are pieces that are nearly quadrangular in style. Square towers project at intervals from the curtain, and most of them, like the walls, are in good preservation. In the long outer wall on the western side of the ridge there are nine-

teen of these towers; in the shorter eastern wall there are thirteen; and in the cross-walls which form the acropolis there are three. Walls and towers are commonly standing to a height of from three to five, six, seven, and eight courses. Where six to eight courses are standing the height averages about 11 and 12 feet. The greatest number of courses standing in one place, so far as I observed, was ten; and the greatest height about 16 feet. The thickness of the walls, where both faces are preserved, is about 10 feet. Some of the blocks are very large,

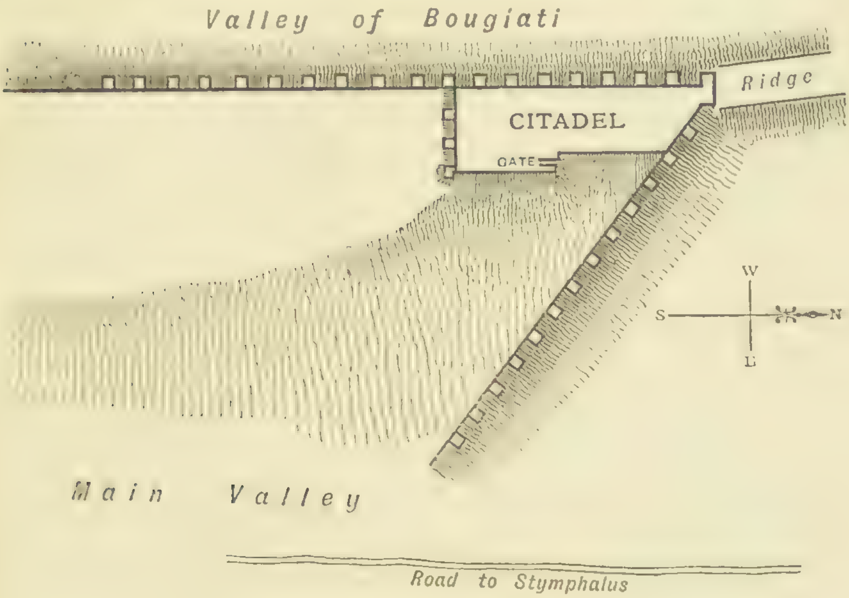


FIG. 31.—PLAN OF ALEA.

especially in the interval between the eighth and ninth towers of the west wall; one block here is 9 feet long by 4 feet high. The towers are as a rule 16 to 18 feet broad on the face, and project 8 to 9 feet from the curtain. The intervals between them average 30 to 40 yards. In the eastern wall, however, the towers are not so regular, the steep and broken slope here necessitating some deviations from architectural uniformity. For example, one tower on this side is 30 feet broad; another projects as much as 16 feet 9 inches from the curtain, while a third projects only 6 feet 9 inches.

Of the two inner cross-walls which form, with the converging outer walls, the acropolis on the top of the hill, one starts from the west outer wall and runs eastward; it is strengthened by three square projecting walls. The other starts from the eastern outer wall and runs southward, meeting the other at a right angle; in it there is a gateway 9 feet wide which leads into a passage 12 feet long. These two inner walls are built of very massive polygonal blocks, and are standing to a height of from four to seven courses (9 to 12 feet). The ground inside of the acropolis is littered with fragments of thick red pottery.

The view from the hill of Alea embraces the valleys on both sides,

with high barren mountains rising from them and bounding the horizon in all directions. The outlines of the mountains on the east, south, and north are bold and fine.

I have described the ruins of Alea from notes made by me on a visit to the site, 14th October 1895. My observations differ in a number of points from the description of the site given in the *Guide-Joanne* (2. p. 390), for example as to the number of towers in the east wall and in the inner wall of the acropolis. The statement that the walls are standing to a height of 15 metres (nearly 50 feet) is certainly wrong. Compare also Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 208 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 198.

Dodwell and Gell wrongly identified Alea with some walls of large rough stones which they observed at the foot of a precipitous rocky slope, on the southern side of the ridge which bounds the valley of Stymphalus on the south-east. The ruins described by them appear to have been situated near the southern foot of the stony gorge where the roads from Stymphalus to Phlius and Alea diverge from each other (see above, p. 276). But the place is about 7 miles north of the real site of Alea.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 432; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 384; *id.*, *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 70 *sq.*; *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 168.

23. 1. **at this festival of Dionysus —— women are scourged.** The scourging may have been intended as a purification or as a mode of fertilising the patients; this was the intention of the blows administered to women at the Lupercalia in Rome, and ceremonies of the same sort are common in many lands. See W. Mannhardt, 'Die Lupercalien,' *Mythologische Forschungen*, kap. iii.; *The Golden Bough*, 2. pp. 213 *sqq.*, 233 *sqq.* Cp. note on viii. 15. 3. As to the scourging of the Spartan boys see iii. 16. 10.

23. 2. **In my description of Orchomenus I showed** etc. See viii. 13. 4 note.

23. 2. **the plain of Caphyae.** This is the western part of the northern plain of Orchomenus. See note on viii. 13. 4. In the south-west corner of the plain, below the village of *Plesia*, which stands on the hills that bound the plain on the south, an isolated rock rises from the flat ground. It is of round shape; and its flat top is enclosed by remains of Cyclopean walls and bears many vestiges of ancient foundations. This is probably the ancient Caphyae. Leake and Peytier placed Caphyae farther north, near the village of *Kotoussa* on the western verge of the plain. But the ancient remains there are scanty.

See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 103; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 150; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 226; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 206; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382. Cp. note on § 6.

23. 2. **It goes down into a chasm** etc. This chasm or *katavothra* is said to be now nearly filled up; but I cannot determine, from my authorities, whether it is below the village of *Plesia* near the south-west corner of the plain, or at the village of *Kotoussa* on the western side of the plain. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. p. 103; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 225 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 302; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382. The plain

is bounded on the west by the chain of hills now called Mt. *Kastania*. On the western side of this range is the valley of the *Vitina* river which flows northward from the neighbourhood of Methydrium to join the Ladon. At the northern foot of Mt. *Kastania* rises the river of *Dara* (or *Tara*), which joins the *Vitina* river a little below the khan of *Dara* (*Tara*). It issues at once as a respectable stream from the mountain, and is probably the emissory of the marshy northern plain of Orchomenus, which lies on the other side of the hills. Thus the river of *Dara* appears to be the Tragus, and it further answers to Pausanias's description of that river by being perennial; even in summer it is a stream of some size. Its modern name is derived from the Albanian village of *Dara*, which stands about a mile and a half to the north-east of the khan of *Dara*, at the foot of a long bare mountain. The khan, on the other hand, stands beside the river in the low swampy bottom of the valley, which is here broad and open. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 269 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelopon.* 221; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 378 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 74.

23. 3. **Artemis, surnamed Cnacalesian.** The surname was probably derived from the name of the mountain (§ 4). See, however, note on iii. 18. 4.

23. 4. **the plane-tree of Menelaus.** According to Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* iv. 13. 2) the plane-tree at Caphyae was planted by Agamemnon. Theophrastus is followed by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xvi. 238).

23. 5. **a list —— of the old trees** etc. Lists of old trees are given also by Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* iv. 13. 2) and Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xvi. 234-240). Theophrastus mentions the olive at Athens, the palm at Delos, the wild olive at Olympia from which the victors' wreaths were made, the oaks (*φηγοί*) at Ilium over the tomb of Ilus, the plane-tree at Delphi, said to have been planted by Agamemnon, and the plane-tree at Caphyae. As to the willow at Samos, see vii. 4. 4; as to the oak at Dodona, see note on i. 17. 5, vol. 2. p. 159 *sq.*; as to the olive on the Acropolis at Athens, see i. 27. 2 note; as to the olive at Delos, see C. Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 115 *sq.*; as to the laurel at Daphne in Syria, see Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* i. 16. 1.

23. 6. **Condylea.** About ten minutes to the north-west of Caphyae some remains of ancient city-walls and marble buildings extend from the foot of the hills into the plain. These may be the ruins of Condylea. But Curtius thought they were the ruins of Caphyae, and he may be right. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 226 (where *Meilen* seems a misprint for *Minuten*); Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 206; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 382.

23. 7. **the Strangled One.** The Arcadian worship of the Strangled Artemis is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria on the authority of Callimachus (*Protrept.* ii. 38, p. 32 ed. Potter). Dr. Verrall sees in the legend a tradition of sacrifice by stoning. See his note on Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1107; and cp. my note on iv. 22. 7. With the worship of the Strangled Artemis we may compare the worship of the hanged Helen (Helen of the Tree) in Rhodes. See iii. 19. 9 *sq.*, with the note. Mr. Farnell considers that the story of the Strangled

(or Hanging) Artemis arose from a custom of hanging the mask or image of Artemis, as a goddess of vegetation, on a tree to secure its fertility (*The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 428 *sq.*)

23. 8. **Nasi —— and fifty furlongs farther.** Pausanias now leaves the northern plain of Orchomenus on his way to Psophis. He crosses over the ridge of Mt. *Kastania* which bounds the plain on the west, and descends to Nasi, the source of the Tragus, now the river of *Dara* (*Tara*). See § 2 note. The river of *Dara*, after uniting with the river of *Vitina* in the open plain a little below the khan of *Dara*, flows north-west through a narrow pass closely shut in by mountains on either side, till it joins the Ladon. The distance from the source of the Tragus to its junction with the Ladon is, as Pausanias says, about 50 furlongs. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 268-272. Pausanias clearly says (§ 2) that Nasi was at the source of the Tragus. The French surveyors, Curtius, and the writer in the *Guide-Joanne* are therefore wrong in placing Nasi at the junction of the river of *Dara* with the river of *Vitina*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 157; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 378; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381.

23. 8. **You will cross the river** etc. Pausanias is now pursuing his way to Psophis, a city of north-western Arcadia in the valley of the Erymanthus river. From the point where the Tragus (now the river of *Dara*) flows into the Ladon, our author follows the latter river westward for some miles. This upper valley of the Ladon, from its junction with the Aroanius (see above, p. 264), is open and somewhat tame. The hills that enclose it are low and uninteresting; bushes cover their slopes. The Ladon flows along the southern side of the broad flat valley, its rapid stream of opaque greenish-blue water skirting the rocky declivities of the hills. About 2 miles below the source of the river a khan stands amid fig-trees, holly-oaks, and walnut-trees on the left or southern bank of the river. A very little way above the khan is a bridge across the Ladon. Passing the river by the bridge we cross over to the north side of the valley, to the point where it is joined by the valley of the Aroanius. Here we cross the Aroanius, and turning westward follow the right bank of that river at the foot of the hills that bound the valley on the north. The two rivers, the Aroanius and the Ladon, here flow westward for some little way on opposite sides of the valley, the Aroanius on the north and the Ladon on the south. The banks of the Aroanius are here prettily wooded with willows and plane-trees; its water is of a turbid muddy colour, quite different from the dark blue water of the Ladon. Except for the trees (mostly small willows) which fringe the banks of both rivers the flat bottom of the valley is treeless; low hills, their uniform slopes overgrown only with bushes, bound it on both sides. But the tameness of the scenery is somewhat redeemed by the fine view backward to the towering sharp-peaked Mt. *Chelmos* at the upper end of the valley. A little way on a spur or ridge of bare earth projects into the valley from the south, narrowing it by about half. In the narrow and swampy defile thus created the Ladon and the Aroanius unite their waters. Beyond the defile the scenery improves, higher mountains appearing on

the south side of the valley. The river now bends away to the south-west at the foot of these higher mountains. We hold on in a westerly direction and diverging from the valley of the Ladon cross a low stony plateau. From this plateau we look down into the valley of the Ladon stretching away southwards; it is now narrow and enclosed by mountains with steep and partially wooded sides. Westward we look up a long valley, bare, broad, and tame, enclosed by low uninteresting hills. Through this latter valley, which joins the valley of the Ladon at the point where the river bends away to the south, goes the road to Psophis. Springs rise at the foot of the hills on either side of the valley, and a stream, which Leake calls the river of *Palaea-Katouna*, flows down it to join the Ladon. Not far from the head of the valley, on a height which rises on the north bank of the stream, are some ancient ruins near a fine spring. Some have taken these ruins to be the remains of Paus (see below, § 9). Opposite the ruins, on the hills on the south side of the valley, is the modern village of *Vesini*. Soon afterwards, near the village of *Skoupi*, we cross the watershed, which is formed by the protrusion of two flat masses of stones and soil into the valley from both sides. Its height above the sea is about 2000 feet. From the watershed we descend into the valley of *Lopesi*, which, like the one we have quitted, runs north-west in nearly a straight line to Psophis. The broad, well-cultivated bottom of this charming valley is shaded with oak-trees and watered by a stream which flows down it to join the Erymanthus river at Psophis. Many villages lie scattered on the slopes of the hills; among them is *Lopesi* on the north bank of the stream. As to the route followed by Pausanias from Caphyae to Psophis, at least after he struck the Tragus (the *Dara* river), there is no room for doubt. The valleys led him in a straight line to Psophis. Of the oak forest of Soron which he mentions Leake saw some small remains near the banks of the *Palaea-Katouna* river, as he calls it; and at one place in this valley, near its foot, where a ledge of limestone rock stretches like a bar across it, oak-trees are still dotted about among the corn-fields. In the winter of 219-218 B.C. King Philip V. marched with a Macedonian army from Caphyae to Psophis in three days (Polybius, iv. 70).

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 249 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 157; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 379 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 262 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 364; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 284 *sq.*

On the summit of the pass which leads southward from the valley of *Lopesi* over the bare bushy slopes of Mt. *H. Petros* to the village of *Kondovazena* there are foundations of a small building, apparently a temple, built of blocks of shell-limestone. The steep ascent from the valley of *Lopesi* is through oak woods. See Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 284.

23. 9. **bears.** Elsewhere Pausanias tells us that there were bears on Mt. Taygetus (iii. 20. 4) and Mt. Parnes (i. 32. 1).

23. 9. **the ruined hamlet of Paus.** In the days of Herodotus this place was a city. He calls it Paeus (or Paeum) and says that

Euphorion of that city received the Dioscuri in his house, and afterwards extended his hospitality to all men. His son Laphanes was one of the suitors of Agariste, the daughter of Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. See Herodotus, vi. 127.

23. 9. Sirae. This place was 30 furlongs from Psophis. See viii. 24. 3. If the distance is right, Sirae must have been near the village of *Dekouni*, in the valley of *Lopesi*, but higher up than the village of that name. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 221. Cp. *id.*, *Morea*, 2. p. 250; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 380.

24. 1. Psophis. The ruins of Psophis are situated in the narrow valley of the Erymanthus river, at the point where that stream, flowing from the north-east, is joined by a tributary stream (the Aroanius, now called the river of *Poretse* or *Germoutsani*) which flows into it from the north-west, coming down a narrow rocky glen enclosed by high mountains. About 100 yards below their meeting-place, the united waters of the two streams are joined by a third stream, the river of *Lopesi*, flowing from the south-east (see note on 23. 8). From these three rivers the place takes its modern name of *Tripotamo*, or 'Three Rivers.' All three rivers are clear rapid streams, flowing over gravelly beds and bordered by plane-trees. Psophis stood on the right bank of the Erymanthus, in the angle between it and the Aroanius. A steep but not high hill rises between the two streams and extends in the form of a sharp ridge from south-west to north-east, sending down spurs towards both streams. A narrow strip of level or gently-rising ground is left between the foot of the hill and the banks of the two rivers. The city-walls followed the crest of the ridge and descending from it ran along the steep banks of both streams. They can still be traced nearly throughout the whole circuit, though they are nowhere very high. They are defended by towers, mostly square. The masonry is moderately regular; the stones are not very large. On the highest point of the hill are the ruins of a mediaeval tower and of many modern houses. At the north-eastern side of the town the open space between the Erymanthus river and the hill was defended by a double line of walls; the remains of the inner wall may be seen extending from the ridge to the bank of the river. On the western slope of the spur which descends towards the meeting of the Erymanthus and Aroanius are the remains of a small theatre facing west. Part of the circumference of four or five rows of seats may be seen; fragments of the seats are also lying about. The town seems to have lain chiefly in the level space between the Erymanthus and the hill. Here, not far from the bank of the river, are the foundations of a rectangular building, about 96 feet long; in the bank below there is a spring of water. This building may be the temple of Erymanthus mentioned by Pausanias (§ 12). A little to the north of it is the church of St. Peter, enclosed within a wall. At this church there are a number of small columns, some of them only partially fluted. The church probably occupies the site of a temple, perhaps the temple of Aphrodite (§ 6). The situation of Psophis, as Leake observes, is anything but agreeable, being hemmed in by bare hills of no great height, which shut out all view, cause occasionally an extreme of heat

and cold, and increase the violence of the winds. The bleak landscape was somewhat brightened, when I saw it in early summer, by the masses of yellow flowers which mottled the green hill-side above the scanty ruins of the lower town.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 240 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 158; Fiedler, *Reise*, 1. p. 394; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 384 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 290 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 477 *sqq.*; Wyse, *Pelopon.* 2. p. 159 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 260 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 307; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 363 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 286.

In the winter of 219-218 B.C. Psophis was captured by a Macedonian army under King Philip V. Polybius, who describes the capture of the city, has incidentally given a very exact description of its situation. See Polybius, iv. 70-72.

24. 1. **the founder of Psophis** etc. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ψωφίς) the founder of Psophis was either Psophis a son of Lycaon, or Psophis a daughter of Eryx.

24. 2. **Phegia.** This seems to mean 'oak-town,' from *phegos*, a kind of oak with edible acorns. There are still some oaks on the hills about Psophis. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 244; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 388; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 293. Cp. Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φήγεια, who says that King Phegeus was a brother of Phoroneus.

24. 4. **Mount Lampea.** With the exception of the branch which rises in Mt. *Tartari*, near the village of *Sopoto*, on the way from Psophis to Clitor, the streams which form the Erymanthus river mostly rise in Mt. *Kalliphoni* (about 6500 feet high), to the north-north-east of Psophis. Mt. *Kalliphoni* is, therefore, probably the ancient Mt. Lampea. This agrees with the statement of Strabo (viii. p. 341) that Scollis, a mountain between the districts of Elis, Dyme, and Tritaea, adjoined Mt. Lampea in Arcadia. The northern slopes of Mount *Kalliphoni* are belted with pine forests.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 253 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelopon.* p. 224; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 158; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 385 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 183; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 282, 293.

24. 4. **Homer says that in Taygetus** etc. The reference seems to be to *Odyssey*, vi. 103.

24. 4. **Mount Pholoe.** Here Pausanias tells us that Mount Pholoe was the range of mountains on the right bank of the Erymanthus river. Elsewhere (vi. 21. 5) he says that the Leucyanias, another of the northern tributaries of the Alpheus, had its source in Mount Pholoe. Strabo says (viii. p. 357) that Pholoe was a mountain of Arcadia which rose very near Olympia and had its skirts in the territory of Pisa. Elsewhere the same geographer gives us to understand that Mount Pholoe bordered on Elis (viii. p. 336), and that the Selleeis, a river of Elis, flowed from it. Xenophon says that when he lived in Scillus his sons and their friends used sometimes to hunt on Mount Pholoe (*Anabasis*, v. 3. 10). Putting these various statements together, we infer that Mount Pholoe was the southern and lower continuation of Mount Erymanthus (the modern Mount *Olono*). It is not so much a

chain of mountains as a broad table-land, which descends in great forest-clad terraces from near the source of the Elean Ladon in Mount Erymanthus to the lowlands of Elis on the west and the valley of the Alpheus on the south. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 194-196; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. p. 44; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 184. In antiquity, as at the present day, this high table-land would seem to have been covered with wild and beautiful woods, which the poetic fancy of the Greeks peopled with Centaurs, of whom the famous Pholus was said to have entertained Hercules when he came hither to hunt the Erymanthian boar on the neighbouring mountains (Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 181 *sq.*; *Anthol. Palat.* vi. 3 and 111; *Orphei Argonautica*, 382 and 420; Apollodorus, ii. 5. 4; Diodorus, iv. 12 and 70). Mount Erymanthus and Mount Pholoe are mentioned together by Lucian (*Icaromenippus*, 11).

24. 6. **there is also in the district of Eryx, in Sicily, a sanctuary of the Erycinian goddess.** This was the famous Carthaginian sanctuary of Astarte or Ashtoreth on Mt. Eryx. Sir E. H. Bunbury (article 'Eryx' in Smith's *Dict. of Geography*) thinks that the legends point to the sanctuary on Mt. Eryx "being an ancient seat of Pelasgic worship, rather than of Phoenician origin." But the worship, as known to us, appears to have been purely Phoenician; and that the goddess was Astarte is proved by Phoenician inscriptions. See W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] pp. 294, 309, 471. As to the Semitic character of the worship Freeman says: "It was assuredly a Phoenician Ashtoreth who yearly left her temple of Eryx for a journey to Africa and took her doves with her" (*History of Sicily*, 1. p. 277). As to these doves of Eryx, see Athenaeus, ix. p. 394 f; Aelian, *Hist. anim.* iv. 2. It is somewhat surprising to find a sanctuary of this Phoenician goddess in a remote corner of Arcadia. Cp. Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 172 *sq.* As to the Sicilian Eryx and its Phoenician remains, see Freeman, *op. cit.* 1. p. 277 *sqq.*; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, 3. pp. 308, 330 *sqq.* The temple on the top of Mt. Eryx, with the walls and gates which defended the foot of the mountain, is represented on a consular silver coin of the Gens Considia. See T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, No. xxxii.; Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.* 3. p. 335.

24. 7. **Alcmaeon —— is also buried in Psophis** etc. Outside the walls of Psophis, near the meeting of the Erymanthus and Aroanius rivers, there is a fine oak with a picture of the Virgin attached to it. Beside it lie the ruins of a chapel built of ancient materials and on ancient foundations. Bursian conjectured that the tomb of Alcmaeon may have been here (*Geogr.* 2. p. 261 *sq.*)

24. 7. **cypresses grow round about it** etc. The native home of the cypress seems to be the table-lands of Caboul and Afghanistan, especially Busih to the west of Herat, where the tree attains an enormous size. From this home it apparently migrated westward. Hehn held that where groves of cypresses were to be found in Greece, traces of Asiatic religion were also to be found. In regard to Psophis in particular, he saw traces of Phoenician influence in the legend which made Psophis a daughter of Eryx, in the worship of Erycinian Aphrodite, and in the legendary connexion of Psophis with the necklace of Eriphyle:

for he seems to have agreed with Movers (*Die Phoenizier*, 1. p. 509 *sq.*) that such trinkets were probably brought to Greece by Phoenician traders. See Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] pp. 228 *sqq.*, 489 *sq.* (pp. 212 *sqq.*, 479 *sq.* Engl. trans.)

24. 8. **Alcmaeon —— came to Psophis** etc. With what follows, compare Apollodorus, iii. 7. 5 *sqq.* According to Apollodorus the name of the daughter of Phegeus whom Alcmaeon married was Arsinoe, not Alphesiboea, as Pausanias calls her. Euripides wrote a drama *Alcmaeon at Psophis*, of which some fragments are preserved. Cp. E. Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 135 *sqq.*

24. 8. **the newest land, which the sea had uncovered** etc. Cp. Thucydides, ii. 102; Apollodorus, iii. 7. 5.

24. 10. **dedicated the necklace to Apollo at Delphi.** According to Phylarchus, quoted by Parthenius (*Narrat. Amat.* 25), the necklace of Eriphyle was in the sanctuary of Forethought Athena at Delphi. But Phylarchus perhaps confused the necklace of Eriphyle with the necklace of Helen, which Menelaus dedicated to Forethought Athena at Delphi, according to Demetrius Phalereus, cited by Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* iii. 267, p. 1466). As to the temple of Forethought Athena at Delphi, see x. 8. 6 note.

24. 12. **a temple of Erymanthus, with an image of him.** The river Erymanthus was represented at Psophis in the form of a man, whereas some Greek rivers were represented in the shape of bulls (Aelian, *Var. hist.* ii. 33).

24. 13. **a man of Psophis called Aglaus** etc. According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* vii. 151) and Valerius Maximus (vii. 1. 2) Aglaus was a man of Psophis who supported himself on a small farm, beyond the bounds of which he had never strayed; and when Gyges, king of Lydia, sent to ask of the Delphic oracle if any man was happier than himself, the oracle declared that Aglaus was a happier man. Thus Pliny and Valerius Maximus represent Aglaus as a contemporary of Gyges, whereas Pausanias makes him a contemporary of Croesus.

24. 14. **Homer himself has represented a jar of blessings** etc. See *Iliad*, xxiv. 527 *sq.* The passage is quoted by Plutarch (*Consol. ad Apollon.* 7).

24. 14. **who had called the poet himself both ill-starred** etc. The oracle is quoted by Pausanias elsewhere (x. 24. 2).

25. 1. **On the way from Psophis to Thelpusa** etc. Leaving Psophis, we cross the Erymanthus and ascend the steep slope of Mount *Hagias Petros*, which rises on the left bank of the river, to the south of Psophis. The oak-forest of Aphrodisium probably clothed the northern slopes of this mountain. The stone which marked the boundary between Psophis and Thelpusa perhaps stood on the summit of the ridge. From the summit we descend by a very steep and zigzag path among fir-woods to the large village of *Velimaki*. The torrent which flows past the village to join the Ladon below Thelpusa is probably the Arsen. Proceeding southward, after a farther descent, we see the village of *Bokovina* on the left. Farther on, in a wild wooded country, we pass the village of *Boutzi* on the right. A steep descent

takes us down into the valley of the Ladon, and we cross the river by the bridge of *Spathari* in a narrow pass between rocks. The way now descends along the left bank of the Ladon among delightful woods and thickets. In less than an hour from crossing the bridge of *Spathari* we reach the place called *Vanaena*, near which are the ruins of Thelpusa. The time from Psophis is about 5¾ hours. From beginning to end the route runs nearly always due south. The site of Caus, mentioned by Pausanias, has not been identified.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 121 *sq.*; cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 372 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 258 *sq.*, 260; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 152.

25. 2. **the city.** The scanty ruins of Thelpusa are situated on the left bank of the Ladon, a little to the north-west of a place called *Vanaena*, where there was formerly a village. About a mile below the ruins a new stone bridge on four arches crosses the river to the small and poor hamlet of *Toubitsi*, where quarters for the night may be had. The valley of the Ladon at Thelpusa, in striking contrast to the tremendous wooded gorge through which the river forces its way a few miles farther north (see below, p. 288 *sq.*), is comparatively open. It is enclosed by low hills partly bare, partly wooded or bushy, between which the river winds in several channels over a broad stony bed. To the north are seen, above the lower and nearer hills, the lofty mountains through which the Ladon has cleft its way, while down the valley to the south the view is closed by the high blue mountains beyond the Alpheus.

The acropolis of Thelpusa probably occupied a two-pointed hill which rises to a height of perhaps 400 feet a little way back from the river, on its eastern bank. Towards the river the hill descends in a series of terraces covered with brown prickly plants and dotted here and there with trees. On the south it is bounded by a small glen, down which a stream flows amid beautiful plane-trees and luxuriant vegetation to join the Ladon. Remains of the ancient fortification-walls are to be seen on one of the terraces on the western side of the hill, about half-way between the river and the top of the hill. The terrace slopes steeply to the west, and on its edge pieces of the walls, forming two right angles, are standing to a height of three courses or about 4 feet. They are built of massive squared blocks. On the same terrace or plateau, a few yards east of the fortification-wall, I observed some ancient blocks of white limestone, and a standing drum of a fluted column. Some 50 yards farther east, on the same terrace, are the ruins of a Roman or Byzantine building. Two walls of it are standing for a length of about 11 paces and to a height of 10 or 12 feet; and there are remains of a cross-wall uniting the two others, but not at their extremities. The walls are built of rubble faced on the inside and

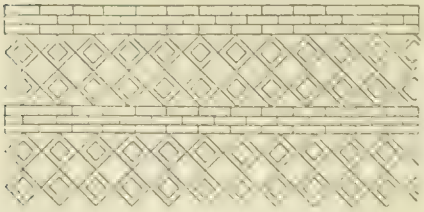


FIG. 32.—BRICKWORK AT THELPUSA.

outside with flat bricks, which are arranged in alternate bands (Fig. 32). One band consists of several courses of the bricks laid horizontally; the other band consists of several rows of diamond-shaped patterns made up of the bricks. A few large blocks are built into the walls, and others are lying about. Immediately to the east of this building begins the upper slope of the hill.

Below this terrace, on the south, there is a lower terrace on which are standing some half-dozen small drums of columns, broken and worn, the ruins probably of a temple. The best preserved is fluted and measures 23 inches in diameter. A few yards east of these remains are some worn blocks, squared, standing in position, also the buried drum of a small fluted column, only its upper surface being visible.

A few more scanty remains are to be seen on a low height beside the river, in the direction of the bridge. Here I saw four drums of small columns standing in a row in their original positions; the distance between the extreme columns is 11 paces. One of them is fluted and measures between 17 and 18 inches in diameter. Beside the columns is a sort of basin carved out of a single block of stone. About half-way between this spot and the acropolis hill are some slight vestiges of antiquity, including a small unfluted drum of a column, a standing quadrangular block about 5 feet high, two or three blocks of a wall, and fragments of red, thick, unpainted pottery.

The site has been identified beyond doubt as that of Thelpusa by the discovery of two inscriptions within recent years (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 3 (1878), p. 177 *sq.*; Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν (1890), p. 147 *sq.*)

I have described the situation and remains of Thelpusa from notes made by me on the spot (6th October 1895). See also Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 97 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 120; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 152; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 111 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 370; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 259.

25. 2. **the water of the Ladon has its source** etc. As to the source of the Ladon see viii. 21. 1 note; as to the upper valley of the river see above, p. 280 *sq.* The places mentioned by Pausanias (Leucasium, Mesoboa, Nasi, Oryx, Halus, and Theliades) have not been identified. Leake has some conjectures on the subject (*Morea*, 2. p. 271 *sqq.*; *Pelop.* p. 227 *sqq.*) Cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 374; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 263 note 2. As Leake observes, the Nasi here mentioned cannot be the same place as the Nasi at the source of the Tragus, since that Nasi was 50 furlongs from Ladon (viii. 23. 8). "But as Nasi, or the Islands, was a common name in places intersected by diverging or confluent branches of a river, it is not difficult to imagine that there may have been two Nasi, although at no greater distance from one another than six or seven miles" (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 229). In the Ladon after its junction with the Aroanius I observed an island large enough to allow of a small hamlet being built on it. Some such place was probably Nasi.

Having described the course of the Ladon from its source to the point where Pausanias quitted it on his way to Psophis (see above,

p. 280 *sq.*), I may briefly describe its lower course as far as Thelpusa. I have followed the whole course of the river from its source to near the point where it falls into the Alpheus, with the exception of the bend which it makes between the point where the road from Caphyae to Psophis leaves it, and the point immediately below the large village of *Stretzova*, which stands on a mountain-side facing east, at the northern end of a valley which runs south to the Ladon. The distance of the village from the river is about 3 miles. The path leads across bushy and rocky slopes, and then through bare stony fields to the northern bank of the river. Indian corn is here grown in the valley of the Ladon; wooded mountains rise from its southern bank, and higher mountains of imposing contour close the view on the south-east. At the point where we strike the river two springs gush from under rocks and form a pool shaded by fine spreading plane-trees, whence a stream flows into the Ladon after a course of a few yards. From this point to the bridge of *Spathari*, a ride of about five hours, the scenery is unsurpassed in Greece. The river here forces its way along the bottom of a profound gorge hemmed in by high wooded mountains, which in places descend in immense precipices, feathered with trees and bushes in their crevices, to the brink of the rapid stream. The narrow path runs high up on the right or northern side of the gorge, sometimes overhung by beetling crags, and affording views, now grand now almost appalling, down into the depths of the tremendous gorge, and across it to the high wooded slopes or precipices on the farther side.

The gorge may be said to be divided in two at the village of *Divritsa*, where the mountains recede a little from the river, and the scenery of the two parts is somewhat different. In the first half, ending a little above the village of *Divritsa*, the river sweeps round the base of high steep mountains, which on the south side of the gorge are wooded to their summits and broken every now and then by a profound glen, the sides of which are also wooded from top to bottom. The mountains on the north side are in general not wooded, but bare or overgrown with bushes. This would detract from the beauty of the scenery if the path ran on the south side of the gorge, from which the barer slopes of the mountains on the north would be visible. As it is, the path runs along the steep sides of the mountains on the north side, and the eye rests continually on the mighty wall of verdure that rises on the other side of the river. I had the good fortune to traverse this wonderful gorge on a bright October day, when the beautiful woods were just touched here and there with the first tints of autumn. Far below the river was seen and heard rushing along, now as a smooth swirling stream of opaque green water with a murmurous sound, now tumbling, with a mighty roar, down great rocks and boulders in sheets of greenish-white foam.

Below *Divritsa* the grandeur of the gorge increases to the point of being almost overpowering. Wooded mountains rising steeply from the river have now given place to enormous perpendicular or beetling crags tufted with trees and bushes in their crevices wherever a tree or a bush can find a footing, and overhanging the ravine till there is hardly

room to pass under them and they seem as if they would shut out the sky and meet above the river. Add to this that the path is narrow and runs high above the stream along the brink of precipices where a slip or a stumble of the horse might precipitate his rider into the dreadful depths below. We seem therefore to breathe more freely when, a little above the bridge of *Spathari*, we at last issue from the gorge and see a great free expanse of sky above us, lower hills, and the river winding between them through woodland scenery of a pretty but commonplace type.

Within recent years some remains of antiquity have been discovered at several places in the gorge. One is near *Divritsa*, a village finely situated in a recess of the mountains on the northern side of the river, looking down into the deep valley and across it to a very steep and lofty mountain, whose lower and almost precipitous slopes are cleft by nearly perpendicular gullies or fissures. The ruins are to be seen on a small level space of ground about half a mile to the south-east of *Divritsa*. A path leads down to them from the village, but the place is still high above the river, which is heard roaring down below. The ruins, which were excavated by Mr. Leonardos for the Greek Archaeological Society in 1891, appear to be those of a small temple 16.80 metres long by 5.80 metres wide, with a portico or fore-temple (*pronaos*) at the east end. Portions of the outer walls survive; they are built of the native stone in a style so rude and irregular that one almost hesitates to regard the building as ancient. However, the discovery of a terra-cotta head of Athena and a small bronze bowl inscribed with the word KOPAI ('to the Maid'), settles its antiquity, though it leaves us in doubt whether the temple was dedicated to Athena or Proserpine. The walls, where they exist, are standing to a height of only one and two courses. In the portico, which is 11 ft. 9 in. deep from east to west, there are two large flat blocks of white limestone, apparently part of a pavement.

Further, on an ancient acropolis called *ston Arte* near *Vachlia*, a village situated in a side valley about 2 miles north-east of *Divritsa*, Mr. Leonardos excavated the lower part of another small temple, which was provided with a portico or fore-temple (*pronaos*) and faced north, apparently from want of space. This temple is only half the size of the one at *Divritsa*. The pedestal of the image in the *cella* is preserved.

See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1891, p. 99 *sq.*; Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας, 1891, pp. 23-25; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 15 (1891), p. 657. I visited the temple at *Divritsa* and have described it partly from my notes.

Further, some excavations have been made in the valley about three quarters of an hour's ride below *Divritsa*. The spot is wild and romantic in the highest degree. A small glen here joins the deep gorge of the Ladon on the north, and a little stretch of level ground divides its western bank from the foot of a huge craggy mountain which towers up in one enormous unbroken precipice of rock, with a tiny monastery hanging in a seemingly inaccessible position on its face.

The ruins are to be seen on the very edge of the glen, just below the level ground. No account of them, so far as I know, has yet been published; but I was told on the spot that they were supposed to be part of a temple of Demeter. They consist of a wall 14 ft. 8 in. long, with two short walls, each about 3 feet long, joining it at right angles at either end. One and, at the most, two courses of the walls are preserved. They are built of roughly-squared blocks of fine limestone: one block is about 3 feet long by 1 foot high. The two short walls project towards the glen, the side of which falls away here so steeply that there is no room for any building between it and the walls. From the spot there is a fine view up the gorge of the Ladon.

25. 2. a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. On the right bank of the Ladon, near the bridge of *Spathari*, about 2 miles higher up the valley than Thelpusa, there are said to be some ancient remains, which may possibly be those of the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter. See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 121 (who thought they might be the ruins of the sanctuary of Aesculapius and town of Halus, see §§ 1, 2); Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 152; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 228; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 372; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 366. I did not observe any ancient remains near the bridge when I passed it, on the right bank of the river, in October 1895.

25. 4. After Thelpusa the Ladon descends etc. From Thelpusa our author now descends the valley of the Ladon to Heraea, which stood in the valley of the Alpheus, a little to the east of the junction of that river with the Ladon. I followed the route described by Pausanias, 6th October 1895, and though I saw none of the antiquities mentioned by him, I may be allowed to give my notes of the route. Quitting *Toubitsi* at 10.32 we crossed the Ladon by the new stone bridge to its left or eastern bank, which we continued to follow closely for some time. Later on we ascended a small hill beside the river, from which, at 11.30, we had a fine view southward to the long range of blue mountains beyond the Alpheus. The river winds in a level and green, but on the whole treeless, bottom between low hills which are wooded and bushy on the west bank, but barer on the east. The bed of the river is wide and gravelly; the stream runs in several channels, which enclose small gravelly and sandy islands, on some of which bushes grow. In the course of the day our route led us over several of these islands, the channels which divided them from the bank being very shallow. The sand reminded me of Milton's line—

> "By sandy Ladon's lilied banks."

but I saw no lilies. At 12.5 I noticed a large island in the river with trees growing on it. At 12.35 we passed, but did not cross, a long wooden bridge over the Ladon of curious and primitive construction. Here the hills on the west side of the river are low and wooded, and there are thickets of planes (growing as bushes) beside the bed of the river. Maize is grown on the eastern bank. A little below the wooden bridge there is a cliff of reddish rock on the west bank of the river. After traversing the thickets of planes and some of the little sandy and

gravelly islands we diverged from the river at 1.12 to reach a spring which rises in a small side glen, a few hundred yards from the banks of the Ladon. The water flows from a wall into a stone trough. A draught of it and a rest in the shade of a tree were welcome in the heat of the day. The river scenery at this point of the Ladon is pretty, the hills on both sides being wooded.

From here we ascended a bare plateau dotted with wild apple and other trees. Next we descended into a deep narrow wooded glen, followed it for some time, and then ascended to another plateau sprinkled with trees. From this plateau at 2.24 we saw the Alpheus flowing along from east to west in its broad valley, with low rounded hills on the south side and higher mountains appearing beyond them still farther away in the south. To the south-west we could see the Ladon flowing into the Alpheus. On this plateau, overlooking the valley of the Alpheus, is the hamlet of *Piri*. From it we descended south-eastward into the valley, and at 3.6 reached the scanty ruins of Heraea.

25. 4. **Demeter —— Fury.** With the story of the loves of Demeter and Poseidon which follows, compare the story told by the Phigalians (Paus. viii. 42). The stories differ in that whereas in the Thelpusian version Demeter gave birth to the horse Arion as well as to a daughter (see § 7), in the Phigalian version she gave birth to a daughter only. The Thelpusian story is told also by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 153). Cp. Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 110 *sq.* According to another story Poseidon embraced a Fury (*Erinus*) at the fountain Tilphusa in Boeotia and she gave birth to the horse Arion (Schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 346, ed. Bekker; cp. the Townley schol. on *id.* 347, ed. Maass). In ancient Indian mythology, Saranyu turns herself into a mare; Vivasvat turns himself into a horse, follows her, and embraces her, and she gives birth to the two Asvins, who correspond somewhat to Castor and Pollux. According to Professors A. Kuhn and Max Müller the Sanscrit Saranyu is etymologically identical with the Greek *Erinus*, and they agree in thinking that the Indian and Greek myths are also identical, the Hindus and Greeks having inherited the myth from their common Aryan forefathers. But these distinguished philologists differ widely in their ways of interpreting the myth. W. Mannhardt thought that the application of the name Fury (*Erinus*) to Demeter, and the story that under this surname she gave birth to the horse Arion, were due to a simple confusion of the Arcadian Thelpusa and Onceum with the Boeotian Tilphusa and Onchestus. (As to Onchestus and Tilphusa see ix. 26. 5; ix. 33. 1.) He explained the myth of the union of Poseidon and Demeter in the form of horses as follows. Various peoples have compared the foam-crested waves of the sea to horses; in Italian they are called *cavalli del mare* ('horses of the sea'); in English we call them 'white horses.' Now the swaying of a corn-field in the wind is naturally compared to waves; and when the corn waves in the wind, some German peasants say, "There goes the horse." Similarly a Greek peasant, watching the corn tossed about by the breeze, might have said, "There goes Poseidon through the corn," and might have thought that

the sea-god Poseidon and the corn-goddess Demeter, each in horse-form, were celebrating their nuptials among the waving of the ears. In some parts of Germany and Austria when the corn waves in the wind, they say, "The stalks are pairing," or "the corn is marrying," or "the corn is celebrating its wedding." The fruit of the union of Poseidon and Demeter was Proserpine, the harvest. This is Mannhardt's interpretation of the myth. Whatever explanation we give of it, the story of the union of Poseidon (especially in horse-form) and Demeter seems to have been widely current, for we often find the two deities associated. See ii. 32. 8; viii. 10. 1 *sq.*; viii. 37. 9; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 4. 3.

On the myth, see A. Kuhn, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie*, 3 (1855), p. 373 *sqq.*; Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*,[6] 2. p. 526 *sqq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 244 *sqq.*; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. pp. 156 *sq.*, 266; Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, p. 89 *sqq.*; V. Bérard, *De l'origine des Cultes arcadiens*, p. 156 *sqq.*

Coins of Thelpusa exhibit the head of Demeter on the obverse and the horse Arion, running, on the reverse (Fig. 33). See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 102, with pl. T xxii. xxiii.



FIG. 33.—ARION AND DEMETER (COIN OF THELPUSA).

25. 6. Lusia. Hesychius (*s.v.* Λουσία) also mentions that this was an epithet of Demeter at Thelpusa.

25. 7. the so-called cista (sacred basket). The mystic *cista* or sacred basket appears to have been a regular feature in the rites of Demeter. See viii. 37. 4; x. 28. 3 (in the latter passage it is not, however, styled a *cista*). Purple ribbons were wound round these baskets (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 28, where κοίται = κίσται: see Hesychius, *s.v.* κοίτη, and Pollux, vii. 79). In the Mysteries of Andania (see iv. 1. 7 note) the sacred baskets (*cistae*), containing mystic objects, were carried in procession on chariots which were led by the Sacred Virgins. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 388, line 29 *sqq.* In Apuleius (*Metam.* vi. 2) Psyche adjures Ceres "by the secrets of the *cistae*." The *cista* held some sacred food, of which the initiated at the Eleusinian mysteries partook as a sort of sacrament or communion (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 21, p. 18, ed. Potter). The *cista* of Demeter is represented on the monuments, from which we learn that it was a wicker-work basket of cylindrical shape, generally with a lid. On a fragment of sculpture which once adorned a *puteal* (well-head or similar enclosure) Demeter is represented handing ears of corn and poppies to Triptolemus; between them is a *cista* with a serpent creeping out of it. On a terra-cotta relief Demeter appears seated on a *cista*, about which is twined a serpent, whose head rests on the lap of the goddess. We may hence, perhaps, infer that the *cista* contained one of the sacred serpents of Demeter or an image of it. (As to the serpents of Demeter, see Strabo, ix. p. 393; and the scholia on Lucian, edited by E. Rohde, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 25 (1870), p. 548

sqq.) The *cista* was also used in the rites of Dionysus, and the Bacchic *cista* almost certainly contained a serpent or its image; for on monuments of art, especially on the silver coins of Asia Minor known as *cistophori*, the *cista* is represented with its lid half raised and the serpent escaping from it. Cp. also Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 22. p. 19, ed. Potter. Further, the *cista* was employed in the mysteries of the Cabiri, and in them it appears to have contained an image of τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου αἰδοῖον. See Clement of Alexandria, *op. cit.* ii. 19, p. 16, ed. Potter; Nicolaus Damascenus, in *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, 3. p. 388. On the mystic *cista*, see Otto Jahn, 'Die cista mystica,' *Hermes*, 3 (1869), pp. 317-334; Fr. Lenormant, article 'Cista Mystica,' in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Antiquités*.

25. 8. **In the Iliad there is a reference to Arion** etc. See *Iliad*, xxiii. 346 *sq.*

25. 10. **blue.** Literally "like *kuanos* in colour." As to the meaning of *kuanos* see Helbig, *Das homerische Epos*,[2] p. 101 *sqq.* The word includes *lapis lazuli*, the ultramarine blue produced by pulverising *lapis lazuli*, and *smalt* or a glass paste coloured blue with copper ore or cobalt to imitate *lapis lazuli*. In the palace at Tiryns there was found an alabaster frieze adorned with this blue glass paste. See above, vol. 3. p. 227; Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 284 *sqq.*; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Ausgrabungen*,[2] p. 144 *sq.*

25. 11. **a sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius.** On the right bank of the Ladon, about half a mile below Thelpusa, is a ruined church of St. Athanasius, which contains some fragments of columns. Possibly the chapel marks the site of the sanctuary of Aesculapius. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 99 *sq.*, 103; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 371.

25. 11. **the account which I gave** etc. See ii. 26. 4.

25. 12. **a river Tuthoa.** This is the river of *Langadia* which, flowing westward through a pleasant valley, falls into the Ladon on the left bank of that river. The bed of the Tuthoa is wide and stony, showing that the stream, though shallow in summer, must be large and rapid in winter. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 94 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 156; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 369; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 112 *sq.*

25. 12. **Pedium ('plain').** This is the green plain on the left bank of the Ladon between the river of *Langadia* (the Tuthoa) and a brook which joins the Ladon lower down. See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 117; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 369; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 256 note 3.

25. 12. **At the point where.** The Greek is καθότι. This use of καθότι is not noticed in Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, but it is common in Pausanias. See vi. 20. 10; vi. 25. 5; vii. 26. 3; vii. 27. 12; viii. 28. 3; viii. 35. 1; viii. 41. 3; x. 20. 7. In ix. 2. 4 and ix. 12. 3 καθότι in this sense is followed by a genitive. Pausanias also uses the word in its common signification of 'just as.' See viii. 41. 8.

25. 12. **the Isle of Crows.** Just before joining the Alpheus the Ladon divides into two, or sometimes three, arms, enclosing a flat delta about a quarter of a mile in circumference, on which plane-trees grow. This is the Isle of Crows. As Pausanias says (§ 13) that the Ladon had no island as big as a ferry-boat, the Isle of Crows would seem to

have increased since his time; as the soil of the island is alluvial, this may well have happened. Or the river may have been high when he visited it. Thus when Leake was at Thelpusa there were two islands in the river, each about 300 or 400 yards in length. But when L. Ross visited the same place he saw many small islands, but remarked that when the river was at its usual height the number of the islands might be much less. When I was at Thelpusa in October 1895 I saw several islands in the river which were certainly larger than ferry-boats. And between Thelpusa and Heraea I traversed several such islands in the river and saw many more (see above, p. 290).

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 115; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 90, 103 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 107, 112; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 369; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 462; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 256; Wyse, *Pelop.* 2. p. 76.

25. 13. **There is indeed no fairer river either in Greece or in foreign land.** Leake says of the Ladon: "It is the handsomest river in the Peninsula, by its depth, its rapid, even, unfailing course, and its beautiful banks; compared to it the others are rocky or sandy torrents" (*Morea*, 2. p. 100). Gell writes that the river "merits all that has been said in praise of its scenery" (*Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 120). Beulé says: "To follow up the Ladon from Heraea to its sources is a delightful journey. . . . A beautiful river, fresh springs, tufted forests, green meadows, gentle hills, bounding goats, flowers and perfumes in abundance; the imagination has nothing more to desire, and however prejudiced we may be against the traditional insipidities, we allow ourselves to be disarmed by so many charms and recognise the Arcadia of the poets. The scene shifts at every step. Now the river runs by fair meadows and fruitful fields, enclosed by hills shaded with pine-trees: and in contrast to this smiling landscape we see rising in the distance the snowy peaks of Mt. Olonos. Now on a bare hill-side you will see a chapel with some ancient stones, some fragments of columns, the whole shaded by trees that are nearly dead with age. Again, a vast oak-wood follows the river and the mountains that border it, and so thick, so unbroken is the forest that, seen from a height, the tree-tops appear to form a prairie" (*Études sur le Peloponnèse*, p. 141 *sqq.*) Cp. Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 368; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 461. Certainly the great wooded gorge of the Ladon ranks with the very finest scenery of Greece and of Europe.

The modern Peloponnesians regard the Ladon as the main stream of the Alpheus, giving the name of *Rhouphia* (a corruption of Alpheus) to it instead of to the southern branch which waters the great plain of Megalopolis. And they seem to be right in regarding the Ladon as the main stream in so far as relates to the body of water which it brings down. When I travelled in Arcadia in the autumn of 1895 the scanty stream of the upper Alpheus in the plain of Megalopolis contrasted strongly with the volume and speed of the Ladon even at its source, as we had seen it a few days before. The upper Alpheus, before its junction with the Ladon, is now called by the natives the river of *Karytaena*. Cp. Leake, *l.c.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 497. Dio

Chrysostom tells us that in his time the country through which the Ladon flowed was uninhabited (*Or.* xxxiii. vol. 2. p. 9, ed. Dindorf).

26. 1. Heraea. The ancient Heraea occupied a low broad plateau on the right bank of the Alpheus, a little to the south-west of the modern villages of *Hagios Joannes* (*Aianni*) and *Anemodouri.* On the north the plateau is bounded by very low hills or hillocks of brown earth dotted with trees. On the south it slopes steeply to the Alpheus, which in one place advances close to the foot of the slope, but in another retires from it, leaving a stretch of level ground between the slope and the water's edge. Here, on this stretch of flat ground beside the river, were no doubt laid out the avenues described by Pausanias. The boundaries of the plateau on the east and west are formed by two glens or gullies, the sides of which are overgrown with bushes; the eastern of the two glens is the deeper. The surface of the plateau is now occupied, partly by vineyards, partly by bare stony fields. Scattered over it are masses of ancient potsherds of the plain unpainted sort, and these are almost the only vestiges of antiquity which remained on the site in 1895, the year of my visit to Heraea. On the edge of the plateau overlooking the river there is a small platform of earth which bears the name of *Palaea Ekklesia* ('Old Church'). But the church which presumably once stood here, and which may perhaps have occupied the site of an ancient temple, has wholly disappeared; not a stone of it is left. About 200 yards or so to the east of this spot, also on the brow of the plateau, is a small piece of Roman or Byzantine wall, built of rubble with a facing of brickwork; it is only a few feet long and a foot or 18 inches high. A few more insignificant remains of walls of the same style are to be seen lower down, on the steep stony slope which divides the plateau from the bed of the river. The remains may be some 250 yards from the Alpheus and about 150 feet above it. They consist of two or three small pieces of wall built of rubble but faced on each side with brickwork. The bricks are flat, and there is mortar or concrete between each course of them. Such are all the ancient remains that I was able to find on the site of Heraea. Earlier in the century the ruins were more considerable, but they were probably pulled down to furnish building materials for the neighbouring villages. Remains of the ancient city-walls were to be seen both at the eastern and the western ends of the plateau. At the eastern end, towards the village of *Hagios Joannes*, the wall ran from north to south and was built in a fairly regular style. On the slope between the plateau and the river might be seen some remains of baths built of bricks, with here and there a patch of stucco. These may have been the baths mentioned by Pausanias, and the few small pieces of walls which still exist on the slope may have belonged to them. Lower down, parallel to the river, might be traced a ruined wall built of blocks of conglomerate; it probably supported a terrace. In the church of St. John (*Hagios Joannes*) were to be seen some fragments of columns of shell-limestone, about 20 inches in diameter.

Built into a wall in the village of *Hagios Joannes* is an inscription recording a dedication by a certain Timarchis to the sons of Aesculapius (*Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 3 (1879), p. 190). The inscription is

of interest as proving that the sons of Aesculapius were worshipped at Heraea. Cp. Paus. iii. 26. 9.

The situation of Heraea is pleasing, though in no way striking. The valley of the Alpheus is here broad and open. Across the river, on its southern side, is an expanse of green level ground sprinkled with trees, stretching away to a line of round bushy hills, shaped like [illegible]-hills, beyond which rise higher mountains in the south. High blue mountains also bound the views up and down the broad valley on the east and south-west.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 91 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 113 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 159; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 363 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 461; Wyse, *Peloponnesus*, 2. p. 70 *sqq.* (with a view of the valley of the Alpheus); Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 256 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 312; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 315 *sq.*

The city of Heraea was founded by the Spartan king Cleombrotus or Cleonymus; the people had previously dwelt dispersed in nine villages or townships (Strabo, viii. p. 337). Strabo mentions Heraea (viii. p. 388) in the list of Arcadian towns which in his time had either vanished or left but small traces of themselves behind. But Strabo had not travelled in the interior of Peloponnesus, and his testimony does not weigh against that of Pausanias.

On a bronze tablet, brought from Olympia in 1813 by Sir W. Gell, and now in the British Museum, is inscribed a treaty of alliance for 100 years between Heraea and Elis. The inscription is believed to date from the second half of the sixth century B.C. See *C. I. G.* No. 11; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part ii. p. 14, No. clvii.; Roehl, *I. G. A.* No. 110; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 258; Hicks, *Greek histor. Inscr.* No. 8; Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, No. 291; *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 9.

The wine of Heraea was said to make men mad and women fruitful (Theophrastus, *Hist. plant.* ix. 18. 10, where for Ἡρακλείᾳ and ἀτέκνους we should read Ἡραίᾳ and τεκνούσας; Athenaeus, i. p. 31 f; Aelian, *Var. hist.* xiii. 6; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xiv. 116). Vineyards, as we have seen, now occupy part of the site of the ancient city. As to the modern wine of the place Leake says: "A sweetish red wine is still made here, and it has more flavour and body than almost any wine I have met with in the Morea. In sufficient quantities, therefore, it might produce for a time one of the effects anciently attributed to the wine of Heraea; as to the other, its reputation at least is gone: and certainly the poor women of Arcadia never drink of it for the sake of the virtues ascribed to it by the ancients" (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 92 *sq.*)

26. 2. **Damaretus of Heraea.** See v. 8. 10; vi. 10. 4; x. 7. 7.

26. 3. **fifteen furlongs —— twenty furlongs.** These measurements are perfectly accurate (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 92; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 107). As to the junction of the Erymanthus with the Alpheus see above, note on vi. 21. 3.

The first sight I had of the Erymanthus, nearer its source, among the mountains of northern Arcadia, is one of the scenes that dwell in the memory. We had been travelling for hours through the thick oak-

woods which cover the outlying slopes and spurs of Mount Erymanthus on the south, when suddenly, emerging from the forest, we looked down into a long valley, through which flowed, between hills wooded to their summits, a shining river, the Erymanthus. At the far end of the valley high blue mountains closed the view. The scene, arched by the bright Greek sky, was indeed Arcadian.

26. 3. **the grave of Coroebus.** As to Coroebus, cp. v. 8. 6. On the right (west) bank of the Erymanthus, where it joins the Alpheus, there is a colossal tumulus or barrow, which L. Ross took to be the grave of Coroebus. But as the Arcadians placed the boundary at the Erymanthus, whereas the Eleans placed it at the grave of Coroebus, it is clear that the grave of Coroebus must have lain farther from Elis and nearer to Heraea than the Erymanthus, in other words it must have been east (not west) of the Erymanthus. The tumulus in question was partially excavated in 1845 ; in it were found a number of small compartments built of stone, and containing ashes, bones, charred potsherds etc. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 107 ; *id.*, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 191 *sqq.* ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 367 ; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 462 *sq.* ; Wyse, *Pelop.* 2. p. 77 *sqq.*

26. 5. **a little town, Aliphera.** The ruins of Aliphera occupy the summit of a high isolated hill or mountain on the southern side of the valley of the Alpheus, about two hours' ride to the south-east of the village of *Zacha*. To reach them from Heraea we ford the Alpheus, which is here a broad shallow stream of clear water, and follow the south bank of the river westward. Opposite the junction of the Ladon with the Alpheus the path strikes southward up hill ; we ascend a shallow glen and then the bare or bushy slopes of the lower hills. Finally passing through a long green lane and vineyards we reach the village of *Zacha*, which rises steeply among trees on the northern slope of the higher hills, with fine views over the valley of the Alpheus to the lofty mountains of northern Arcadia. From *Zacha* the path ascends south-eastward among the hills, and we come in view of the high hill of Aliphera on our left (to the east), separated from us by some lower heights. To reach the foot of the hill it is necessary to make a rather long detour to the south and east. The time from Heraea to Aliphera is about four hours and a half.

The hill or mountain of Aliphera is high and isolated, sloping away steeply on all sides. Its summit forms a rather narrow ridge, which is highest on the south and descends slightly and gradually in slopes and terraces to the north. The length of the ridge may be from a third to half a mile. Its greatest breadth hardly exceeds 100 yards, and towards its northern end the ridge tapers to a knife-edge. The highest part, at the south end, was clearly the acropolis, and had its separate fortifications, which are in fair preservation. They formed a quadrangle about 64 paces long from north to south, with a diminishing breadth of 66 paces at the south end, and of 29 paces at the north end. From the middle of the north side of this small acropolis there projects a square tower built of massive masonry. Its walls are 4 feet thick, and are standing to a height of seven and eight courses, or about 9 feet and

more. Of the other fortifications of the citadel the southern wall is the best preserved. It is about 66 paces long, and is standing in places to a height of seven and eight courses (about 9 and 10 feet). The masonry is on the whole quadrangular, with polygonal pieces here and there. Some of the blocks are large ; one of them, towards the eastern end of the wall, is nearly 6 feet high by 3 feet broad. On the other sides of the acropolis the remains of the walls are much less considerable. Their thickness was about 9 feet. In the middle of the acropolis, the surface of which is strewn with coarse, red, unpainted potsherds, there are some doubtful traces of foundations.

Immediately outside of the southern wall of the acropolis is a narrow terrace at a slightly lower level than the acropolis. It was supported on the south by a wall now mostly ruinous, but which at the west end is still about 5 feet 6 inches thick, and is standing to a height of three or four courses, or about 5 feet at the most, for a distance of 16 paces. On the terrace, both at its eastern and western ends, there are remains of foundation-walls consisting of squared blocks laid in straight rows ; but only the upper surfaces of the stones appear above ground. The western foundation-wall is about 6 paces long.

The whole of the summit of the ridge was probably enclosed by fortification-walls ; but of these walls the remains, outside of the small acropolis, are scanty. Some pieces of them may be seen on the south-western brow of the hill. Here are remains of a piece of wall with a quadrangular tower projecting from it. The wall is 6 feet 7 inches thick, and is well built of large blocks on the outer and inner faces, while the core is constructed of smaller stones. The blocks are roughly polygonal, and the masonry is irregular. The tower measures 24 feet on the face, and projects 5 feet 3 inches from the curtain. It is standing to a height of six courses, or about 8 feet. The stone of which the fortifications are built seems to be a grey limestone ; it is the native rock of the hill, as may be seen by the numerous rocks of this sort which crop up on the surface at the northern end of the ridge. A little to the north of these ruins are two smaller pieces of the fortification-wall. One of them is about 9 paces long and 5 feet 6 inches high.

The ridge, as I have said, descends slightly from south to north in a series of terraces and slopes. The northern end of the highest of these terraces (the terrace immediately north of and below the acropolis) is formed into a platform artificially supported on walls of squared blocks, of which a few are still in position. A temple may have stood on this platform. Indeed on its western side there are foundations forming a right angle 7 paces long from east to west by 8 or 9 paces long from north to south. Probably the two sanctuaries of Aesculapius and Athena mentioned by Pausanias stood, one on the terrace to the north, and the other on the terrace to the south, of the acropolis.

To the north of the platform which I have described may be seen the remains of the northern fortification-wall crossing the ridge from east to west. Though ruinous, it exists to some extent in its whole length. At its eastern end the wall is standing to a height of four

courses; the masonry is here roughly quadrangular. Towards the west the wall is standing to a height of six courses.

Beyond this northern wall the ridge runs northward for a considerable way (about five minutes' walk), growing gradually lower and narrower. This northern extremity was outside of the fortifications, at least of the main fortifications, for in fact on the west side of this part of the ridge there are some remains of a wall. The extreme northern point of the ridge is covered with sharp natural limestone rocks, the same rock of which the walls are built. Here the ridge falls away abruptly into a very deep glen on the north-west, in the direction of *Zacha*.

From the citadel, and indeed from the whole summit of the ridge, there is a magnificent view over the valley of the Alpheus for miles and miles. All the mountains of northern Arcadia are spread out like a panorama; and through the broad valley that intervenes between them and the height on which we stand the Alpheus is seen winding far away and far below. The air blows fresh and sweet on the height, and the peacefulness, the stillness, the remoteness from the world of this little mountain-citadel remind one irresistibly of Keats's lines in the "Ode to a Grecian Urn":

> What little town by river or sea-shore,
> Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,[3]
> Is emptied of this folk, this pious morn?

Thus far I have described the situation and ruins of Aliphera as I observed them on visiting the place, 7th October 1895. Leake has also described them, and as he appears to have seen some remains which escaped me I will subjoin his description. According to him the ruins are now called the Castle of *Nerovitza*. He says: "The hill of *Nerovitza* is surrounded on the eastern and partly on the northern and southern sides by the torrent of *Fanari*. It has a tabular summit about 300 yards long in the direction of east and west, 100 yards broad, and surrounded by remains of Hellenic walls. At the south-eastern angle, a part rather higher than the rest formed a keep to this fortress; it was about 70 yards long, and half as much broad. The entrance appears to have been in the middle of the eastern wall, between two square towers, of which that to the left only now remains. Beyond this tower, in the same direction and just below the eastern wall of the keep, a lower terrace still retains some foundations of a temple, together with portions of the shafts of columns not fluted, 2 feet 2 inches in diameter. There are remains of another temple, with some fragments of columns of the same dimensions, towards the western extremity of the outer fortress, near the brow of the height. The whole summit is carpeted with a fine close turf, as usual on the Arcadian hills, where the atmosphere is generally sufficiently moist, even in summer, to maintain the verdure and to furnish an excellent pasture for sheep. I descend from the hill on the northern side through some fields of wheat full grown, but quite green; in the midst of which I find some large flat stones accurately cut, which apparently formed part of a ceiling. A little

farther on is a source of water. From thence, after winding round the eastern side of the hill to regain the road to *Fanari*, I find the foundations of one of the gates of the lower city. This part of the fortification was flanked with towers, of which there are the remains of two or three, together with considerable pieces of the intermediate walls on the western side, where the ground is very rocky and overgrown with bushes. The masonry is in general of the second order, and has suffered much from time and the exposed situation." It will be observed that what Leake calls the eastern side of the hill I call the southern; and what he calls the western I call the northern. The trend of the hill is perhaps rather from south-east to north-west than from south to north or from east to west.

In 219 B.C. Aliphera was captured by a Macedonian army under King Philip V. The assault took place at sunrise on a bright morning. Polybius, who records the event (iv. 78), says that the town stood on "a hill that is precipitous on all sides, and to which the approach is more than 10 furlongs long."

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 71-80; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 86, 114; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 160; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 102 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 360 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 234; Baedeker,[3] p. 317; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 319 *sq.*

An inscription found at Olympia in 1884 seems to refer to certain disputes between Aliphera and Heraea (*Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 48). In this inscription the name of the town appears as Alipheira (Ἀλίφειρα); and the name is so spelt on coins (Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 352; *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, p. 14).

26. 6. Zeus Lecheates ('brought to bed'). Panofka has described some monuments which he supposes to represent Zeus about to bring forth Athena (*Philolog. u. histor. Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1853, pp. 42-50).

26. 6. a fountain which they call Tritonis. On the north-eastern side of the hill of Aliphera, Leake observed a spring which he thought might be the one anciently called Tritonis (*Morea*, 2. pp. 73, 79).

26. 6. the legend of the river Triton. See ix. 33. 7.

26. 7. The image of Athena etc. Polybius tells us (iv. 78) that the image stood on the summit of the hill, and was remarkable for its size and beauty; the people of the town could not tell by whom or on what occasion the image had been dedicated, but they agreed that it was a masterpiece of art, besides being of the very largest size. According to Polybius, the image was by the sculptors Hypatodorus and Sostratus. As to Hypatodorus, see note on x. 10. 4. Sostratus may be either the sculptor mentioned by Pausanias elsewhere (vi. 9. 3, with the note), or more probably the nephew of Pythagoras of Rhegium (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 60).

At the village of *Phanari*, about 2 miles south of Aliphera, Col. Leake purchased an intaglio on an onyx, representing Athena armed with spear and shield, and clothed in a short tunic which hung in

graceful folds over a robe that reached to her feet. The design is of the best period. Round the figure is engraved the word ΑΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΑΣ ('of her who rules the city'), from which Leake inferred that the figure represented the colossal statue by Hypatodorus. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 80.

26. 7. **they sacrifice first of all to the Fly-catcher.** Cp. v. 14. 1 note.

26. 8. **On the road from Heraea to Megalopolis is Melaeneae etc.** The modern route from Heraea (*Hagios Joannes*) to Megalopolis (*Sinanou*), which probably coincides fairly with the ancient route, keeps along the right bank of the Alpheus, passing through or near the villages of *Anaziri*, *Kakouraïka*, *Strouza*, *Trypaes*, *Zoula-Sarakini*, and *Atsikolo*, crosses the Gortynius river by a bridge some way below Gortys (see below), and follows the left bank of that river to *Karytaena*, from which the road goes southward over the plain to Megalopolis. The time from Heraea to *Karytaena* is about 8½ hours, and the time from *Karytaena* to Megalopolis is about 2½ hours. Between Heraea and *Karytaena* there are remains of antiquity, which may be identified with some of the places mentioned by Pausanias. It is, therefore, necessary to describe briefly the route and the ancient remains.

From Heraea the route goes eastward, following the right bank of the Alpheus at some little distance from the river. We cross the beds of several streams that take their rise in the neighbouring mountains, traverse a plateau planted with olives, and reach (in 38 minutes from Heraea) the village of *Anaziri*. From this village the direct route to *Karytaena* runs south-eastward to the village of *Kakouraïka*, distant about 1¼ hours from *Anaziri*. Instead of following it, however, we strike eastward from *Anaziri* in order to visit an ancient acropolis. We ascend a rocky mountain, cross a ravine, and come to the meeting-place of two brooks. Just above the meeting of the brooks rises a steep hill, on the top of which the ancient remains are to be seen. The time from *Anaziri* to the ruins is 1¼ hours. Not far from the ruins is the little village of *Papadaes*, from which a torrent, dry in summer, flows down to the Alpheus. That the summit of the steep hill was occupied by an ancient acropolis is proved by the remains of walls built in regular courses. At the extreme south-west point, where the hill is highest and is bounded by a rocky precipice, there are remains of walls which apparently enclosed a sacred precinct; for within the area are foundations which seem to be those of a temple.

From the acropolis, in order to regain the route to *Karytaena*, we descend on the south-west side, cross a ravine, on the farther side of which may be observed a cave in the steep rocks at the foot of the acropolis, and follow the cultivated valley of the stream south-westward to the village of *Kakouraïka*. The time from the acropolis to the village is about an hour. Resuming the route to *Karytaena*, we come, in 15 minutes from *Kakouraïka*, to a wooded ravine, cross it, and come, in 12 minutes more, to another wooded ravine. Here there is a copious spring forming a stream which falls into the Alpheus hard by. At the spring there is a large quadrangular building of Roman date,

roofed with a hemispherical brick vault decorated with stucco and some modern paintings. Part of the vaulted roof has fallen in; the soil in the ravine has risen as high as the springing of the vault; and in the interior the floor of the building is 18 inches deep in water from the neighbouring spring. Yet the edifice is used as a church, and services are performed in it. It seems to be only in August that the stream dries up and the building is free of water. Beside this vaulted edifice is another less conspicuous ruin, said to be the remains of a Roman bath. The too copious spring has given to this spot the name of *Kakorrheos* ('evil flow').

Pursuing our way, we pass, in half an hour from *Kakorrheos*, the village of *Kokora*, situated on a height a little to the left (east) of the path. Farther on the valley of the Alpheus contracts, the level ground which has hitherto skirted it on both banks disappears, and we reach the lower end of the deep narrow gorge through which the river flows from the upper plain of Megalopolis to the lower valley or champaign country of which Heraea was the chief city in antiquity. The river enters this long gorge at *Karytaena*. Our route leaves the flat ground by the river and ascends to the village of *Trypaes*, passing on the right several caves which give the place its name. The time from *Kokora* to *Trypaes* is about 1½ hours. Our way now lies through bare mountains, but the ground about *Trypaes* is cultivated, and wild pear-trees grow here and there. About a mile beyond the village a very fine spring rises under a shady plane-tree to the left of the road. It forms a stream which flows down, past a mill, into the deep narrow rocky bed of the Alpheus. Soon afterwards we pass on the right a wooded hill, the summit of which is crowned with the ruins of an ancient Greek fortress. The hill overhangs the right bank of the Alpheus; on the opposite or left bank of the river lies the village of *Matesi*. The ancient walls of the fortress have been repaired in later times. From here a ride of 1¼ hours brings us to the small village of *Zoula-Sarakini*, opposite which on the western bank of the Alpheus is the village of *Lavda*, at the foot of a high conspicuous mountain. From *Zoula-Sarakini* we have a choice of routes to *Karytaena*. We may descend south-westward into the deep bed of the Alpheus, follow it up to its junction with the Gortynius river, then turn up the glen of the latter river and follow its right bank for a mile or so till we come to a stone bridge, by which we cross the river. The time from *Zoula-Sarakini* to the bridge is about 2¾ hours. From the bridge a very rugged stony path, ascending continually, leads first along the left bank of the Gortynius river, and then along the glen of the Alpheus to *Karytaena*. The time from the bridge to *Karytaena* is 1 hour and 10 minutes. By the other route from *Zoula-Sarakini*, instead of descending south-west into the glen of the Alpheus, we keep on eastward through the mountains to *Atzikolo*, a small village standing among corn-fields on a little terrace surrounded by barren mountains. About a mile from the village are the ruins of Gortys (see below, p. 307 *sqq.*) From *Atzikolo* we descend by a steep rocky path to the bridge over the Gortynius, beyond which the path to *Karytaena* is the same as before.

From *Karytaena*, pursuing our way to Megalopolis, we descend southward to a stone bridge which, carried on six arches, spans the Alpheus at the point where the river enters its deep and narrow gorge. Against one of the piers of the bridge, on the north side, is built a tiny chapel, reached by steps from the bed of the river. From the time that we cross the bridge our way lies entirely through the great plain of Megalopolis, encircled on all sides by mountains of varied and picturesque outlines. Vineyards and maize-fields occupy the plain, which is crossed from east to west by several low bare downs. In 1½ hours from *Karytaena* we re-cross the Alpheus by a ford to its right bank. The river here is broad and shallow, and its banks are low. In an hour from fording the Alpheus we cross the broad stony, sometimes almost waterless, bed of the Helisson, and ascending it for a short way reach the theatre and other remains of Megalopolis. The time from *Karytaena* is about 2½ hours. The whole time from Heraea to Megalopolis, without allowing for stoppages, is about 10 hours.

It remains to see if we can identify any of the ancient ruins between Heraea and *Karytaena* with the places mentioned by Pausanias. The ruins at *Kakorrheos* may well be those of Melaeneae; the abundance of running water here answers exactly to Pausanias's description of the place. If so, the ruined acropolis at *Papadaes* may be Buphagium, and the stream which comes down the valley from it to join the Alpheus may be the Buphagus. The distance of the acropolis from *Kakorrheos* agrees very well with the distance (40 Greek furlongs, about 4½ miles) of Buphagium from Melaeneae. Curtius indeed supposed that the ruins at *Papadaes* are those of the acropolis of Melaeneae, but the distance between the two places seems fatal to this view. The ancient fortress on the right bank of the Alpheus, near *Trypaes* and opposite *Matesi*, may be Maratha, which Pausanias describes on the way from the springs of the Buphagus to Gortys (viii. 27. 17). It is true that the place is not on the straight line from the springs of the Buphagus (near *Papadaes*) to Gortys; but the ancient route from the one place to the other, instead of crossing the mountains in a bee-line, may have followed the longer but easier route described above. Curtius, however, identified the ruined fortress near *Trypaes* with Buphagium, and the neighbouring stream with the Buphagus.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 110-113; Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 19 *sq.*, 66 *sq.*, 92; *id.*, *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 231-233; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. pp. 32-34; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 159, 160 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 355-357; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 258; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 96 *sq.*

26. 8. **it is well supplied with running water.** The Greek is *ὕδατι δὲ καταρρεῖται*. The expression seems to imply a place with abundance of springs, of which the water streamed or trickled in rills along the ground. Cp. vii. 26. 11 *ἀφθονῷ καταρρεῖται τῷ ὕδατι*; viii. 34. 6 *καταρρεῖται δὲ ὕδατι*. The phrase seems to be always used in a good sense ('watered,' 'irrigated,' not 'flooded,' 'inundated'). Compare the use of the adjective *κατάρρυτος* in Diodorus v. 19. 3 *ἡ νῆσος αὕτη*

καταρρυτός ἐστι ναματιαίοις καὶ γλυκέσιν ὕδασι, δι' ὧν οὐ μόνον ἀπόλαυσις ἐπιτερπὴς γίνεται κ.τ.λ. "This isle is watered with rills and sweet waters, the source not only of delightful enjoyment," etc. Places like *Kalavryta* and the village of *Anastasova* (near Psophis), where the water flows in mazy rills down the sloping ground, might be described by the phrase *ὕδατι καταρρεῖται*.

27. 3. **The following is a list of the cities** etc. Diodorus says (xv. 72) that the population of Megalopolis was drawn from forty villages of the Maenalians and Parrhasians. But the more precise and detailed account of Pausanias is to be preferred. Cp. P. Herthum, *De Megalopolitarum rebus gestis et de communi Arcadum republica* (Lipsiae, 1893), p. 53 *sqq*.

27. 3. **Eutaea.** This town is not again mentioned by Pausanias, and the only clue which he gives to its situation is that it was one of the Maenalian towns. A clearer indication of its position is furnished by Xenophon, who tells us that in 370 B.C. King Agesilaus, marching at the head of a Lacedaemonian army from Sparta to Mantinea, captured Eutaea, an Arcadian city on the borders of Laconia. He found only old men, women, and children in the city, for all the men of military age had gone to join the Arcadian army which was mustering at Asea for the defence of Mantinea. Having repaired the walls of the town, the king marched into the Tegean plain, and advancing northward encamped to the west of Mantinea. On his return he again marched by Eutaea. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 12 and 21. From this narrative we gather that Eutaea was in the extreme south of Arcadia, on one of the military routes from Sparta to the Tegean plain. Hence we may assume that it was in or near the plain of Asea, now called the plain of *Francovrysi*, which is interposed between the much larger plains of Megalopolis on the west and Tegea on the east. Leake conjectured that Eutaea was at *Barbitsa*, a village situated in a hollow among steeper heights about 2 miles south-east of the ruins of Asea. The flat rocky summits of the hills here seemed to him suitable for the site of an ancient town. But there appear to be no ancient remains at *Barbitsa*, and Mr. W. Loring has made it probable that Eutaea was not here, but near *Pianou*, a neighbouring village distant about a mile to the south-east of *Barbitsa*. At *Pianou* there are vestiges of antiquity, including a marble Doric capital, some blocks of ancient masonry built into the chapel of Hagia Barbara, and a number of circular wells lined with small blocks of limestone, without brick or mortar. A good many ancient coins, mostly Roman and Byzantine but including some of the Arcadian and Achaean Leagues, have been found in the fields close to the village: and on the hill of St. Constantine, which overhangs the village, are some slight remains of two fortification-walls of unhewn stones, which in their construction resemble those of Sellasia (see vol. 3. p. 321). The hill is high, and from its position commands the route from Sparta into the Asean plain by the river-bed of the Eurotas. It was very natural, therefore, that Agesilaus on his march to Mantinea should have seized a place of such strategic importance. See Leake, *Morea*, 3. pp. 24, 31-33; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 48-51.

27. 3. **Sumateum.** In the hills about 3 miles to the west of the modern *Tripolitsa* is the village of *Selimna* or *Silimna*. It is seen on the left of the road as you go from *Tripolitsa* to *Karytaena*. On a high summit to the south-west of the village there is a plateau artificially levelled and covered with ruins, including remains of polygonal walls. This may perhaps be Sumateum, Sumatia, or Sumetia, as Pausanias elsewhere (viii. 3. 4; viii. 36. 8) calls it. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 116 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 51, 306; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 172; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 120; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 315, 342; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229. Cp. Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Σουμάτια.

27. 3. **the Eutresians.** They appear to have occupied the hills on the eastern side of the plain of Megalopolis, to the north of that city; perhaps they owned also a part of the plain. Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vii. 1. 29) speaks of Eutresii as if it were a town rather than a tribe in describing a victory gained in 367 B.C. by the Lacedaemonians under King Archidamus over the Arcadians and Argives. The battle took place, according to Xenophon, between Parrhasia, Medea, and Eutresii, which is interpreted by Leake to mean about 3 miles north-north-west of Megalopolis. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 167; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 320 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 225 *sq.* Cp. Hesychius, *s.v.* Εὐτρηΐους; Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Εὔτρησις; *Etymol. Magnum*, p. 399, *s.v.* Εὐτρήσιος.

27. 3. **Ptolederma, Cnausum.** These towns appear to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. Their sites are unknown.

27. 4. **the Aegytians.** This tribe occupied a district on the borders of Laconia and Arcadia, extending from Belemina (iii. 21. 3 note) to Cromi (viii. 34. 6 note), both included, and consequently comprising the northern end of the range of Taygetus above the modern *Leondari*, together with the two valleys of the Thius (viii. 35. 3 note) and the Gatheatas (viii. 34. 5 note). See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 322; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 168; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 292 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 241.

27. 4. **Malaea —— Leuctrum.** Leuctrum is mentioned by Thucydides (v. 54), who calls it Leuctra (cp. Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 6), and says that it was a place on the borders of Laconia and Arcadia, towards Mt. Lycaeus. In 419 B.C. a Lacedaemonian army under King Agis marched from Sparta to Leuctrum, intending to advance farther, but evil omens induced them to return (Thucydides, *l.c.*) From Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 24) we learn that Leuctrum was in a pass leading into Laconia, and that it was above Maleatis, which was probably the territory of the town of Malaea here mentioned by Pausanias. Hence both Malaea and Leuctrum probably lay somewhere to the south of *Leondari*, perhaps near the sources of the Carnion (*Xerillo-potamos*) or in the pass which leads from the head of that river valley across Mount Taygetus into the valley of the Eurotas. It has been conjectured that *Leondari* itself occupies the site of Leuctrum. Some pieces of columns and other architectural fragments, which may easily have been brought from elsewhere, are to be seen in a church; but with this exception there appear to be no ancient remains at *Leondari*. The church in question was

converted into a mosque under the Turkish dominion, but apparently dates from Byzantine times. The little town of *Leondari* is situated very picturesquely on the northern extremity of Mount Taygetus, where that great range subsides into the plain of Megalopolis. The houses are clustered on a narrow saddle or ridge at the foot of a steep rocky height crowned with the ruins of a mediaeval castle. This rocky height is the last spur of Mount Taygetus on the north. The neighbourhood of the town is fresh and green, and abounds in trees, especially in stately cypresses. To the south and east the loftier heights of Mount Taygetus rise above the town; westward we look across the narrow green valley of the Carnion (*Xerillo-potamos*) to Mount *Hellenitsa* (over 4000 feet high); while northward the eye ranges over the wide valley of the Alpheus or plain of Megalopolis encircled by mountains. The town is not heard of until near the end of the Byzantine empire. Here the despot Thomas Palaeologus, brother of the last emperor of Constantinople, was defeated by the Turks in 1459.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 42-44, 322 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 170; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 57; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 293; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 403 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 243; Baedeker,[3] p. 294; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 282; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 201.

27. 4. **the Parrhasians.** From Pausanias it appears that the Parrhasians possessed the eastern slopes of Mount Lycaeus and all the plain of the Alpheus on its left bank from near *Leondari* to *Karytaena*, together with a part of the right bank at Thocnia (see viii. 29. 5). On the west their territory bordered on Elis (Strabo, viii. p. 336). On the south it must have extended up to or near the borders of Laconia, since in the Peloponnesian War the Mantineans, to whom the Parrhasians were then subject, erected a fort at a place called Cypsela in the Parrhasian territory, for the annoyance of the Laconian district of Sciritis. In 421 B.C. a Lacedaemonian army under King Plistoanax, at the invitation of the Parrhasians, invaded Parrhasia, destroyed the fort at Cypsela, and restored their independence to the Parrhasians. See Thucydides, v. 33. Strabo mentions the Parrhasians as one of the oldest of Greek tribes (viii. p. 388). The Roman poets apparently used the adjective Parrhasian as equivalent to Arcadian (Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 344, xi. 31; Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 315). Leake thought that the Parrhasia of Homer (*Il.* ii. 608) was probably Lycosura. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 320 *sqq.*

27. 4. **the Arcadian Cynurians.** Their territory seems to have stretched from Gortys westward, along the northern slopes of Mt. Lycaeus, to the borders of Triphylia. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 323 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 347; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 233.

27. 4. **the so-called Tripolis — comprising Callia, Dipoena, and Nonacris.** Of the three towns which composed the Tripolis, the situation of Nonacris alone is approximately known, if indeed the Nonacris here mentioned be the one in the district of Pheneus. Callia and Dipoena are called Calliae and Dipoenae by Pausanias in § 7. See

Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 302; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 398; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 232.

27. 7. **Pallantium —— a milder fortune.** See viii. 43. 1.

27. 8. **Megalopolis was founded —— in the second year of the hundred and second Olympiad.** Thus according to Pausanias the foundation of Megalopolis took place in 371/0 B.C. The Parian Marble (line 85) places the event in the following year (370/69 B.C.), when Dyscinetus was archon at Athens. According to Diodorus (xv. 72) the city was not founded till the archonship of Nausigenes (368/7 B.C.) The evidence of Pausanias is to be preferred. Probably Megalopolis was founded early in 370 B.C. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, 2.[3] p. 122; P. Herthum, *De Megalopolitarum rebus gestis et de communi Arcadum republica* (Lipsiae, 1893), p. 56 *sq.*

27. 9. **the Sacred War.** See iii. 10. 3 *sq.*; x. 2 *sq.*

27. 11. **the genealogy of Acrotatus.** See iii. 6. 2.

27. 11. **A sharp engagement took place** etc. The defeat of the Lacedaemonians by the Megalopolitans under their tyrant Aristodemus, and the death of the Spartan king Acrotatus in the battle, are mentioned by Plutarch (*Agis*, 3). The spoils taken from the Lacedaemonians on this occasion were employed by the tyrant to build a colonnade in the market-place of Megalopolis (Paus. viii. 30. 7).

27. 12. **Lydiades —— voluntarily abdicated.** Cp. Polybius, ii. 44; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 30; *id.*, *Cleomenes*, 6. An inscription found at Lycosura records that the city of Clitor set up a statue of a certain Lydiadas, son of Eudamus. This Lydiadas may have been the tyrant of Megalopolis. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1895, p. 263 *sqq.*

27. 14. **the ships of the Medes** etc. See Herodotus, vii. 188 *sqq.*

27. 14. **Agis —— lost Pellene.** See ii. 8. 5; vii. 7. 3.

27. 14. **came by his end at Mantinea.** See viii. 10. 5-8.

27. 15. **Cleomenes —— seized Megalopolis** etc. Cp. iv. 29. 7 *sq.*; vii. 7. 4; viii. 49. 4.

27. 15. **Lydiades met a hero's death.** The battle was fought at Ladocea in the Megalopolitan territory (Polybius, ii. 51). Plutarch tells us that his generous enemy Cleomenes, king of Sparta, robed the corpse of Lydiades in a purple mantle, placed a crown on his head, and so sent back his remains to Megalopolis (*Cleomenes*, 6). But Plutarch's narrative is hardly consistent with that of Pausanias.

27. 16. **my notice of Philopoemen.** See viii. 49-51.

27. 17. **the Buphagus.** See viii. 26. 8 note.

27. 17. **Mount Pholoe.** See viii. 24. 4 note.

28. 1. **Maratha.** The name is Phoenician, according to Mr. V. Bérard (*De l'origine des Cultes arcadiens*, p. 18). Maratha may perhaps be identified with the ruined Greek fortress on the right bank of the Alpheus a few miles below *Karytaena*, opposite to the village of *Matesi*. See above, p. 302.

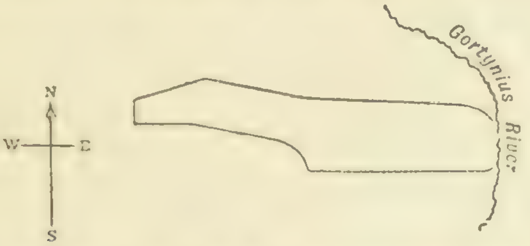
28. 1. **Gortys.** About a mile and a half below *Karytaena* the Alpheus receives an important tributary from the north. This is the river of *Dimitsana* or *Atzikolo*, the ancient Gortynius or Lusius (see § 2).

On the right bank of this river, about two and a half miles from its junction with the Alpheus, are the ruins of Gortys. They occupy the fairly spacious summit of a hill which falls away on the east in lofty precipices to the river. A visit to them may be most conveniently paid from *Karytaena*. From this picturesque town, perched high on the right or eastern bank of the Alpheus, we descend northward by a very rugged and stony path into the deep glen of the Alpheus. Steep arid mountains enclose the glen, and behind us towers the imposing rock of *Karytaena* with its ruined mediaeval castle. In about half an hour we reach the junction of the Gortynius river with the Alpheus. We quit the glen of the Alpheus and follow that of the Gortynius river in a north-easterly direction, keeping at first along the left bank of the stream. The glen, though shut in by barren stony mountains, is rather less gloomy and forbidding than the glen of the Alpheus which we have left. In less than half an hour we descend into the bed of the Gortynius, a rushing stream of clear bluish-green water, and cross it by a stone bridge which is carried on a high pointed arch and paved, in the usual fashion of such bridges in Greece, with cobbles of the most agonising shapes and sizes. Just above the bridge the glen deepens and narrows into a ravine with steep rocky sides, and the view looking up it, with the old high-arched bridge in the foreground and the rushing stream of green water below, is highly picturesque. I drank of the water here and found it by no means cold, in spite of what Pausanias says as to the exceeding coldness of the water of the Gortynius. But it was hot autumn weather when I passed this way. Pausanias may have seen the river in winter or spring, when its current was chilled by ice or melting snow. From the bridge a steep and rugged path ascends the right or western side of the glen. We follow it and continue to ride up hill and down dale along the side of the barren mountains, with the river rolling along in the bottom of the deep ravine on our right. Half-way up the precipices which rise on this side of the ravine is perched a little red-roofed monastery. In about three-quarters of an hour from crossing the bridge we reach the ruins of Gortys.

The ruins, as we have seen, occupy the summit of a hill which overhangs the right or western bank of the Gortynius river. At its eastern extremity the hill falls down in sheer precipices of great height into the glen of the river. It is in looking down these immense precipices that one appreciates the height of the hill. On the other hand, seen from the south, as you approach it from *Karytaena*, the hill presents the appearance merely of a gently-swelling down. The reason of this is that from the bridge over the river we have been gradually rising, and that the ground immediately to the south of Gortys is itself a hill as high as the hill of Gortys, from which it is divided only by a slight hollow now chiefly occupied with vineyards. But when we have ascended what appears to be the gentle eminence on which are the ruins of Gortys we see that the hill descends in a long slope north-eastward to the glen of the Gortynius river, which curves round the hill in a great bend on the north-east and east. The summit of the hill extends in the form of a rather narrow ridge from south-east to north-west.

gradually rising to its highest point on the north-west. Towards this end the hill is naturally defended on the side of the south by masses of rugged rocks, of which the ancient engineers took advantage, interposing pieces of walls in the intervals between the rocks. In the crannies of the rocks bushes have now rooted themselves. The long slope of the hill down to the glen of the Gortynius on the north-east (which is not to be confused with the sheer precipices at the east end of the site) is bare and stony. Stony and barren, too, are the mountains that surround Gortys on all sides. In a grey cold light or under a cloudy sky they would be exceedingly bleak and dreary; but under the warm sunshine of Greece they are only bare and desolate. The most picturesque view is down into the glen of the Gortynius on the north-east, where the river emerges from a narrow defile between high precipices, above which the mountains rise on both sides. At the mouth of the defile there is a house or two among trees. In spite of its height above the river, Gortys lies essentially in a basin shut in on all sides by mountains. The summer heat here must consequently be very great. Even in October, when I visited the place, though a fresh breeze was blowing, it was drowsily hot among the ruins. The sweet smell of the thyme, the tinkle of sheep-bells, the barking of dogs, and the cries of shepherds in the distance seemed to enhance the feeling of summer and to invite to slumber in the shade. But it was pleasant and almost cooling to hear the roar of the river, and to see its blue-green water and greenish-white foam away down in the glen.

To judge from the existing remains of the walls and towers, which are considerable, the city must have been long and narrow, occupying little more than the ridge or summit of the hill. Its length from south-east to north-west would seem to have been fully half a mile. The remains of the walls and towers are to be seen on the long southern and northern sides, and on the short western side. At the eastern end, on the edge of the glen there are no traces of walls, so far as I observed. Probably there never were walls here, as the precipices render fortifications quite needless. The shape of the fortified enclosure is roughly this:—



On the south side the ruins of the fortification-wall are extensive, but not continuous. The wall is built of blocks roughly squared and laid in horizontal courses, but here and there a few pieces of polygonal masonry occur. It is standing in places to a height of 8 feet; the number of courses preserved varies from two to six. Remains of five square towers may be seen projecting from the wall. They measure each about 20 to 24 feet on the face, and project from 8 to 12 feet from

the curtain. Towards the west the ground rises and the wall rises with it in steps, so to say, making one or two sharp turns to the north at the same time. Where it runs along the brow of one of these higher levels, the wall is built of very massive blocks, and is 10 feet 8 inches thick. Here, too, a line of rugged rocks forms a natural defence, and the wall is only built in the gaps between the rocks.

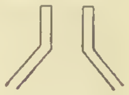
The short western wall was strengthened with three semicircular towers, which are standing to a height of four and five courses (5 and 6 feet). The diameter of these towers is about 23 feet; the intervals between them are 26 and 31 paces respectively. Between the towers the west wall is in places five courses (7 feet 4 inches) high and 13 feet thick. Both wall and towers are here built of massive quadrangular blocks laid in horizontal courses; the stones are roughly rounded on the outside so as to bulge very much.

Beyond the third semicircular tower, at the north-western extremity of the fortified enclosure, the wall turns sharply to the north-east. Here it is 12 feet thick and is preserved to a height of three to six courses. Then comes a fourth semicircular tower in a very ruinous condition. Beyond this to the east the north wall disappears for a long stretch. Then come two scraps of wall built in a rough, almost Cyclopean style. A stone in one of them measures 6 feet long by 2 feet high and 2 feet thick. A few yards east of the second of these fragments of Cyclopean walls is a gateway about 21 feet wide, opening to the east; the masonry is quadrangular. Beyond this gateway to the east I found no farther trace of the wall. The remains of the north wall, which have been described, are situated only a little way down the north slope of the hill, so that the city, as I have said, would seem to have occupied little more than the ridge. The site is littered with common red unpainted potsherds.

A little way (perhaps 120 yards) south of the fortified ridge, not far from the glen of the Gortynius river, are preserved some massive foundations of an ancient building. They are to be seen in a field to the left (east) of the path as you go to *Karytaena*. Two rows of foundation-stones are visible extending at right angles to each other: one row measures 23 paces from east to west, the other measures 16 paces from north to south. The stones are large, but broken and weathered at the edges. Many of them are nearly covered with earth; at most only their upper surface is visible. The stone is apparently a grey limestone; certainly it is not Pentelic marble, as stated in the *Guide-Joanne*. These foundations, however, may have supported the temple of Aesculapius, which was built, as Pausanias tells us, of Pentelic marble. Lying on them is a block of white limestone (as it seemed to me); it is apparently a fragment of a drum or capital of a small column. Leake and Dodwell speak of some fragments of white marble which they found here.

I visited Gortys, 9th October 1895, and have described the situation and remains from my own observations, which do not agree with those of some previous writers, such as Bursian and Curtius. Bursian's statement that the walls with their towers are preserved all along the north side of the hill is certainly

not true now; and Curtius's statement that the stones of which the walls are built average 6 to 7 feet in length by 3 to 4 feet in height and depth is, in my opinion, a gross exaggeration; it would seem to be based on a mere misunderstanding of a statement of Leake's quoted below. In the sketch plan of the ruins given in the *Expédition scientifique de Morée* the walls are represented extending along the edge of the great precipices on the eastern side of the hill, where I found no trace of a wall, and where, as I have said, fortification would be wholly superfluous. Leake says: "On either side of the principal gate of Gortys the walls are a fine specimen of the polygonal or second order: the stones are accurately joined, and in good preservation. One of them is 6 feet 8 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches high, and as much thick: in general, their contents are equal to cubes of 2, 3, and 4 feet. The entrance was strengthened by being placed in a re-entering angle, thus :— the gate itself being at the end of a passage between two parallel walls, or perhaps there was a gate at either end of this passage." Leake omits to say on which side of the city he saw the gate; but from the plan in the *Expédition de Morée* it appears that the gate described by Leake was near the eastern end of the north wall. Whether this was the gate seen by me I cannot say with certainty, but I think that it was not. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 381 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 23 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 105; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 161; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures* etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 34, with pl. 31; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 349 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 233; Baedeker,[3] p. 310; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 304 *sq.*



28. 1. **a temple of Aesculapius.** Cicero, enumerating the various gods who bore the name of Aesculapius, says that one of them, who was the son of Arsippus and Arsinoa, had invented purging and the drawing of teeth, and that his tomb and sacred grove were shown in Arcadia not far from the river Lusius (*De nat. deor.* iii. 22. 57). Cicero no doubt refers to the sanctuary at Gortys. As to the probable situation of the temple, see the preceding note. Curtius, however, mentions that to the north of Gortys, where the river is spanned by a bridge, a Byzantine church stands upon a two-stepped basement of ancient masonry, and he conjectures that this basement supported the temple of Aesculapius (*Peloponnesos*, 1. p. 350 *sq.*) As to the beardless Aesculapius, see ii. 10. 3 note.

28. 2. **the Lusius —— the Gortynius.** This river, now called the river of *Dimitsana* or *Atzikolo*, is one of the chief tributaries of the Alpheus, which it joins from the north about a mile and a half below *Karytaena*. It is here a fine stream, wide, clear, and rapid. In the lower part of its course it flows, in short winding reaches, between precipices so perpendicular that in places they almost seem to be artificial. Here and there, in apparently inaccessible clefts in the face of the crags, may be seen mediaeval chapels and walls. The banks on either side, separated by the deep and narrow gorge at the bottom of which the river rushes along, are laid out in corn-fields, orchards and vineyards. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 23; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 352.

28. 3. **the Cydnus that flows through Tarsus.** The coldness of its water is mentioned by Strabo (xiv. p. 673).

28. 3. **the Ales at Colophon.** Cp. vii. 5. 10 and note on vii. 3. 1.

28. 4. **Thisoa.** See viii. 38. 3 note.

28. 4. **a village Teuthis.** This place perhaps occupied the site of the modern *Dimitsana*, a village which stands very picturesquely on

a high ridge on the left or eastern bank of the Gortynius river, surrounded on all sides by steep and lofty mountains. The river sweeps in a semicircle at the bottom of a deep gully round the western part of the town, which thus stands on a high rocky promontory jutting into the ravine. The steep and narrow streets, which are little better than rocky staircases, are lined with shops and present a busy and animated scene. The air is cool and healthy. To the south the eye ranges over the vine-clad hills on both sides of the river, to the green plain of Megalopolis threaded by the silver stream of the Alpheus, and bounded on the southern horizon by the snowy range of Taygetus. A steep, rugged, and zigzag path leads down through terraced vineyards to the bed of the river at the southern foot of the hill. Here a bridge spans the stream, just below a point where it descends 50 feet in a distance of as many yards, tumbling over huge masses of rock between lofty precipices overhung with shrubs. The hill on the opposite or western side of the ravine is even steeper and higher than that of *Dimitsana*.

All round the crest of the ridge occupied by the town are the remains of an ancient wall, parts of it being intermixed with the yards, walls, and foundations of private houses. In some places there are several courses of masonry standing. The style of masonry is rectangular at the east, but polygonal at the west end of the ridge. The blocks at the latter end are enormous. Here too are the foundations of an imposing edifice, turned east and west, and built of fine squared blocks. It was doubtless a temple. There are also some ancient foundations among the terraced vineyards on the southern slope of the hill.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 60-65; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 89; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 352 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 232; Baedeker,[3] p. 310; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 314; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 90.

Others, however, have identified Teuthis with the ruins of an ancient town in the valley of a stream which flows from the north into the Tuthoa, a tributary of the Ladon (see viii. 25. 12). Here, between the villages of *Galatas* and *Khoutouza*, a ridge projects from north-west to south-east into the small, mountain-encircled dale. It is connected by a sort of isthmus with the hills to the north. The ridge ends in a rocky peak, so steep that on three sides it is almost inaccessible. The peak is crowned with the ruins of the mediaeval castle of *Akova*, formerly one of the chief Frankish fiefs in Peloponnese. On the more level part of the ridge, to the north of the castle, are the ruins of a small ancient town. They consist of foundations, scattered blocks, and fragments of tiles and vases. These ruins have been identified with Teuthis by Gell, Ross, Boblaye and Curtius. But in fact the data furnished by Pausanias are really insufficient to enable us to determine the site of Teuthis.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 118, 119; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 151 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 113 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 354 *sq.*

28. 4. **Teuthis —— Ornytus.** The following tale of the wounding

of Athena seems to have been told by the antiquary Polemo, who called the hero of the tale Ornytus (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36. p. 31 ed. Potter).

28. 6. **an image of Athena —— with a wound in her thigh.** At Tegea there was an image of Hercules with a wound in his thigh (viii. 53. 9). On a vase in the British Museum (E. 382) there is represented a man with a bandage on his thigh holding an infant; he is supposed to be Telephus with the child Orestes. See *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, 3. p. 247. The Hottentots believe in a divine being whom they call Tsui-Goab, *i.e.* 'Wounded Knee.' Mythologists differ as to whether he is the Dawn or an ancestral ghost with a game leg. See Theophilus Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam, the Supreme Being of the Khoi-Khoi*; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 197 *sqq.*

28. 7. **Brenthe.** This place is supposed to have occupied the site of the modern *Karytaena*, a town which stands in a high and most romantic situation on the right or eastern bank of the Alpheus, a little below the point where the river, quitting the spacious plain of Megalopolis, enters a deep and narrow gorge, pent in on either side by massive mountains. Through this profound ravine, between walls of rock, the river forces its way for about 10 miles, till the valley opens out again on the plain of Heraea. Conspicuous far and wide is the imposing mediaeval castle of *Karytaena* crowning with its battlemented walls a lofty flat-topped rock which overhangs, with tremendous precipices of ruddy rock, the gorge of the Alpheus. The modern town nestles in a hollow between the castle-rock on the west and the chapel-crowned hill of St. Elias on the east; its narrow, winding, dirty lanes and old houses with their wooden balconies climb up the sides of both hills. In the Middle Ages the castle was of great importance; its lord had two-and-twenty fiefs under him. The view from the summit embraces the plain of Megalopolis and the mountains which environ it.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 21 *sqq.*, 292; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 380 *sq.* (with a view); Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 120 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 89 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164 *sq.*; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc. par A. Blouet, 2. p. 34, with pl. 32; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 348 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 241; Baedeker,[3] p. 314; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 304; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 96.

28. 7. **the river Brentheates.** This may be the small clear stream which joins the Alpheus, on its right bank, a little to the east of *Karytaena*; it is the last tributary which the Alpheus receives from the plain of Megalopolis. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 348 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 303.

29. 1. **the Trapezuntian district —— a city Trapezus.** The Trapezuntian district appears to have comprised the north-west corner of the plain of Megalopolis, between Mt. Lycaeus and the left bank of the Alpheus. Boblaye conjectured that the town of Trapezus may have been near the modern village of *Phlorio*, opposite *Karytaena*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 90; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 304; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 303. The city of Trapezus was said to

have been so named because here Zeus in his anger upset the table (*trapeza*) on which Lycaon and his sons had impiously served up to him a dish of human flesh (Apollodorus, iii. 8; cp. Paus. viii. 2. 3). This legend, associating Trapezus with the human sacrifices offered to Zeus on Mt. Lycaeus, points to the situation of Trapezus on or near that mountain.

29. 1. **Bathos.** This is probably the deep ravine still called *Vathy Rhevma* ('deep stream') between the villages of *Mavria* and *Kyparissia*. A stream descends through it from Mt. Lycaeus to join the Alpheus on its left bank, 3 or 4 miles above *Karytaena*. The natives assured Dodwell and Gell that flames were sometimes seen to burst from the earth at this place. L. Ross says that thirty or forty years before his time the earth burned for several years; no flames were seen, but the surface of the ground was very hot and smoke rose from it continually, and always in denser volumes after rain; a strong smell of sulphur was also perceptible. It is said that the earth burned similarly a little farther south, between the villages of *Kyparissia* and *Vromosella*, on the same (left) bank of the river.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 380; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 102; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 28; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 90; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 304 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 240; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 303; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 254.

That fire burned perpetually near Megalopolis is also mentioned by [Aristotle], *De mirab. auscult.* 127 (139); cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 237. Cp. Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 270 *sq.*

Excavations were made at Bathos in 1893 by two English archaeologists, Messrs. Bather and Yorke. On a small strip of soil close to the bank of the Alpheus, below the church of St. George, they discovered a large number of what seem to have been votive offerings. Besides several hundreds of small pots and lamps, there were found about seventy terra-cotta figures and some bronze objects. The terra-cottas include examples of the early type of female figures, standing and seated, with bird-like heads, and the later type of female figures standing and holding an object close to the breast; also figures of animals, particularly four sows, a bird, and what seems to be a deer. The bronze objects consist of a bull inscribed with the letters IEP ('sacred'); a pig; two engraved rings skilfully worked; and the handle of a vessel ornamented with the fore-part of a lion and ending in two Gorgon masks. The latest of the objects found seem to belong to the fourth century B.C. It was probably here that the rites of the Great Goddesses, mentioned by Pausanias, were celebrated every second year. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 227-229. The spring called Olympias, which Pausanias mentions, is probably the very abundant spring about half a mile north of the acropolis of Basilis (see below, § 5); it is said to cease flowing one year in every nine (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), p. 227).

29. 1. **the legendary battle of the gods and the giants.** The

scene of this battle, as Pausanias intimates, was commonly laid at Pallene, under its mythical name of Phlegra. Cp. Herodotus, vii. 123; Stephanus Byz., *s.v.* Φλέγρα; Max. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 157 *sqq.* The localisation of the legend in the plain of Megalopolis may have been due to the prevalence of earthquakes, the burning earth, and especially to the finding of mammoth bones. Many such bones are still found by the peasants in this neighbourhood, and some of them are now preserved in the museum at *Dimitsana.* It was probably some of these bones that Pausanias saw in the sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius at Megalopolis (viii. 32. 5). See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), p. 231; cp. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 254; and see note on i. 35. 7. The battle of the gods and giants is depicted in great detail on an ancient Greek amphora in the Louvre. See *Monuments grecs*, No. 4 (1875), pl. i. and ii., with the remarks of Mr. F. F. Ravaisson, pp. 1-12. The subject was a common one in ancient art. See O. Jahn, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 35 (1863), pp. 243-255; *ib.*, 41 (1869), pp. 176-191; Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 263 *sqq.*; Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1653 *sqq.*

29. 1. **they sacrifice here to lightnings, hurricanes, and thunders.** Thunder was worshipped at Seleucia in Syria. See Appian, *Syr.* 58. We may compare the respect which the Circassians evince for thunder. Potocki says: "The Circassians have not a god of thunder, but it might be a mistake to assume that they never had one. The thunder is held by them in great veneration; they say it is an angel who smites those who are marked out by the blessing of the Eternal. The body of a person struck by lightning is solemnly buried, and while they lament the deceased, his relations congratulate themselves on the distinction with which their family has just been honoured. The people come forth in crowds from their houses at the sound made by this angel in his passage through the air, and when some time has elapsed without thunder being heard, they offer public prayers to induce it to come and visit them" (*Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase*, 1. p. 309 *sq.*) Cp. v. 14. 7 note.

29. 2. **Ulysses' ships were attacked by Laestrygones** etc. See *Odyssey*, x. 118 *sqq.* The adventure of Ulysses with the Laestrygones is the subject of four ancient wall-paintings which were discovered on the Esquiline at Rome in 1849. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 10 (1852), plates xlv. xlvi., with the remarks of E. Gerhard, pp. 497-502; Miss J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, pp. 45-62.

29. 2. **he represents the king of the Phaeacians** etc. See *Odyssey*, vii. 205 *sq.*

29. 2. **the following passage** etc. See *Odyssey*, ii. 59 *sq.*

29. 3. **That the giants have serpents instead of feet** etc. Cp. Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 578; Ovid, *Met.* i. 183 *sq.*; *id.*, *Tristia*, iv. 7. 17; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 20. 9. In the earlier works of Greek art the giants are regularly represented in full human form. The earliest monument on which a giant is represented with serpent-feet is a bronze relief of the Museum Kircherianum dating from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. On the now famous reliefs from

the great altar of Pergamus, erected in the beginning of the second century B.C., some of the giants are represented with serpent-feet; and from that time onward the serpent-footed type prevailed. See Kuhnert in Roscher's *Lexikon*, 1. p. 1653 *sqq.*; Max. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 274 *sqq.*

29. 3. **The Syrian river Orontes** etc. Philostratus says (*Heroica*, ii. 4) that the body of the giant Aryades, thirty cubits long, was discovered through the river Orontes bursting its banks; some declared Aryades to be an Ethiopian, others an Indian. The emperor Tiberius was said to have changed the name of the river to Orontes, the old name having been Draco ('serpent,' 'dragon'). See Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Periegetes*, 919 (*Geogr. Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, 2. p. 380). The tradition was false, for the river is called Orontes by Polybius (v. 59); but some have inferred from it that Tiberius was the emperor who, as Pausanias here tells us, made the ship-canal to avoid the rapids. See Kalkmann, *Pausanias*, p. 223 *sq.*; Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 243.

29. 4. **the first men were produced by the sun warming the earth** etc. Cp. Diodorus, i. 7; L. Preller, 'Die Vorstellungen der Alten—von dem Ursprunge—des menschlichen Geschlechts.' *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 157 *sqq.* Some of the Indians on the Orinoco think that "the earth formerly produced men and women, just as it produces briars and thorns" (Gumilla, *Histoire de l'Orenoque*, 1. p. 175).

29. 5. **Basilis.** Remains of this town, consisting of some blocks and foundations, are to be seen among the vineyards, ten minutes east of the village of *Kyparissia*, toward the left bank of the Alpheus. Marble fragments, tiles, coins, etc., are occasionally found here. Excavations made by Messrs. Bather and Yorke at the threshing-floor of *Kyparissia* in 1893 led to the discovery of some slabs of whitish limestone adorned with a moulding and an elaborate variety of the key-pattern. These slabs are conjectured to have been parts of pedestals of statues which lined an ancient road leading up to the acropolis of Basilis; the hill that rises above *Kyparissia* seems to have been the acropolis. Basilis is referred to, though not by name, in a passage of Athenaeus (xiii. p. 609 e f), which confirms Pausanias's account of the place in some points. The passage runs thus: "And I know that a competition in feminine beauty has been held before now. Speaking of which Nicias in his work on Arcadia says that the competition was arranged by Cypselus after he had founded a city in the plain beside the Alpheus. In this city he settled some Parrhasians and founded a precinct and altar in honour of Eleusinian Demeter, in whose festival he held the competition in beauty, and his wife Herodice was the first to win the prize. This competition is still held, and the women who compete are called 'gold-wearers' (*chrusophoroi*)."

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 379 *sq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 102; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 292 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 89 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 304; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 240; *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), p. 227 *sqq.*

29. 5. **Thocnia.** This place must have been on the right bank of

the Alpheus; it probably stood on the height which is now occupied by the village of *Vromosella*. In the church here Bursian observed some fragments of unfluted columns, the base of an Ionic column, and other architectural remains. The Aminius river must be the brook which flows into the Helisson somewhat to the east of *Vromosella;* it comes from the north-east.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 102; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 293; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 164; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 304; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 240.

30. 1. **This river Helisson rises at a village of the same name.** The Helisson which flows past Megalopolis rises about 15 miles to the north-east of that town, at the village of *Alonistena* in Mount Maenalus. The village is prettily situated on either side of a ravine, at the bottom of which the roaring torrent issues. Steep fir-covered mountains rise all around. Above the village, to the east, is the loftiest summit of the Maenalian range (6000 feet high). As the village stands very high, the air is fine, but in winter the snow lies three feet deep. The people live chiefly by their sheep; the fir-woods supply them with fuel. There are no ancient remains at the village.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 53-55; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 171; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 117; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 228; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 91 *sq.*

30. 1. **Dipaea.** At the northern end of the narrow, mountain-locked Maenalian plain is the village of *Piana*, finely situated high up the side of a mountain, about four miles south of *Alonistena*. The village clusters round a mediaeval castle. Between the castle and the road that skirts the eastern side of the hill there is an abundant spring, which gives rise to a tributary of the Helisson. Beside this spring some remains, consisting of heaps of stones and scattered tiles, may mark the site of Dipaea. L. Ross preferred to identify them with the village of Helisson; but that village was, as Pausanias tells us, at the source of the Helisson river, and the chief source of that stream is at *Alonistena*.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 54; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 171; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 117; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 315 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229; Baedeker,[3] p. 309; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 89.

As to the battle of Dipaea, cp. iii. 11. 7; viii. 45. 2; Herodotus, ix. 35; Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 99. In all these passages the name of the town appears as *Dipaieis*, the plural of *Dipaieus*, which last, according to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Δίπαια), was also employed to designate the town, as well as a native of it. But the form Dipaea is employed by Pausanias (viii. 27. 3) and is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius (*l.c.*)

30. 1. **Lycaea.** See note on viii. 36. 7.

30. 2. **Megalopolis.** Megalopolis stood in the great western plain of Arcadia, which, like the great eastern plain of Mantinea and Tegea, extends in a direction from north to south. In natural beauty the plain of Megalopolis is far superior to its eastern neighbour. The latter is a bare monotonous flat, unrelieved by trees or rivers, and enclosed by barren mountains, so that its general aspect is somewhat dreary and depressing;

only towards its northern end do the mountains rise in grander masses and with more picturesque outlines. The plain of Megalopolis, on the other hand, is surrounded by mountains of fine and varied outlines, some of the slopes of which are clothed with wood, and the surface of the plain itself is diversified with copses and undulating downs and hillocks, refreshed by numerous streams shaded with plane-trees, and watered by the broad, though shallow, stream of the Alpheus winding through its midst. The scenery, in contrast to that of the eastern plain, is eminently bright, smiling, and cheerful. It is, perhaps, seen at its best on a fine morning in early summer after rain. The vegetation is then green, the air pellucid, the outlines of the environing mountains are sharp and clear, and their tints vary from deep purple to lilac.

The city of Megalopolis occupied broken ground on both banks of the Helisson, about two and a half miles east of the point where that stream flows into the Alpheus. The large modern village of *Sinanou* stands near the south-eastern corner of the ancient city, a short way outside of the probable line of the walls. The western wall of the city seems to have run just to the east of the ground now occupied by the village of *Kasidachori* on the northern bank of the Helisson. The Helisson flows from east to west, and divided the city into two parts which seem to have been approximately equal. Its bed is very broad and gravelly; the stream, when it is not entirely dried up, flows along it in several small channels. A little way from the banks of the river, both on the north and south sides, the ground rises into low hillocks, plateaus, and ridges, broken and divided by small valleys or hollows, through which, in rainy weather, tiny rivulets flow to join the Helisson. Thus the site of Megalopolis is far from being a dead flat, and the engineers who constructed the fortifications took advantage of the natural defences offered by the inequalities of the ground. For example, the north wall ran along the top of the steep slope which separates the high tableland north of the Helisson from the valley of the little river Aminius (Paus. viii. 29. 5) and its tributary streams. This slope is a very steep one, and has in places a fall of as much as 120 feet. The course of the city walls was first traced in modern times by Mr. W. Loring in the winter of 1891-92. Only detached fragments of them remain, but their number and directions, taken in conjunction with the nature of the ground, suffice to indicate the whole circuit with tolerable certainty. Twelve larger pieces of the wall have been excavated, and are described by Mr. Loring, while seven other fragmentary or unexcavated portions are indicated on his plan of the site. Mr. Loring's researches have proved that the area of the city was much greater than had been believed by modern scholars and travellers, and that the name Megalopolis ('great city') was not misapplied to it. According to Polybius (ix. 21) the circumference of the city was 50 Greek furlongs; and the length of the circuit, as determined independently by Mr. Loring, agrees closely with this estimate, being 47½ Greek furlongs (about 5½ miles). The length of the city from north to south was about a mile and three-quarters; its breadth from east to west, along the bed of the Helisson, about three-quarters of a mile. The fortifications

MEGALOPOLIS.



Ancient Remains in Red

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appear to have been formed of two parallel walls, distant from each other about 3 feet, and connected by bonds or cross-pieces, the interval between the two walls being filled up with earth and small stones. The total thickness of the fortification-wall thus formed measures in different places from 7½ to 11½ feet. At some points the fortification seems to have been strengthened by the erection of a third component wall outside the other two and parallel to them, the interval between it and them being similarly filled up with rubble and earth. This third component wall was apparently united to the outer of the other two component walls by bonds; and the total thickness of the fortification formed by the three component walls was nearly 16 feet. The best-preserved piece of fortification of this style is to be seen on high ground close to the village of *Kasidochori*. Square and semicircular towers appear to have projected at intervals from the city wall; for Mr. Loring found remains of at least one semicircular and two square towers. In regard to the style of masonry of the walls, the existing remains fall into two groups, their difference in structure pointing clearly to a difference in date. In one group, comprising the remains on the west and south sides, together with two pieces on the east side of the city, the large stones that form the outer faces of the wall are roughly hewn into shape; in the other group, comprising the remains on the north and north-east sides, the stones are entirely unhewn. We may suppose that the former group, being the better built, belongs to the original city walls built in 370 B.C. (see above, p. 307); and that the latter group is part of the walls which were rebuilt after the partial destruction of the city by the Spartans under Cleomenes in 222 B.C. (cp. Polybius, v. 93). Certainly both groups appear to be of Greek, not Roman, date; for they are built entirely of stone (conglomerate and limestone), and no trace of brick or mortar has been found in any of the extant remains, though these are widely scattered and amount in all to a length of several hundred feet. However, even the earlier and better-built portions of the circuit wall contrast very unfavourably in style with other city walls which date from about the same period, for example the walls of Messene and Mantinea; the rudeness of the masonry is probably to be explained, in part at least, by the great extent (about 5½ miles) of the circuit. The best-preserved portion of the later walls is to be seen at the north-east angle of the site, about three-quarters of a mile from the Helisson, a little to the right (east) of the path which goes to *Braimi*. Here the wall is standing in places to a height of about 3 feet 4 inches. Of the earlier walls in general only one course is preserved. The upper part of the walls of both periods was probably constructed of sun-dried bricks. For if the walls had been entirely built of stone, it is difficult to account for their almost total disappearance; and we have good grounds for believing that the upper portions of the walls of Greek cities were often built of this material (see viii. 8. 7 note).

Excavations were made at Megalopolis by the British School of Archaeology in 1890-93. They were directed chiefly by Messrs. W. Loring, E. A. Gardner, E. F. Benson, and A. G. Bather, and resulted in laying bare the remains of the theatre, the Thersilium, and some

portions of the buildings which surrounded the market-place (see below). No sculptures were brought to light, and the inscriptions discovered were few and for the most part unimportant. One inscription, however, of considerable importance was found. It is a long fragment (255 lines) of the Edict of Diocletian 'On prices'; the greater part of the Edict thus recovered is new, *i.e.* is not contained in the other fragmentary copies of the Edict which have been discovered in various places.

On Megalopolis see *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculpture*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. pp. 43-56, with plates 36-40; Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 370 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 30 *sqq.*; Gell, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 176 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 167 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 74 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Wanderungen*, 1. p. 217 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 263 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 276 *sq.*, 281 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 406 *sqq.*; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 32 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 244 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 296 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 300 *sqq.* The results of the excavations by the British School are published in a volume, *Excavations at Megalopolis* (London, 1892), and in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 11 (1890), pp. 294-392; *id.*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 319-337, 356-358. The remains of the walls are described by Mr. Loring in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 106-116; the fragment of the Edict of Diocletian is published by him in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 11 (1890), pp. 299-342. I paid two visits to Megalopolis (4th-6th May 1890, and 10th October 1895). On my first visit I had the advantage of the courteous guidance of Mr. W. Loring, who was then directing the English excavations.

30. 2. **the market-place.** The market-place of Megalopolis lay on the north bank of the Helisson, nearly opposite the theatre. It occupied the flat ground, now covered with corn-fields, which intervenes between the bed of the river and the hillocks that rise a little to the north. Considerable remains of some of the buildings which surrounded the market-place were laid bare by the excavations of the British School in 1890-91. These discoveries, so far as they go, confirm the substantial accuracy of the ground-plan of the market-place which E. Curtius made from Pausanias's description, and which, as illustrative of that description, is here reproduced (Fig. 34). Chief among the buildings excavated by the English archaeologists are the Philippian Colonnade and the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus, both of which are mentioned by Pausanias (§§ 6 and 10). The Philippian Colonnade formed in part the northern boundary of the market-place, while the sanctuary of Zeus lay beside the river at the south-eastern corner of the market-place. The Aristandrian Colonnade (§ 10), which probably bounded the market-place on the south, has apparently disappeared, the bank of the river having been here eaten away by the stream.

(1) The remains of the Philippian Colonnade, situated about 200 yards north of the river-bank, comprise the foundations of the stylobate, a portion of the stylobate and columns at the extreme south-east corner of the front, the lower part of the side and back walls, and the foundations of the internal rows of columns, with a few of the bases of the columns still in position on their top. The colonnade was 510 feet long from east to west by 65 feet deep from north to south. It faced south, and from the long south front a wing projected at each end. These wings projected 13 feet 6 inches from the main front, and measured 55

feet 6 inches across. A long row of Doric columns ran along the front of the colonnade, with its projecting wings; and in the interior there were two rows of columns of the Ionic order extending along the

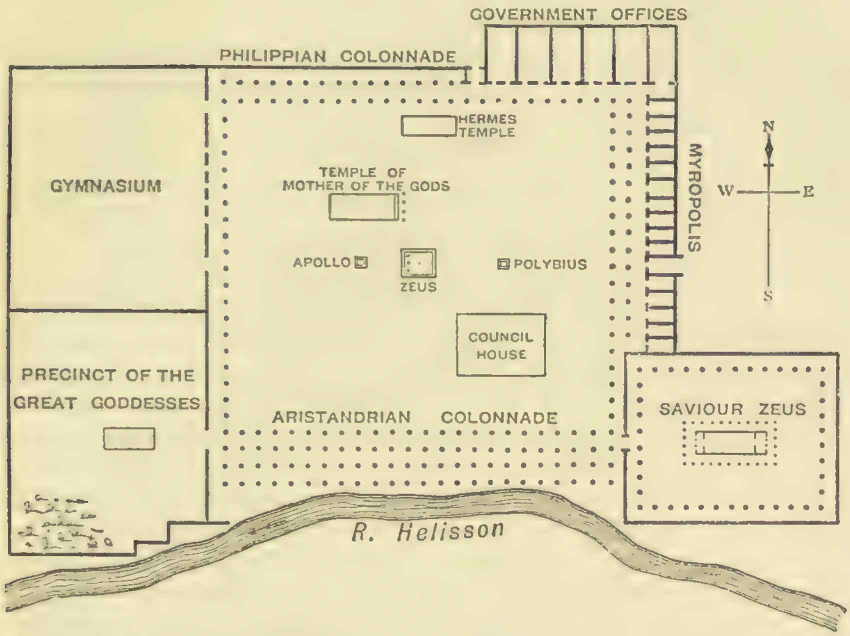


FIG. 34.—MARKET-PLACE OF MEGALOPOLIS (CONJECTURAL RESTORATION BY E. CURTIUS).

whole length of the colonnade. The back of the colonnade on the north and the two short sides on the east and west were closed by walls. Attached to the back wall were two quadrangular *exedrae* or recesses, which were entered from the colonnade by openings in the wall. These recesses had a length externally of about 52 feet each, and projected about 10 feet from the back wall. The foundations and most of the existing walls are built of conglomerate; the stylobates, bases, and columns are of white limestone, but the capitals of the Ionic columns are of marble. Clamps of two different shapes (├─┤ and ┌─┐) are used to fasten the blocks together.

The enclosing walls of the colonnade, so far as they exist, consist of a course of upright blocks of conglomerate, 2 ft. 8 in. high, and a course of limestone blocks, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, laid on the top of the uprights. There are two of the upright blocks in the thickness of the wall; they are panelled on the face and coated with stucco. The foundation of the stylobate of the outer columns is built of slabs of conglomerate; its average width is 5 feet, and in the west wing it is at least five courses deep. A portion of the stylobate of the east wing still exists; it is composed of two steps resting on a course of limestone slabs. The Doric columns of the façade are set at intervals of 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., measured to the inside of the flutes. Pieces of five of these columns are standing in their original positions in the east wing; they measure 2 ft. 8 in. in diameter at the base, and have each twenty flutes. The longest is 5 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, and the shortest is 3 ft. 10 in. The

foundation-piers of the inner columns measure 4 ft. 6 in. square, on an average. They are built of oblong blocks of conglomerate, two to each course, connected by clamps of the ⊢⊣ shape. On the top of these piers stood square slabs of limestone, some of which still exist, measuring 3 ft. 1 in. square and 8 to 9 inches deep. The circular moulded bases of the Ionic columns rested on these slabs. Five at least of these bases still remain in position and some pieces of the columns lie near them. The lower diameter of these columns measures 2 ft. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the number of flutes in each column is twenty. The number of columns in each of the inner rows seems to have been twenty-five.[1]

The architectural fragments of the colonnade which have been found comprise portions of the Doric front columns in position at the south-east angle, a piece of a Doric architrave block and a length of a triglyph frieze, several moulded bases of the Ionic order, numerous pieces of Ionic columns, two marble Ionic capitals, and a very large number of pieces of the Doric columns. These pieces of Doric columns, varying in length from 2 to 6 feet, have been found scattered all over the market-place, as well as in the colonnade itself, and a number of them were brought to light in the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus. These remains, while not sufficient to allow of a complete restoration of the colonnade, enable us to form a good idea of the nature and proportions of the superstructure. The Doric columns of the exterior were probably about $6\frac{1}{2}$ diameters high. The length of the architrave block is 6 ft. 9 in., which is practically the space, from centre to centre, of the columns still in position. Its height is 2 ft. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. The height of the frieze is 2 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. The details of the triglyphs show late characteristics. The Ionic columns in the interior of the colonnade would seem to have been $8\frac{1}{2}$ diameters high or about 19 ft. 8 in. The volutes of the capitals are comparatively small.

With regard to the date of the colonnade, we should infer from what Pausanias says that it was built in the fourth century B.C., since it was erected in honour of Philip of Macedon. But the style of the architecture points to a later date. We know from Livy (xxxviii. 34) that in 189 B.C. a colonnade which had been destroyed by the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes in 222 B.C. was rebuilt with money acquired from the sale of prisoners. The colonnade thus rebuilt may have been the Philippian Colonnade; for the style of the existing remains of the Philippian Colonnade agrees with that date. That the colonnade just described was indeed the Philippian Colonnade was proved by the discovery of a tile at its east end bearing the inscription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΕΙΟΥ, 'of the Philippian' (*scil.* colonnade). A bilingual inscription in Greek and Latin, dating from 93 or 94 A.D., records that the Emperor Domitian rebuilt from the foundations a colonnade at Megalopolis which had been destroyed by fire (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 136 *sq.*, Inscr. No. 18). But the colonnade restored by Domitian can

[1] On the plan published in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pl. xiv., the number of columns in each of the inner rows is indicated as twenty-four. But see *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), p. 335 *sq.*; *id.*, 14 (1894), p. 243.

hardly have been the Philippian Colonnade, since the architectural style of the existing remains of the Philippian Colonnade points, as we have seen, to a considerably earlier date than the end of the first century A.D.

(2) The remains of the sanctuary of Zeus which have been laid bare by the English excavations consist principally of foundation-walls. From an examination of these it is possible to get a good general idea of the extent and arrangement of the buildings, although, on account of the paucity of architectural fragments, the nature of the superstructure must remain almost entirely a matter of conjecture.

The sanctuary appears to have been in the form of a rectangle measuring about 175 feet from east to west by 154 feet from north to south. In the centre of the rectangle was a square open court, round which ran a double colonnade (*i.e.* a colonnade with an outer and an inner row of columns) on all sides. The main entrance was on the east side, and was approached from the lower level of the ground outside by a ramp or inclined plane. This led up to an outer porch projecting from the face of the eastern wall. The entrance itself through the wall consisted presumably of three gateways side by side, which led into the colonnade or cloisters. Cutting through the cloisters in the middle of the west side, exactly opposite the entrance, was the temple, the portico of which projected into the open court. In the middle of the court, opposite the temple, stood a large oblong base, measuring about 37 feet from north to south by 17 feet from east to west. The foundations of the base are standing and consist of a foundation-wall round the four sides varying from 3 ft. 6 in. to 4 feet thick, and seven cross-walls, each about 2 ft. 3 in. thick. There are also remains in one place of an additional internal wall at right angles to the seven cross-walls, indicating that special support was wanted at this particular part. This accumulation of supporting walls seems to show that a great weight rested on the base, and leads us to assume that it was the pedestal of a group of heavy statuary. Hence we conclude that it supported the group of Zeus, Megalopolis, and Saviour Artemis mentioned by Pausanias (§ 10). This is the view taken of the base by Messrs. Loring and Gardner and the architect Mr. R. W. Schultz. Mr. Richards, on the other hand, prefers to suppose that the base is that of an altar, and that the group of statuary mentioned by Pausanias stood in the inside of the temple. The foundations of the base go down to a considerable depth; four courses, regularly built of squared blocks in alternate rows of 'headers' and 'stretchers,' have been exposed at the south end. Round the sides of the court ran an open gutter for holding water, which was brought to it, from a lead pipe outside of the sanctuary on the north, by a drain constructed of tiles which ran under the floor of the cloisters. Remains of the lead pipe have been found; but where it came from and whither it went is not known.

Of the cloisters or colonnade which ran round the open court little is known. Of the outer rows of columns, next the court, nothing but the foundation-course of the stylobate remains; hence we cannot tell the number of these columns nor the distance between them. They

may have been of the Doric order; for a Doric capital, slightly smaller than the capitals of the Philippian Colonnade, was found in the cloisters. On the other hand, we can estimate the distance from each other of the inner columns of the cloisters, since the foundation-piers of many of them remain. These piers are single stones, each about 3 ft. 3 in. square; and the distance of the piers from each other is about 13 feet. This wide spacing of the columns points to their having supported wooden beams, which in turn probably carried a wooden roof. These inner columns may have been, like the inner columns of the Philippian Colonnade, of the Ionic order; a fragment of an Ionic base was found beside the Doric capital in the cloisters. The east wall of the sanctuary, below the level of the floor of the cloisters, is carefully built of squared blocks laid in regular courses. In the north wall of the sanctuary, almost opposite the centre of the court, there is a sill of white limestone, 10 ft. 4 in. long by 2 ft. 2 in. wide. It may have belonged to an additional entrance at this point, or perhaps to an *exedra* or recess projecting outwards from the cloister, like the recesses at the back of the Philippian Colonnade.

The temple, as we have seen, cut through the cloister on the west side of the court. It appears to have comprised a portico, a fore-temple (*pronaos*), and a *cella* or shrine, and to have measured about 70 feet from east to west by 38 feet from north to south. Foundations of all three compartments of the temple exist; they are well built of squared blocks laid in regular courses, each course averaging about 1 ft. 6 in. deep. On the south side of the *cella* the foundation-wall is at least eight courses deep. Inside of the *cella* on either side are foundation-piers averaging 2 ft. 9 in. square and distant about 2 ft. 3 in. from the side walls. They probably supported internal columns. Four of them remain on the north side and two on the south side. On the south side, in the position which a third pier would have occupied, are the remains of a strong foundation running in at right angles to the south wall. This may have been merely the foundation for the third pier; but possibly it may have formed, in addition, part of the foundation of a large pedestal which supported an image of Zeus.

In the cloister to the north of the temple are some remains of a stylobate, with foundations, which seems to have extended in a continuous line from the temple to the north wall of the sanctuary. Probably a second inner line of columns stood on this stylobate, and we may suppose that this line of columns was prolonged on the south side of the temple as far as the south wall of the sanctuary. On this hypothesis the western cloister or colonnade was triple, *i.e.* it had three rows of columns, namely an outer row next the open court, and two inner rows. All three rows of columns were, of course, interrupted in the middle by the temple.

The date of the sanctuary of Zeus cannot be determined from the scanty remains. The general style of construction and the materials resemble those of other edifices at Megalopolis, but the few architectural details which have been found point to a later rather than an earlier period in the history of the city. The Ionic base resembles the one in

the Philippian Colonnade, but the contour and proportion of the Doric capital belong to a later type than that of the columns in the portico of the Thersilium (see below). Clamps of the ┌─┐ shape were used to the stones of the stylobate in the portico of the temple.

In addition to the ruins of the Philippian Colonnade and the sanctuary of Zeus remains of some other edifices have been laid bare by the English excavations in the market-place. They are as follows :

(3) At the western end of the Philippian Colonnade and running out southward at right angles to its face, the remains of a double row of columns have been found. They must have formed part of a later edifice built after the Philippian Colonnade had fallen into ruins, since the remains in question are composed entirely of fragments which had belonged to that colonnade. This later edifice may have been intended to form an entrance to the market-place at this point. The eastern pillars, of which there are portions of four remaining, rest on a continuous stylobate formed entirely of old blocks taken from the entablature of the Philippian Colonnade. The western columns have no continuous stylobate, each of them resting on a separate foundation. The pieces of columns in position are of the Doric order, and no doubt were taken from the front row of the Philippian Colonnade.

(4) South of these columns, and extending westward beyond the line of the west wall of the Philippian Colonnade, are considerable remains of walls of an oblong edifice. Its north wall is about 92 ft. 6 in. long, while the west wall can be traced for 51 feet, and the east wall for 65 feet. There are scanty indications of what may have been a south wall at a point which would give the edifice a width of about 70 feet. In the north wall are the remains of an opening 5 ft. 6 in. wide. The building may have had a continuous portico along its eastern front, towards the market-place, for there is a piece of foundation here which looks as if it had belonged to the stylobate of such a portico. The west wall is largely made up of old fragments rather roughly put together. Altogether the structure seems quite late. Perhaps it was the gymnasium mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 31. 8). To the south of it were discovered in 1893 the remains of a columned building, of rather late date, which, like the quadrangular building just described, probably belonged to the gymnasium. In one corner of it, between two bases of columns, was a well, from which a line of water pipes ran for some distance towards the river. Amongst the ruins of later edifices may be distinguished the remains of a well-built wall of conglomerate carrying on the line from the corner of the Philippian Colonnade towards the river. The bases of the columns are of the white limestone which is so commonly employed in the ancient buildings of Megalopolis, but they have no foundation-piers under them, and all of them have the two dowel-holes, run with lead, which are a mark of late date.

(5) To the N.N.E. of the sanctuary of Saviour Zeus is a long stylobate running north and south. On its upper surface are to be seen square dowel-holes for fastening the columns, and there are raised panels between the places where the columns stood. This stylobate appears to have belonged to a colonnade about 300 feet long which

here bounded the market-place on the east. This colonnade may have been the one called Myropolis which Pausanias mentions (§ 7 of the present chapter). The northern end of the colonnade seems to have been in a line with the back wall of the Philippian Colonnade. Built into a late structure which afterwards occupied the site of the long colonnade in question were found some drums of columns made of tufa and coated with stucco. The drums appear to have been of the Ionic or Corinthian order, though they have only twenty flutes instead of the usual twenty-four. They have been transported to *Sinanou*, where they now lie inside of the enclosure which surrounds the church. Perhaps these drums belonged to the columns of the Myropolis colonnade. Between the north end of the Myropolis colonnade (if it be so) and the east end of the Philippian Colonnade excavations made by the English archaeologists in October 1891 revealed some remains of the government offices mentioned by Pausanias (§ 6).

(6) Lastly, remains of two structures have been found in the interior of the market-place. One of them is a ruined altar, 13 ft. 10 in. square, built of upright blocks of conglomerate on a flat course. It may have belonged to the sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus mentioned by Pausanias. The other structure is a fragmentary foundation a little to the south-west of the altar. At present divided by about 10 yards are two pieces of foundation, the western of the two measuring 8 ft. 2 in. by 16 feet, the eastern 7 ft. 6 in. by 8 ft. 10 in. From the western a foundation-wall runs north-east in the shape of an arc, but breaks off before it reaches the eastern foundation. No doubt the arc was completed. The semicircular foundation so formed may have belonged to an *exedra* or recess. Mr. Richards suggests that the *exedra*, if it existed, perhaps formed the ornamental termination of a subterranean water-course, like the *exedra* built by Herodes Atticus at Olympia (see above, p. 72 *sqq.*) This suggestion is more plausible than another theory put forward tentatively by Mr. Richards, namely that the semicircular foundation belonged to the apse of a Council House like the supposed Council House at Olympia (see vol. 3. p. 636 *sqq.*)

On the market-place and its remains, so far as they have been excavated, see W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 7, 12 *sq.*; R. W. Schultz, *ib.*, pp. 52-67; G. C. Richards, *ib.*, pp. 101-105, with plates xiv.-xvi.; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), p. 218 *sq.*

30. 2. **as many eagles as tables.** Cp. viii. 38. 7.

30. 3. **Pan acquired this surname from the nymph Oenoe.** According to others Pan was a son (not a mere nursling) of the nymph Oenoe (Schol. on Euripides, *Rhesus*, 36) or Oeneis (Schol. on Theocritus, i. 3). On the legends of the birth of Pan see W. H. Roscher, 'Die Sagen von der Geburt des Pan,' *Philologus*, 53 (1894), pp. 362-377.

30. 4. **Bassae.** See viii. 41. 7 *sqq.*

30. 6. **the Philippian Colonnade.** See above, p. 320 *sqq.*

30. 6. **the government offices.** See above, towards top of page. From an inscription found on the site of the market-place at Megalopolis we learn that there was a muniment office (*grammatophulakeion*) in which

the archives were preserved, also officials called Wardens of the Archives (*grammatophulakes*), and others called Scribes of the Laws (*nomographoi*), whose business no doubt was to enter the new laws in the statute book. See *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 126 *sq.*, Inscr. No. 5. An inscription found at Lycosura mentions that a copy of a decree of the people of Lycosura was to be deposited in the muniment office at Megalopolis (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 43 *sq.*; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livraison 1, p. 16).

30. 7. **the Lacedaemonian army under Acrotatus** etc. See viii. 27. 11.

30. 10. **a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Saviour.** See above, p. 323 *sqq.* An inscription found at Megalopolis records a decree in honour of Philopoemen, in which mention is made of Saviour Zeus. The inscription is mutilated, but the purport of the decree appears to have been that Philopoemen should be worshipped with divine honours; that his tomb should be built in the market-place (see note on i. 43. 3); that a fine altar of white marble should be set up for him, and oxen (or an ox) sacrificed on it on the day of the festival of Saviour Zeus; that twenty bronze statues of him should be made, of which one was to be set up in the theatre, etc. From the same inscription it appears that games, called Soteria, were celebrated in honour of Saviour Zeus. See *C. I. G.* No. 1536; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 210; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 26. Diodorus mentions (xxix. 18) that an ox or oxen were annually sacrificed to Philopoemen. Livy also says (xxxix. 50) that divine honours were bestowed on him. Another mutilated inscription found at Megalopolis seems to have recorded a decree of the council that the statue of some public benefactor should be set up in the precinct of Saviour Zeus. See *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 129, Inscr. No. 7 B.

30. 10. **Megalopolis.** As to statues representing cities, see iv. 31. 10 note.

30. 10. **Cephisodotus.** According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 50, 51, 87) there were two sculptors of this name, the elder of whom flourished in Ol. 102 (372 B.C.), and the younger in Ol. 121 (296 B.C.) The latter was the son of Praxiteles (see Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 24; Plutarch, *X. orat. vitae*, vii. 39 compared with Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 51), and it has been conjectured that the former was the father of Praxiteles. Prof. Furtwängler, however, argues that the elder Cephisodotus was an elder brother, not the father, of Praxiteles (*Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 513 *sq.*) It is the earlier Cephisodotus, doubtless, who, with Xenophon, made these statues at Megalopolis. Cp. ix. 16. 2; ix. 30. 1. Mr. A. S. Murray says of the elder Cephisodotus: "That he was an accomplished artist, there is every reason to believe; but that he was deficient in creative force may be judged from the fact that his works mostly consisted of figures which required only slight deviations from older and standard types" (*Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 244). Cp. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 269 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, §§ 1137-1143, 1331-1341; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 6 *sqq.*, 112 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, pp. 432 *sqq.*,

546 *sq.* A number of inscriptions from bases of statues by the younger Cephisodotus have been found. See Loewy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, Nos. 108-112.

31. 1. an enclosure sacred to the Great Goddesses. As to the Great Goddesses (Demeter and Proserpine) in Messenia, see iv. 1. 5 *sqq.* With regard to the situation of the precinct of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis we are told by Pausanias that it lay at the west end of the Aristandrian Colonnade, which, as we have seen (p. 320), probably bounded the market-place on the south. We conclude, therefore, that the precinct of the Great Goddesses was situated at the south-western corner of the market-place. As the precinct contained a variety of shrines and statues, a hall for the performance of the mysteries, and a sacred grove, it must have been too large to be included within the limits of the market-place. Probably, therefore, it extended some distance to the west of the market-place, perhaps as far as or even beyond the bed of a stream which here flows into the Helisson. Many large blocks of hewn stone are to be seen in the field to the west of the stream, and some blocks, which are clearly in their original positions, stand in the bed of the stream itself. Some of these may have belonged to one or more of the edifices comprised within the precinct of the Great Goddesses. That the precinct lay in this neighbourhood was confirmed by a discovery made by Mr. Loring, who picked up, on the east side of the stream, a fragment of a tile bearing an inscription which may perhaps be restored as [θ]εῶν 'of the goddesses.' As several buildings at Megalopolis have been identified by means of inscribed tiles, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the original inscription on this tile was τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν ('of the great goddesses'), and that the tile belonged to the precinct of the Great Goddesses which stood in this neighbourhood. See *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 116 *sq.*, 140 *sq.*

An inscription which seems to have recorded a dedication to the Great Gods exists at *Kassidochori*, a village a little to the north-west of the supposed site of the precinct of the Great Goddesses (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 135, No. 15). These Great Gods were perhaps the Dioscuri. See note on vii. 22. 9.

31. 1. Aesculapius. A tile inscribed with the name of Aesculapius was found in 1893 in the building to the south-west of the Philippian Colonnade (*Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), p. 337).

31. 2. small images of girls etc. Prof. Robert suggests that these figures may have been placed at the corners of the pedestal which supported the four colossal images; similar figures appear as supporters or Caryatids at the corners of Greek sarcophaguses (*Hermes*, 29 (1894), p. 431).

31. 4. Neda carrying the infant Zeus. Cp. iv. 33. 1; viii. 38. 3; viii. 47. 3.

31. 4. Friendly Zeus: the image is by Polyclitus. It is natural to suppose that this sculptor was the younger Polyclitus, as the elder Polyclitus was probably dead long before Megalopolis was founded. H. Brunn, however, preferred to suppose that the image was by the elder Polyclitus and had been, like many other images, brought to Mega-

lopolis from the temple in which it was originally dedicated. See *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Cl., 6th Nov. 1880, p. 468 *sq.*; and against him E. Kroker, *Gleichnamige griechische Künstler*, p. 17 *sq.* It is very remarkable that Polyclitus chose to represent Friendly Zeus with the attributes of Dionysus. No such representation of Zeus appears to be known among the existing monuments of ancient art. The only certain representations of Friendly Zeus known to exist are on two Athenian reliefs and some coins of Pergamus struck in the age of Trajan, but they have none of the characteristics of Dionysus. On both the reliefs the god appears seated on his throne; on one of them the eagle is carved beneath the seat, and the god seems to have held a cup in his left hand; on the other there is no eagle, and two worshippers, a woman and a boy, are approaching him. The coins of Pergamus exhibit merely a bearded head of Zeus with the inscription ΖΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΟΣ ('Friendly Zeus'). Zeus was called Friendly "because he brings all men together and wishes that they should be friends to each other" (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xii. vol. 1. p. 237, ed. Dindorf). At Megalopolis the epithet may have had a political significance, referring to the friendship which was to bind the petty Arcadian communities together. We learn from inscriptions that the god was worshipped under the same title at Epidaurus (Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1883, p. 31, No. 12) and at Athens (*C. I. A.* ii. Nos. 1330, 1572, 1572 b; *C. I. A.* iii. No. 285). A god Zeus Bacchus (Διὶ Βάκχῳ) is mentioned in an oracle recorded in an inscription at Pergamus (*C. I. G.* No. 3538); and the Cretan myths of Zeus have points of affinity with those of Dionysus.

See Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. pp. 51 *sq.*, 228 *sqq.*, 563; *id.*, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 533, 537; Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 284 *sq.*; *id.*, *Griechische Mythologie*,[4] 1. p. 148; Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, 2. p. 202 *sq.*; Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1875, p. 203; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. pp. 74, 118 *sq.* One of the Athenian reliefs is figured in Mr. Farnell's work (vol. 1. pl. ii. b); and for the mythical affinities of Zeus and Dionysus see especially *ib.*, pp. 36-38.

31. 9. **two low hills —— a sanctuary of Athena Polias —— a temple of Full-grown Hera.** These two low hills have not been identified, nor have any remains been discovered which can with any certainty be referred to the sanctuaries of Athena and Hera. With regard to the two hills, as Mr. Loring remarks, all the ground behind (*i.e.* north of) the Philippian Colonnade is rising ground, and there are no two parts of it which stand out unmistakably from the rest. At the first glance we might be tempted to identify with the two hills (1) the summit of the rising ground immediately behind the Philippian Colonnade and just west of the public road; and (2) a small plateau opposite this, and east of the road, separated from the former by a slight dip through which the public road runs in a cutting. But both these identifications appear to be erroneous. On the north-east shoulder of the first-mentioned hillock there is indeed a very rough foundation; but the summit of the hillock has been thoroughly trenched by the English archaeologists without result. On the plateau to the east of the road Messrs. Loring and

Richards excavated the ruins of a late building constructed of tiles, cobbles, and the like, the only good work in it being a threshold of white limestone which had probably been transferred from some earlier structure. In this neighbourhood, probably on the little plateau, the French surveyors found some ruins (marked B B on their plan of Megalopolis) which they described as the remains of the *cella* of a temple; there was a piece of a wall with a short return, besides a great many stones in their original positions; the blocks were well cut and jointed. These ruins, which may perhaps have belonged to the sanctuary of Athena or the temple of Hera, have now disappeared. About 300 yards to the east of the foundations excavated by Messrs. Loring and Richards there are some other fragmentary foundations of conglomerate and limestone at a point where the plateau begins to slope down eastwards to the bed of a small stream. These foundations were observed by the French surveyors, and Curtius identified them with the temple of Hera, while he believed that the small stream to the east, which flows into the Helisson, was the ancient Bathyllus. But the foundations in question are too fragmentary to allow us to determine the sort of building to which they belonged; and the stream to the east of them can hardly be the Bathyllus, since it consists mainly of surface-water, which dries up in the absence of rain. Perhaps the Bathyllus should rather be identified with the perennial stream which flows into the Helisson to the west of the market-place (see above, p. 328). This western stream is fed by a small spring among the low hills some three-quarters of a mile to the north of the Helisson. But the spring is so far from the market-place that any temple built on the ground over-hanging it could not have been seen from the market-place, which is perhaps inconsistent with Pausanias's language. As there is no other spring in the ground to the north of the market-place, Mr. Loring inclines to believe that the Bathyllus has wholly disappeared.

See *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 45 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 288; W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 117 *sq.*

32. 1. **a theatre.** The site of the theatre of Megalopolis, on the south side of the Helisson and nearly opposite to the ancient market-place, has always been well known to modern travellers. The great semicircular embankment against the side of a low hill, which supported the seats of the spectators, is visible from a long distance, whether we approach Megalopolis from the north or the south. The remains of the theatre and of the great assembly hall known as the Thersilium, which immediately adjoined it on the south and with which it was intimately connected, were excavated under the direction of members of the British School of Archaeology in 1890-93.

The auditorium or seats of the spectators rose up the sides of a hollow of a low hill which faced nearly north, about 100 yards south of the broad bed of the Helisson. The hollow was not, however, large enough for the purpose, and the slopes of the hill at both sides had to be prolonged by artificial embankments, supported by retaining walls.

The embankment on the east side seems larger than the one on the west. In the centre of the auditorium the hill was almost high enough, and only a very slight embankment seems to have been here raised to supplement it. The two extremities of the great horse-shoe were terminated and supported, as we have seen, by retaining walls ; but these walls were not continued round the curved back of the auditorium ; at least no traces have been found either of curved retaining walls or of a boundary wall at the back of the theatre. On the outer side the hill and the embankments sloped gradually away, so that a curved retaining wall was needless. The top of the auditorium is now about 76 feet above the level of the orchestra, and probably it was never very much higher, though a certain amount of earth has in the course of ages been washed down from it upon the seats below. Remains of the retaining walls on each side of the auditorium still exist ; on the east side they rise to a height of about 40 feet and on the west side to a height of about 36 feet. On each side of the auditorium the retaining wall, after running outwards from the orchestra as a single wall, is supported on the inner side by a second wall, parallel to it, and connected with it by short cross-walls. This inner wall was perhaps intended as an additional support for the greater height and weight of the embankment at these points.

But with this general similarity between the retaining walls on the eastern and western sides of the auditorium there are combined certain dissimilarities both of plan and material. The outer retaining wall on the eastern side is built of squared blocks of conglomerate laid in regular courses ; its average thickness is 2 ft. 2 in. It abuts next the orchestra on a limestone pedestal, which probably supported a statue. About 71 feet along the wall from the face of the pedestal a cross-wall projects outwards into the *parodos*, nearly at right angles to the retaining wall. Another cross-wall, 25 feet farther on, runs inwards from the retaining wall and abuts upon the inner parallel wall, already mentioned, which is distant about 9 feet from the face of the outer retaining wall. This arrangement suggests that there was here an opening and an access to the theatre from the outside at a higher level, the wall projecting outwards having been perhaps a retaining wall which banked up the approach from the *parodos* below ; and on the main wall itself, at the outer angle of the wall which projects inwards there is actually in position, at a height of about 25 feet above the orchestra, a piece of a sill of white limestone. It seems probable, therefore, that at this height a horizontal passage or *diazoma* ran all round the auditorium, and that access to this passage was obtained directly from the outside by a staircase or ramp in the *parodos*. Beyond this point the main retaining wall is supported at several points by buttresses both on the outside and the inside. At the highest point of the wall there are again traces of an inner parallel wall. This suggests that at this point there may have been an approach to an upper *diazoma* from behind, up the embankment ; or the inner wall may have been merely intended to serve as an additional support to relieve the pressure on the front wall, where the bank was highest.

The west retaining wall, like the eastern, abuts on a limestone pedestal next the orchestra. The wall runs off at an angle to the axis of the theatre similar to that of the eastern wall, for a distance of

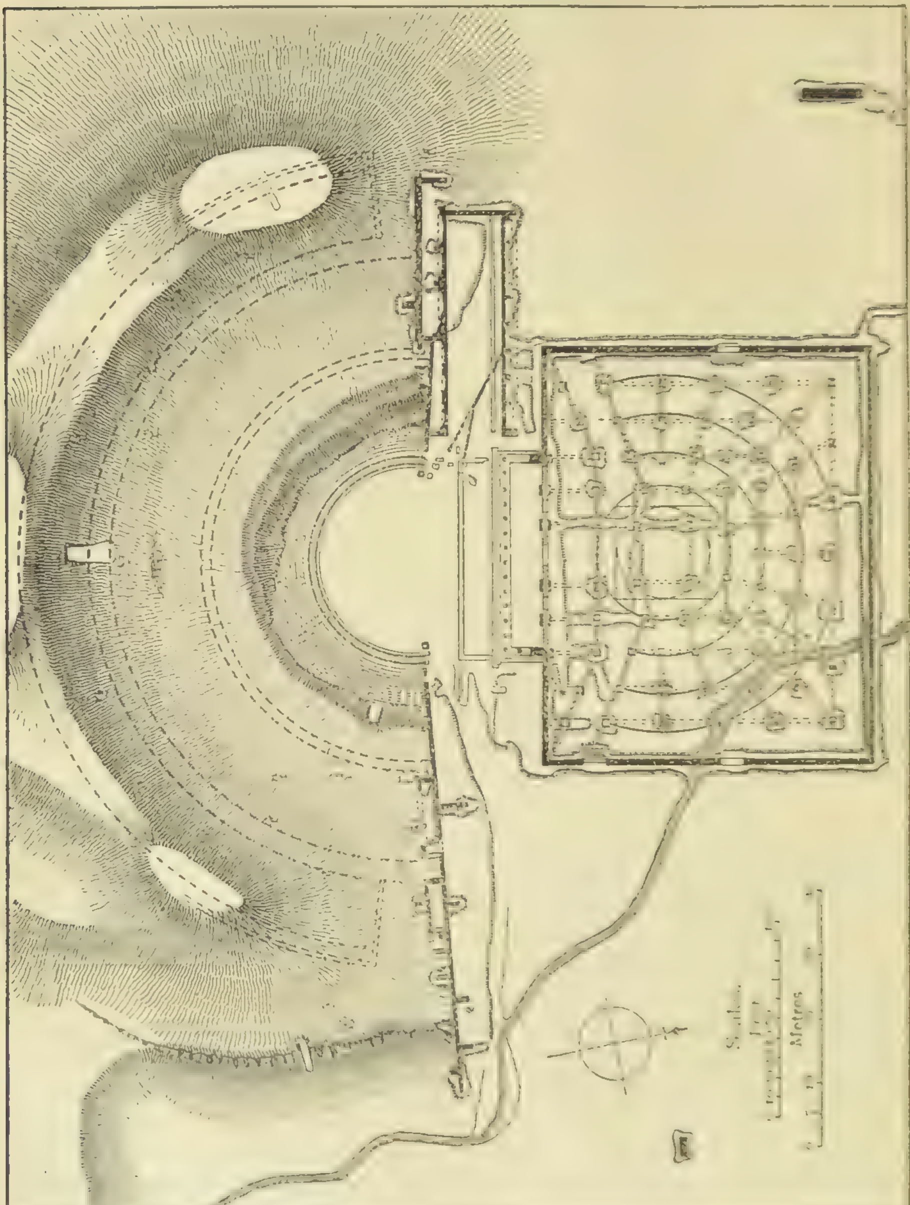


FIG. 45.—PLAN OF THEATRE AND THERSILION AT MEGALOPOLIS.

55 feet from the pedestal. Here it stops against a short wall at right angles to, and connecting, the ends of two retaining walls beyond, which run, not at an angle to the cross axis of the theatre, but parallel to it and to each other. These two parallel walls are about 14 feet apart from face to face; they are built of double rows of blocks, and have an average

thickness of 4 feet. The front wall, which is standing to a height of about 25 feet above the orchestra, is built of square blocks of conglomerate laid in alternate courses of 'headers' and 'stretchers,' the blocks averaging about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet high. This front wall was probably never more than a course or two higher than its present level. The back wall begins at a height of about 23 feet above the level of the orchestra, and it is standing to a height, at most, of eleven courses or about $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Except the two lower foundation courses, which are of conglomerate, this back wall is built of beautiful square blocks of limestone with 'bull-nosed' faces. Clearly this inner wall, with the exception of the foundation courses, was meant to be seen. Hence we infer that the space between the two walls was a terrace to which a flight of steps or a sloping way led up, probably from the ground immediately to the west of the *skanotheka* or 'stage-dock,' which took the place of a western *parodos* (see below). The terrace, in turn, probably gave access to the lower *diazoma* or horizontal passage which ran round the auditorium. The height of the terrace above the ground agrees very nearly with the height of the sill of white limestone on the east retaining wall which appears, as we have seen, to mark an entrance to the lower *diazoma* at the other end. Thus it would seem that access to the upper part of the theatre was obtained directly both on the east and west sides by staircases or sloping ways, leading up from the two wings or extremities of the great horse-shoe. The difference in the arrangement of the retaining walls in the two wings was probably necessitated chiefly by the construction of the *skanotheka* or 'stage-dock' in place of a western *parodos*. It would have been inconvenient to have had buttresses projecting into the 'stage-dock'; they were therefore dispensed with on this side, and their absence was compensated by the greater thickness and solidity of the retaining wall.

The auditorium, formed by the slope of the hill and of the embankments and supported at the two wings by the retaining walls, has the shape of an arc somewhat greater than a semicircle. The arc is a true arc throughout, and does not widen out beyond the semicircle between the cross axis line and the retaining walls, as happens at other theatres, such as those of Athens, Epidaurus, and Eretria. Most of the stone seats have disappeared entirely. The present remains consist of the front row of benches, the passage behind them, and several tiers of seats behind that again. The first three tiers are practically complete all round, and in one place as many as nine consecutive tiers can be made out. They are divided into nine wedge-shaped blocks (*kerkides*) by eight staircases; and there were two more staircases, one at the extremity of each wing, next the retaining wall, so that the total number of staircases in the lowest part of the auditorium was ten. In the upper part of the theatre the number of staircases was probably greater, as in the theatres at Epidaurus, Aspendus, and elsewhere, in which the batch of seats corresponding to each block below the *diazoma* is divided into two blocks above. But as the upper seats at Megalopolis have disappeared, this is only a matter of conjecture. The width of the staircases is 2 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; there are two steps to each tier of seats.

Presumably in a theatre of this size there were two *diazomata* or horizontal passages running all round the auditorium. The position of the upper *diazoma* is indeed clearly indicated by a broad grassy ledge which runs round the inside of the embankment, near the top at a distance from the orchestra of about 100 feet and a height above it about 55 feet. And the disposition of the retaining walls of the wings appears, as we have seen, to indicate that there was a lower *diazoma* at a height of about 25 feet above the orchestra. If these indications are correct, the lower *diazoma* occurred at a distance of about 50 feet from the outer edge of the orchestra, and the upper *diazoma* at a distance of 100 feet. And, following out this scale of proportions, we may conjecture, with Messrs. Gardner and Loring, that the top of the auditorium was 150 feet distant from the orchestra. The architect Mr. Schultz, however, prefers to suppose that the highest section of the theatre, above the upper *diazoma*, was less deep, that is, included fewer tiers of seats, than the lower sections. In his conjectural restoration of the theatre he assigns twenty-one tiers of seats (or twenty tiers exclusive of the front row of benches) to the section below the lower *diazoma*, twenty tiers to the section between the two *diazomata*, and fifteen tiers to the section above the upper *diazoma*. He calculates that the theatre could have seated 19,700 persons, allowing 13 inches for each person on the ordinary seats and 16 inches on the front row of benches. The allowance for each person on the ordinary seats (namely 13 inches) is the same as is indicated by the marks on the seats of the theatre at Athens, but it seems somewhat scanty. The minimum space allowed for each person in London theatres, according to the regulations of the County Council, is 18 inches; but in fact the managers find that in the pit and gallery people can be packed into a space of 14 inches for each person, and that 16 inches is a good allowance. Messrs. Gardner and Loring compute that the number of persons whom the theatre could have seated was 17,000.

The ordinary seats consist of two parts, namely (1) the limestone bench on which the spectator sat; and (2) a plain slab of limestone or conglomerate supporting this bench and projecting beyond it so as to form a footboard. This mode of construction differs from that adopted in some other Greek theatres, as at Athens, Piraeus, and Epidaurus, where each bench with the footboard of the bench behind is cut out of a single block. The average height of each seat is from 15 to 16 inches; the breadth of seat and footboard combined is about 29 inches. The ordinary seats have, as was usual in Greek theatres, no backs. Not so, however, with the front row of benches, which doubtless served as seats of honour. These front benches are nine in number, one bench corresponding to each block of seats in the auditorium above. All of them are provided with backs, and each of them terminates at either end in an ornamental arm. In contrast to the ordinary benches, they are comfortable to sit in, the seat being conveniently hollowed and the back slightly curved. With the exception of the two benches at the ends, each bench is constructed of four blocks of limestone of unequal lengths. The benches at each end are 5 feet longer than the others.

and are constructed of five instead of four blocks of limestone. But that they were originally of the same length as the rest and were lengthened by the insertion of a new intermediate block in each is manifest; the later block in each bench can be easily detected by its rougher workmanship.

Eight of the nine front benches bear inscriptions carved on their backs. These inscriptions fall into two classes, namely (1) inscriptions recording the dedication of the front benches, and (2) inscriptions recording the names of the Arcadian tribes to whom certain of the blocks of seats were apparently assigned.

(1) The inscriptions recording the dedication of the front benches are three in number, and are carved on the central and the two end benches. The inscription on the easternmost bench is as follows: Ἀντίοχος ἀγωνοθετήσας ἀνέθηκε το(ὺ)ς θρόνο(υ)ς πάντας καὶ τὸν ὀχετόν ("Antiochus, having celebrated the games, dedicated all the seats and the gutter"). The inscriptions on the central and westernmost seats are repetitions of the first three words of the foregoing inscription, namely, Ἀντίοχος ἀγωνοθετήσας ἀνέθηκε ("Antiochus, having celebrated the games, dedicated"). From these inscriptions we gather that all the front benches, together with the gutter which runs all round the orchestra (see below), were dedicated by a certain Antiochus. To judge from the style of the letters the inscriptions belong to the first part of the fourth century B.C.; hence, as Megalopolis was founded in 370 B.C., we conclude that the front seats were set up and the gutter in the orchestra constructed between 370 and 350 B.C. Probably, then, the Antiochus who dedicated them was Antiochus of Lepreus, who won a victory in the pancratium at Olympia (Paus. vi. 3. 9), and who represented the Arcadian confederacy in an embassy to the court of Persia in 367 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1. 33-38). All three inscriptions recording the dedication are carved, not on the front, but on the back of the seat-backs.

(2) The inscriptions recording the names of the Arcadian tribes to whom the blocks of seats were respectively allotted fall into two groups, an earlier and a later. (*a*) The earlier inscriptions are carved on the backs of the seat-backs of benches 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, counting from east to west; and the tribes whose names they record are, in the same order, the Arcadian, the Apollonian, the Panathenian, the Heraclean, the Panian, and perhaps the Heraean or Lycaean (the last inscription is mutilated and its restoration is doubtful, the only certain letters being the last four, ΑΙΑΣ). All these six inscriptions are clearly contemporary and date probably from the second, but possibly from the third century B.C. (*b*) The later inscriptions, five in number, are carved on the front of the seat-backs of benches 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7; and the tribes whose names they record are, in the same order, the Maenalian, the Lycaean, the Parrhasian, the Panian, and the Apollonian. These five inscriptions belong to the Roman age and are probably not earlier than the Christian era. Comparing the two groups of inscriptions (*a* and *b*) together we see that the six earlier tribal names (of which four or five were derived from divinities) were supplanted in Roman times by

five names, of which three are local and two only were derived from divinities. Only two, or perhaps three, names (the Apollonian, Panian, and possibly the Lycaean) are common to both groups; and only one bench (namely the sixth) bears the name of the same tribe both on front and back. All the other benches, and with them the blocks of seats behind, had therefore been re-allotted in the interval which elapsed between the engraving of the first and the second group of inscriptions.

There are grounds for thinking that the front row of benches formed no part of the original plan, but was added some time, though not long, after the theatre was built. For (1) the separate dedication of the seats of honour and the gutter clearly points to such a theory; (2) whereas in other Greek theatres, as in those at Athens and Epidaurus, the seats of honour are situated within the lowest arc bounded at either end by the retaining walls of the wings, at Megalopolis the seats of honour are situated beyond (*i.e.* nearer the orchestra and at a lower level than) the ends of the retaining walls; (3) at the back of the front row of benches is a paved passage 3 feet wide, running all round the auditorium, and the tops of the conglomerate foundations of the two limestone pedestals in which the retaining walls terminate towards the orchestra (see above, pp. 331, 332) are on a level with the passage, which served also as the footboard of the lowest tier of ordinary seats. Probably, therefore, this passage or footboard formed the original boundary of the orchestra; and the lowest row of ordinary seats, at which the retaining walls stop, were the last seats next to the orchestra. On this hypothesis the original level of the orchestra was 15 inches higher than at present, that being the difference between the present level of the orchestra and the level of the passage at the back of the seats of honour.

In front of the seats of honour runs the gutter mentioned in the inscription (see above). It is 1 ft. 8 in. wide and 12 inches deep, and is enclosed by two raised stone borders or kerbs, the outer one of which forms the boundary of the orchestra. The gutter is nearly level: the fall, which is hardly perceptible, is towards the centre rather than from the centre to either side. The ends are open and no direct connexion with any outlet or drain has been discovered. At several places on the inner kerb (*i.e.* the kerb next the seats and away from the orchestra) there are little channels running out from under the benches to the gutter. These channels are now dry, but they may have formed at one time the outlet for the water of the perpetual spring which Pausanias mentions in the theatre.

The width of the orchestra, measured across from the kerb on either side and exclusive of the gutter, is 99 ft. 1 in. The outer kerb of the gutter which bounds the orchestra forms an arc somewhat greater than a semicircle; it is of white limestone and is 14½ inches broad. The floor of the orchestra seems, as in the theatres of Epidaurus and Oropus, to have been of earth, since no traces of a pavement have come to light. Within the orchestra, at its eastern and western edges, are the remains of two pedestals; they are obviously later additions, and seem not to be in their original positions. Of the pedestal on the east

side only the base stone is left standing, but of the one on the west side both the base and the drum are in position. An inscription on the latter pedestal seems to show that it supported an image of Dionysus made by a certain native of Megalopolis, Nicippus son of Sotion, and dedicated by Eumaridas son of Hippon.

Greek theatres had usually two passages (*parodoi*) leading into the orchestra from opposite sides, between the stage and the extremities of the seats. It is a peculiarity of the theatre at Megalopolis that it has only one such passage (*parodos*), namely on the east side. The *parodos* occupies the space in front of the east retaining wall, extending from the orchestra to the first cross-wall which projects outward from the retaining wall. Its total length from the edge of the orchestra to the cross-wall is about 80 feet; its length from the end of the retaining wall, on the side of the orchestra, to the cross-wall is 71 feet. No trace of a doorway at the outer end of the *parodos* has come to light.

On the west side of the theatre, in the place which would naturally have been occupied by the other *parodos*, there is a deep space enclosed by walls on three sides and open on the side towards the orchestra. Inscribed tiles found in and near it enable us to identify this enclosed space as the *skanotheka* or 'scene dock,' as it is called in modern theatres, the place, that is, in which the scenery is kept. The tiles are of plain red earthenware and U-shaped; opinions differ as to whether they were roof-tiles or gutter-tiles. The inscription, which belongs to the late Greek or Roman period, is on a sunk panel in each tile. The length of the *skanotheka* from west to east is about 116 feet, its breadth from north to south about 27 feet. On the south the *skanotheka* is enclosed in its western part by the front west retaining wall of the theatre for a length of 66 feet; eastward of the point where this wall stops the *skanotheka* is bounded by a wall which carries on the line of the west retaining wall to a point opposite to that at which the north enclosing wall of the *skanotheka* comes to an end. The walls of the *skanotheka* are built of squared blocks of rough conglomerate coated with stucco. As this coating of stucco stops on the north wall at a line a few inches above the ground, and on the south wall at a line about 18 inches higher, it is conjectured that the *skanotheka* had a floor at two different levels. How the place was divided up, if it was subdivided at all, we cannot say. A low foundation of limestone slabs runs along the length of the *skanotheka* at a distance of 6 ft. 6 in. from the north enclosing wall. The foundation seems not to have supported a stone wall, since its top is not carefully dressed level and there are traces of bonding into the west wall above it. Messrs. Gardner and Loring suggest that a wooden partition rested on this line of slabs, and that the narrow space between it and the north enclosing wall was a passage giving access to the chambers into which the rest of the *skanotheka*, between the wooden partition and the south wall, may have been divided. But Mr. Schultz's view seems more probable, that the row of slabs formed a foundation for supporting and storing the scenery when the theatre was not in use for dramatic representations. He points out that the row of slabs is almost in a line with (only 10 inches

beyond, *i.e.* to the south of) the lowest step of the portico of the Thersilium, and that its length (113 ft. 10 in.) is almost exactly the length (113 feet) of the lowest step of the portico. Hence as the portico with its steps was originally the background against which the actors played (see below), the conjecture is a very plausible one that the scenery, when it was not wanted, was hung on wooden screens, supported on the row of limestone slabs, in the *skanotheka*, from which, when a play was to be performed, the scenery could easily be run out in a straight line to the front of the portico. The entrance to the *skanotheka* must have been at its north-east end, where a passage (7 ft. 6 in. wide) intervenes between the end of its north wall and the portico of the Thersilium. If the inscribed tiles, mentioned above, belonged to the roof, the *skanotheka* must certainly have been covered in; but no traces of corbels or of holes for beams remain on the south wall, perhaps because they were in the upper courses of the wall which have disappeared. An inscription on a tile found at Sparta proves that the Spartan theatre also was provided with a *skanotheka* or 'scene dock' (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 2 (1877), p. 441).

The remains of a stage or of what has been taken for a stage in the theatre at Megalopolis are so closely connected with the Thersilium or great assembly hall which faced the theatre on the north that it will be convenient to describe the hall first.

The Thersilium may be described as a large covered hall about 218 feet long from east to west by 172 feet broad from north to south, enclosed by walls pierced with doorways and having besides, on the south side, a projecting portico. The area of the hall is over 35,000 square feet, and it is computed that it could have accommodated nearly 6000 persons sitting or about 10,000 persons standing. Of this vast hall Pausanias saw only foundations, and little more than foundations were brought to light by the English excavations. Of the enclosing walls the foundations and, in some places, the lower courses still exist. They are built wholly of blocks of limestone. The foundation courses, which were completely hidden, have level top beds but are otherwise unsquared. On the other hand the courses which were meant to be seen are built of beautifully-squared stones of various lengths with rather irregular joints, somewhat in the style of the walls of Messene. The outer faces of the stones are 'bull-nosed,' that is, rough and projecting. The walls average about 2 ft. 6 in. thick and are composed of two stones in the thickness, with bonding stones running through from front to back at intervals. A dressed sill-course ran all round the building, level with the top of the stylobate of the portico. It still exists in the east wall and in the eastern part of the south wall. This course, formed of slabs 10 inches thick which are connected by ⊢⊣-shaped clamps, projects slightly over the face of the rougher wall below. On the top of this sill-course was a deep course of limestone slabs, 2 ft. 10 in. high, set upright on their edges, two slabs making up the thickness of the wall, which amounts to 2 ft. 6 in.[1] Traces have been discovered of four

[1] The height and thickness of this course of uprights are given from my own measurements; they appear not to be mentioned by Mr. Schultz in *Excavations at Megalopolis*.

doorways which gave access to the hall on three sides. Two of these doors are in the east wall, one in the north wall, and one in the west wall. On the ground of symmetry Mr. Schultz conjectures that there were two doors in both the north and the west wall, as well as in the east wall; but no positive evidence of the existence of these additional doors has been brought to light. Remains of foundation-walls exist running from three of the doorways into the hall, at right angles to the main walls. These foundations have clearly supported steps. Three of the doorways seem to have had about the same width (namely from 9 feet to 9 ft. 6 in.); but the one near the south end of the east wall is about 2 feet narrower. The levels of the sills or lowest steps of all the doorways are different, and were doubtless arranged to suit the sloping line of the ground outside.

Internally the arrangement of the hall closely resembled that of a Greek theatre. The floor sloped downwards from three sides (east, north, and west) to a level space corresponding to the orchestra of a theatre. From this level space, which is equidistant from the east and west walls but considerably nearer to the south than to the north wall, two passages, corresponding to the *parodoi* of a theatre, led, at the same level, in a south-easterly and a south-westerly direction respectively to the external walls of the hall. Lastly, corresponding to the stage of a theatre, there was a platform on the south side of the hall at a height of about 2 ft. 6 in. above the passages and the orchestra-like space. Two facts make it probable that the floor of the building was of wood. In the first place, not a single flagstone of a pavement has been found in the hall. In the second place, the bases of the columns which supported the roof are dressed smooth to a certain depth, below which they are left rough, and the slight projection thus formed is obviously suitable for the reception and retention of a wooden floor, whereas it would have been useless if the floor had been of earth. We may suppose then that there was a sloping floor of wood supported on a framework of beams. It should be noted, however, that a layer of white limestone chips, about 2 inches deep, lies at present over nearly the whole area of the building under a layer of tiles; and it is possible that this layer of limestone chips may have been part of a floor rather than, as Mr. Benson supposes, the fragments of columns which had been shattered by the fall of the roof.

The roof was supported by pillars, the foundations of which remain for the most part in their original positions; and it is from an examination of the arrangement of these foundations, which stand at many different levels, that we are able to make out the internal plan and disposition of the hall. The pillars, then, were arranged round three sides (eastern, northern, and western) of the hall in parallel rows, the number of rows parallel to each side of the hall being five. The rows are practically equidistant from each other, the distance between any two rows being about 18 feet; but the outermost row is distant rather more (namely 19½ feet) from the outer wall. The distance apart of the pillars in each row varies considerably from row to row. In the first or outermost row the distance of the pillars from each other averages 29 feet

from centre to centre; in the second row, 23 feet; in the third row, 17 feet; in the fourth row, 22 feet; and in the fifth row, 29 feet. This fifth or innermost row comprises only four pillars, one at each of the angles of a square round the orchestra-like area in the middle of the hall. While the pillars were thus arranged in rows, five deep, parallel to the three sides of the hall, the pillars in each row were so arranged with reference to the pillars of all the other rows, as to fall into lines radiating like the spokes of a wheel from the centre of the hall. The effect of this was to form a great many aisles all converging towards the centre of the hall or (to be more exact) towards the centre of the orchestra-like area, which, as we have seen, occupied approximately but not exactly the centre of the hall. Hence we infer that the speakers who addressed the assembly stood, not on the platform at the south side of the hall, but in the central area, from which they could be best seen and heard by the spectators sitting, tier above tier, in the pillared aisles. The platform at the south side of the hall, occupying the place of a stage in a theatre, may have been reserved for the committee or council who, at least in the third century B.C., carried on the administration and prepared the measures which were laid before the popular assembly (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 167; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 444; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, 2. p. 133 *sq.*) Pillars, supporting the roof, were ranged along the front of the platform and along its two sides which extended obliquely to the south-west and south-east angles respectively of the hall. The front of the platform with its line of pillars was distant about 26 feet from the south wall of the building. With regard to the passages, corresponding to the *parodoi* of a theatre, which led from the central orchestra-like area to the south-west and south-east corners of the hall, between the tiers of seats on the one side and the platform on the other, they seem to have ended, at least in later times, in blank walls. Mr. Bather, however, suggests that these two passages were originally open at their outer ends and formed the principal entrances into the building. In support of this view he shows some grounds for holding that the piece of the east wall between the south-east doorway and the south wall is no part of the original building but a later addition.

Of the pillars themselves which upheld the roof of the hall nothing is left in position except a single piece of one, 4 feet high and 2 ft. 10¼ in. thick; it has no moulded base under it, but rests on a square slab. But though the pillars themselves have disappeared, most of their foundations and bases are left. Of the outermost row, indeed, only the foundation-piers remain, but of the inner rows many of the squared base stones on which the pillars rested still exist. The foundation-piers, which vary from 4 ft. 2 in. to 4 ft. 6 in. square, are built of squared blocks of tufa in courses, some of which measure 19 and 20 inches thick. Each course consists of two blocks which are joined by ⊢⊣-shaped clamps bedded in lead. At the south side of the hall, where the ground and the floor were nearly level, these piers are only one course deep; but where the floor was higher and the ground lower, especially on the north side, the piers are at least 4 or 5 courses deep.

The dressed limestone bases on the top of these piers are about 10 inches thick and vary in size from 2 ft. 4 in. to 3 ft. 3 in. square. The larger bases were found in the inner rows where the pillars were presumably higher and therefore probably thicker, but they seem not to have followed any very regular order in their variation. Some have one, others two dowel-holes on the top; and the two sets of bases which are thus differentiated appear to belong to different periods. The earlier bases have one large square dowel-hole (not run with lead) in the middle, and are neatly drafted at the edges, with a smooth tooling which extends down to the bottom of the stone. The later bases, on the other hand, have two small dowel-holes (run with lead) at the sides; the tooling on them is less smooth than on the earlier bases, and the lower half of each block is left altogether rough. In many cases the old bases seem to have been re-used, the large central dowel-hole being flanked by the two smaller holes. These differences in the bases point to the conclusion that at some period the hall was extensively repaired or rebuilt. This conclusion is confirmed by the nature of some of the foundations in the third row of pillars, counting from the outside. In this row we find that every second base rests, not on foundation-piers of large blocks of tufa clamped together in the manner already described, but merely on a single block of breccia of about the same size as the base itself. The bases, too, of these alternate pillars are inferior in style to the rest, and hence probably later. On these grounds we infer that at some later period the number of pillars in the third row was doubled. If we ask why this was done, the most obvious answer is that the original space (namely 34 feet) between each pair of pillars in this row was too great, and that in consequence the roof threatened to give way here or had actually collapsed; and that to obviate the danger or repair the mischief additional pillars were inserted in the third row, one between each original pair. When the evidence for the strengthening of this row of pillars is taken together with the numerous traces of extensive contemporaneous repair which have been observed in other parts of the hall, the more probable view seems to be that the roof not only cracked but came down, shivering many of the pillars and necessitating a thorough reconstruction of the whole edifice. Yet this reconstruction would seem to have taken place not later than the third century B.C., since the style of the repairs, though inferior to that of the original masonry, is still good.

Of the nature of the roof we have little evidence, apart from the layer of tiles which was found covering the area of the building. Probably the roof was of wood covered with tiles. The wide spacing apart of the pillars indicates that they supported wooden beams which in turn supported rafters on which the tiles were laid. As to the arrangement of the roof we are reduced to conjecture. The third row of pillars, after it had been strengthened by the insertion of the additional pillars in the manner described above, was the most solid line of support in the whole building, the pillars being much closer together in it than in any of the other rows. Hence it has been suggested by Mr. Schultz that this third row of pillars supported a clerestory. If this view is

right, the central part of the roof, inside of the third row of pillars, was at a higher level than the outer part, which sloped away on all sides from the clerestory to the outer walls of the edifice; and the hall was probably lit by windows in the clerestory, though it may also have had windows in the outer walls. Mr. Bather argues that the original roof, before its supposed collapse and repair, must have been arranged quite differently. He points out that originally, before the insertion of the additional pillars in the third row, that row was not the strongest but the weakest line of support in the whole building, its pillars being placed at wider intervals than those of the other rows; and hence it could not have been chosen by an architect to support a clerestory. Mr. Bather's view is that originally the platform at the south side of the hall and the orchestra-like area in the middle had separate roofs of their own, the roof of the latter resting on the four central columns, and that the roof of the rest of the hall sloped inwards and downwards from the sides to the centre in a series of steps or terraces, one for each row of pillars, and with an open space between it and the roof of the orchestra-like area in the middle. The water would thus drain from the roof inwards to the centre, and would drip into the open space between the main roof and the roof of the 'orchestra,' where it may have been received in a circular or semicircular gutter like those which encircle the orchestras of Greek theatres. On this hypothesis, there was a roof with not one but a series of clerestories, descending one below the other from the outer walls to the centre; and in each of these clerestories there may have been windows. Some slight evidence in support of this hypothesis is furnished by an inscription on a tile found between the third and fourth rows of pillars; the inscription (ΟΣΙΟΙΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΥ) is mutilated, but may perhaps have meant "public tiles of the fourth tier of roofing."[1]

From the south façade of the hall there projected towards the theatre a portico, of which the foundations together with several of the lower steps are still in position. The length of the portico from east to west, measured on the lowest step, is 113 feet; its depth or in other words its projection from the south wall of the Thersilium is about 20 feet or, measured to the edge of the lowest step, 23 feet. It had originally two steps, but at a later time three lower steps, making five in all, were added. Of these later steps the two lower are preserved entire, and a few of the blocks of the third step are still in position. Of the two upper steps (the topmost of which formed the stylobate proper) nothing was found in position by the English excavators; but many pieces of them lay scattered about, and a few have been replaced approximately in their original position. The material of all the steps is white limestone. Of the columns and entablature of the portico the remains which have been discovered comprise drums of the columns, a capital, an architrave beam, four pieces of the triglyph frieze, and the

[1] That the first part of the inscription is to be restored as *κέραμοι δημόσιοι* ('public tiles') is made probable by the parallel inscription (*πλίνθοι δημόσιαι σκανοθήκας*, etc.) on a tile found at Sparta, to which reference has been made above (p. 338). Cp. P. Paris, *Élatée* (Paris, 1892), p. 110 *sqq.*

apex stone of the gable. All these architectural remains are of tufa coated with stucco. From them, taken in connexion with the dimensions of the portico and the blocks of the stylobate that have been found, we learn that the portico had fourteen Doric columns in front and probably two at the narrow ends, the corner columns being counted twice over. The diameter of the shaft of each column, immediately under the capital, measured about 2 ft. 7 in. between the flutes; hence the diameter at the base probably measured at least 3 ft. 2 in. The height of the columns is estimated to have been from six to six and a half diameters, or about 20 feet, and the height of the columns and entablature together a little over 25 feet. The columns had twenty flutes; the echinus of the capital is flat. The architectural style of the portico is that of the early part of the fourth century B.C.; in form and proportions the columns and entablature closely resemble those of the temple of Zeus at Nemea and the temple of Aesculapius at Epidaurus. Compared with the style of the fifth century B.C., as exemplified in the Propylaea at Athens and the large temple at Rhamnus, the frieze has become deeper and the architrave shallower, whereas in the earlier style architrave and frieze are practically equal. Above the columns and entablature of the portico rose a gable or pediment, facing the theatre; the apex stone, which has been found, proves that the gable had a slope upwards of 1 in 6.

The back of the portico was formed by the south wall of the Thersilium, and three doors in the wall gave access from the portico to the hall. From the traces in the sill-course of the wall we see that the central door was about 8 feet wide and the two side doors about 5 ft 6 in. wide each. Originally, however, there was no wall at the back of the portico dividing it from the hall; the two buildings communicated freely with each other through five openings divided by four columns which stood exactly opposite the nearest columns in the Thersilium. This is proved by (1) the existence of the four foundation-piers of the displaced columns in the wall at the back of the colonnade; and (2) the comparatively careless structure of this part of the wall and the use in it of ┌─┐-shaped clamps instead of the ├─┤-shaped clamps which are used everywhere else in the hall and portico except in the three later steps.

There are some indications that the floor of the portico was of wood or at all events that it rested on a wooden framework. For in the first place there were found, inside of the portico and at a depth of nearly 5 feet below the top step, three curiously-cut stones, which may perhaps have been used for supporting the scenery of the theatre. The discovery of these stones at this level seems to show that the space beneath the portico was used as a store-room, or at least that it was not filled up with earth; and if it was left hollow, the floor of the colonnade must almost certainly have been of wood, since the width of the space to be covered (nearly 20 feet) is too great to be spanned by a stone floor without supports. In the second place, large square holes, measuring about 8 inches by 5 inches, are to be seen in the foundation-piers of the columns which are built into the back wall of the portico. These holes

face towards the portico and are at a level with its second step. They probably received the ends of wooden beams which crossed over to the front of the colonnade. Cross planks or perhaps flagstones resting on these beams would form the floor, bringing the level up to that of the top step or stylobate of the portico.

The lower foundations of the portico consist of a wall about 5½ feet thick and 3½ feet deep, composed of three courses of squared blocks of tufa joined together with ⊢⊣-shaped clamps. On the top of this wall rests an upper foundation formed of limestone slabs about 9½ inches deep, two slabs making up the thickness of the wall; and on this upper foundation formerly rested the two original steps of the portico. To these two upper steps, as we have seen, were afterwards added three lower steps, the greater part of which still exists in position. These lower steps extend only along the front of the portico; they were not continued along its short sides. Under the lowest of them is a thin foundation of limestone. That these lower three steps were a later addition to the portico is proved by various considerations. (1) The steps in question are not tied or bonded into the foundation-wall of the portico, but are merely built up in front of it. (2) The foundations, both upper and lower, of the portico have been cut away on their front face in order to allow the second and third of the later steps to be placed in position. (3) The blocks of the three lower steps are joined with ⊓-shaped clamps, whereas the blocks of the two upper steps were joined with ⊢⊣ clamps.

The question arises, when and why were these later steps added? To answer it we must consider the relation of the portico to the theatre.

The portico is exactly opposite the orchestra of the theatre; its lowest step is distant only 35 feet from the two ends of the front row of benches; and the length of its front, without the later steps, is exactly the original width of the orchestra, before the area of the orchestra was contracted by the insertion of the front row of benches. Thus it appears that the portico fills the space which in Greek theatres is usually occupied by the stage-buildings. Indeed the English excavators at first mistook the portico for a stage; but their mistake was corrected by Dr. Dörpfeld and has been acknowledged by themselves. The original level of the orchestra, before the addition of the front benches, was, as we have seen, about 15 inches higher than at present. Now the bottom of the later steps of the portico is almost exactly in a line with the original level of the orchestra, the difference between the two amounting to only a quarter of an inch; but the bottom of the original upper steps is 3 ft. 3 in. above it. From this the natural inference is that the Thersilium with its portico was built before the theatre: that the ground in front of the portico was then at a level with the bottom of the two original steps of the portico; and that when the theatre was built and the soil in front of the portico was cleared away to form the orchestra, the three lowest steps were added in order to maintain the communication between the portico and the ground in front of it, now converted into the orchestra of the theatre. This is Dr. Dörpfeld's theory, and probability seems to be in its favour. Mr. Ernest Gardner, however,

contends that the later steps are not contemporary with the theatre but were added some considerable time, perhaps two centuries, later, and that in the interval between the construction of the theatre and the addition of the three lower steps there was a platform of earth or wood in front of the portico, abutting against its foundations in the place afterwards occupied by the additional steps; and this platform, he holds, was the stage on which the actors played. The only alternative to this view, he argues, would be to suppose that there was a sheer drop of 3 ft. 3 in. from the foot of the original upper steps to the level of the orchestra; and this supposition, he thinks, is precluded by the consideration that such a drop would have exposed to view the foundations of the portico, which, from the nature of their material and the roughness of their masonry, were clearly never meant to be seen. But on this hypothesis how is the later addition of the lower steps to be explained? For obviously when they were constructed there could have been no stage abutting on the front of the portico. Mr. Gardner's answer is that the permanent stage was afterwards replaced by a temporary wooden one, and that thereupon the three lowest steps were added in order to give access to the portico in the intervals between the dramatic performances when there was no stage in front of it. But why should a permanent stage have been replaced by a temporary one? A theory which obliges us to suppose such a change is improbable. The argument on which Mr. Gardner's theory mainly rests is that the front surface of the lower steps, which has been worked across and across with a toothed chisel so as to give, in a favourable light, the appearance of a network of fine lines, is totally different from the smooth front surface not only of the upper steps but also of the seats in the theatre, while on the other hand it exactly resembles the front surface of the pedestal which stands on the western edge of the orchestra and bears an inscription of the second or first century B.C. (see above, p. 337). This supposed difference of technique, in Mr. Gardner's opinion, forces us to assume that a long interval elapsed between the construction of the theatre and the addition of the three lowest steps of the portico, and consequently that in the interval the place afterwards occupied by the steps was filled by a stage. But it appears very doubtful whether this assumed difference of technique really exists. Dr. Dörpfeld, a trained architect, was unable to perceive it; and Mr. Loring, who formerly believed in it and deduced from it the same conclusions as Mr. Gardner, found on a more searching examination that the difference, so far as it exists, was not one of technique but was merely due to the varying degree in which the stones had been worn or weathered. If he is right, Mr. Gardner's principal argument for the late date of the lower steps and hence for a permanent original stage in the theatre becomes invalid. That the lower steps were later than the rest of the portico we have already seen; but they need not have been much later, and the theory, advocated by Dr. Dörpfeld, that they were added at the time when the theatre was built and when the level of the ground in front of the portico was lowered to form the orchestra, is decidedly the most probable. It does not necessarily follow from this that the actors

performed, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, on the level ground of the orchestra with the steps and columns of the portico for a background. A temporary wooden stage may possibly have been erected for the players from time to time in front of the portico. But of a permanent stage in the original theatre at Megalopolis there is no trace.

At some time long subsequent to the construction of the theatre a permanent stone stage was built in front of the portico. The stylobate and some pieces of the columns which supported the front of the stage still exist in their original positions. The length of the stage, to judge from the remains of the stylobate, was 105 ft. 4 in., and its depth 19 ft. 9 in. The stylobate, the top of which is almost exactly on a level with the bottom of the lowest step of the portico, consists of two courses of slabs of a purplish-white limestone. The blocks of the upper course seem to have been taken from a small building of about the same date as the portico; they are of irregular length and breadth, and are badly fitted without clamps, care having been taken merely that they should form a continuous straight line in front. Along the front of the stage a row of fourteen marble columns, with an *anta* and a short piece of plain wall at either end, rested on the stylobate; all the columns were fixed into the stylobate by iron dowels run with lead, and they were placed along the front at equal intervals of 5 ft. 10½ in. from centre to centre. The columns measured 1 ft. 5½ in. in diameter at the base, and were mostly built up of drums of various lengths. The longest piece of a column that has been found measures 7 ft. 8½ in., and it has two dowel-holes on the top. Probably this is a complete shaft and the capital rested immediately on it. If so, the total height of the stage, including the entablature over the columns, was probably about 10 feet, a measurement agreeing very well with the directions of Vitruvius, who says (v. 8. 2) that the height of a Greek stage should be not less than 10 and not more than 12 feet. The workmanship of the columns is very rough. It was intended to flute them, but this intention was not carried out, the flutes having been cut only for a height of 2½ inches at the bottom of each column on the front side. At either side of each column is a projecting fillet, doubtless intended to fasten the panels which filled the spaces between the columns. All the spaces between the columns would seem to have been thus filled; at least no trace of an opening or door through the front of the stage has been observed. The space between the middle columns is no wider than the others, and nowhere is the stylobate worn by feet, the original marks of the masons' tools on its surface being plainly visible. This absence of a doorway confirms the view that the structure in question was a stage upon which the actors performed, and not a mere background in front of which they appeared; for had it been a background there would almost certainly have been a doorway or doorways in it for the passage out and in of the actors. The back of the stage, which is unusually deep (19 ft. 9 in.), may have been partly filled by the scenery. On its short west side there is an opening at the back through which the scenery may have been run on to the stage from the *skanotheka* or 'scene-dock' (see above, p. 337 *sq.*) On this west

side there is also the sill of a door which allowed of communication between the back of the stage and the 'scene-dock.' The date of the stage may be the first century B.C. or later.

We have seen that the stylobate of this late stage consists of two courses of limestone slabs. A slight difference in style between these two courses, of which the lower is rather better built than the upper, suggested to Dr. Dörpfeld that the two might perhaps belong to different dates. The removal of some of the blocks of the upper course amply verified his conjecture, for it revealed on the top of the blocks of the lower course a series of rectangular sockets and grooves which were clearly intended for the reception of wooden posts and planks. Evidently we have here the remains of an arrangement for the erection either of a continuous scene or of a wooden stage supported on posts and boarded in front. Upright posts were no doubt inserted in the quadrangular sockets, and planks in the grooves. The grooves, which are placed immediately in front of the sockets, are not continuous, which seems to show that the boarding was also not continuous. If so, the structure is more likely to have been a scaffold for the support of scenery than a stage; and its discovery favours the view of Dr. Dörpfeld that in Greek theatres down to a comparatively late time the actors performed on the level of the orchestra against a temporary scene or background erected in it. This wooden scaffolding or stage, whichever it was, must have been a good deal longer in front than the columned stone stage which succeeded it; for the line of its front is prolonged eastward beyond the end of the stone stage by a row of blocks of tufa roughly put together without clamps and bearing on their top a series of sockets and grooves like those already described. This row of blocks is about 21 feet long and it slopes up the *parodos* at an inclination of about 1 in 10. At the opposite or western end of the stone stage, between it and the *skanotheka* or 'scene-dock,' there are two other blocks of tufa with similar sockets and grooves, and as they lie nearly in a line with the front of the stage they probably belong to the same foundation for the erection of a wooden scaffolding or stage. On the face of one of these two blocks is a moulding, which shows that it was taken from an earlier structure. The style of the moulding is supposed to indicate a date not earlier than the third century B.C. If this opinion is correct, the foundations which have been described, together with the wooden scaffolding or stage which they supported, can hardly have been earlier than the second century B.C. This is a reason for dating the columned stone stage, which succeeded to the wooden stage or scaffolding, in the first century B.C. or later.

Lastly, in front of the west end of the stone stage there lie a few slabs which may indicate the corner of a still later structure, perhaps a regular Roman stage, which may have actually closed in the orchestra, its front line coinciding exactly with the chord which joins the two inner extremities of the retaining walls. The positions of the two pedestals just in front of this line, the rough irregular way in which they have been set down, and the fact that their base stones, especially those of the one on the west, do not correspond in level with the kerb of the

adjoining gutter, all point to the probability of their having been set there in quite late times, in fact to their having been shifted from other positions to make room for such a stage.

On the theatre and Thersilium at Megalopolis see R. W. Schultz, E. A. Gardner, and W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 13 sq., 17-59, 69-91; W. Loring, in *Athenaeum*, 5th August 1893, p. 200; *id.*, in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 13 (1892-93), pp. 356-358; E. F. Benson, 'The Thersilium at Megalopolis,' *ib.*, pp. 319-327; A. G. Bather, 'The development of the plan of the Thersilion,' *ib.*, pp. 328-335. For the controversy between the English excavators and Dr. Dörpfeld as to the existence of an original stage in the theatre see also *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 11 (1890), pp. 294-298; W. Dörpfeld, in *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 4th April 1891, p. 418 *sqq.*; *ib.*, 25th April 1891, p. 515; Penrose, *ib.*, 23rd May 1891, p. 644; W. Dörpfeld, E. A. Gardner, and W. Loring, *ib.*, 30th May 1891, p. 673 *sqq.*, and *Athenaeum*, 30th May 1891, p. 710; Gardner and Loring, in *Athenaeum*, 27th June 1891, p. 839 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, *ib.*, 25th July 1891, p. 139 *sq.*; Gardner and Loring, *ib.*, 1st August 1891, p. 171; *Classical Review*, 5 (1891), pp. 238-240, 284 *sq.*; W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 16 (1891), pp. 257-259; *ib.*, 17 (1892), pp. 97-99; *ib.*, 18 (1893), pp. 215-218.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to mention two altars discovered by the English excavators to the west and east of the Thersilium respectively.

The remains of the larger of the two altars are situated about 127 feet west of the Thersilium and parallel to its west wall. They consist of an oblong basis 36 ft. 3 in. long by 6 ft. 5 in. broad. On a projecting sill-course of squared stones is set a course of upright slabs consisting of triglyphs and metopes. Above this there was probably a cornice or coping which, however, has entirely disappeared. The material is conglomerate; the exposed surfaces both of the sill-course and the upright stones is coated with stucco. Apparently the blocks were not clamped together. The inside of the altar seems to have been filled up with large river pebbles. Many things seem to show that the triglyphs and metopes were made for this position and were not removed from some other structure. The inferior nature of the material (conglomerate), the thinness (1 foot) of the blocks, and the fact that while the metopes along the sides of the altar are equal in width those at each end are 5 inches wider, all point to this conclusion. The triglyphs are of the later form, being long and thin, in the proportion of 7 to 4. This use of metopes and triglyphs for the sides of altars seems not to have been uncommon. Many altars are so represented on vases (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 11 (1890), pl. vi. and p. 226; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, 1. p. 349, Fig. 417); a large altar decorated with a triglyph frieze has been found at Pompeii (Overbeck und Mau, *Pompeji*,[4] p. 111 *sq.*, with Fig. 63), and at Olympia there is a circular drum about 4 feet in diameter similarly treated, which may have been part of an altar. It is possible that the altar which has just been described may have been the altar of Ares mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 32. 3).

The other and smaller altar stands about 190 feet east of the Thersilium, very nearly in a line with the middle of its east wall.

It is 11 feet long by 6 feet broad, and was built of plain blocks of conglomerate resting on a sill of the same material. The sill and some of the blocks remain in position, but the coping has disappeared. The stones are coated with stucco. Inside the altar was found filled with earth, cobbles, pottery, and broken stone.

See R. W. Schultz, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 51 *sq.*; W. Loring, *ib.*, p. 8.

32. 1. **a perennial spring.** This spring still exists. Under the seats of the theatre may be seen holes through which the water trickled. At several places among the seats the water still issues and flows down into the gutter which runs round the orchestra. See W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. des arch. Inst. in Athen*, 17 (1892), p. 99. Cp. L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 74; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 284; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 409; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 248; W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 119.

32. 1. **the Council House, which was built for the Arcadian Ten Thousand.** As to the ruins of this great hall see above, p. 338 *sqq.* The representative body of the Arcadian Confederation is referred to in an inscription found at Tegea and dating, apparently, about 251-238 B.C. The inscription mentions "the Council of the Arcadians and the Ten Thousand" (τῇ βουλῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ τοῖς μυρίοις), and gives a list of officers called *damiorgoi*, who perhaps constituted the Council. See Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.*, No. 167; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*,[2] No. 444. The Arcadian Confederation, with its representative body of the Ten Thousand, was constituted in 370 B.C. chiefly through the agency of Lycomedes of Tegea (Diodorus, xv. 59). Demosthenes also mentions that the Ten Thousand met at Megalopolis (*Or.* xix. 11). Cp. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 1. 38, vii. 4. 2; Aeschines, ii. 79; Harpocration, *s.v.* μύριοι ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει; G. Gilbert, *Griechische Staatsalterthümer*, 2. pp. 133-135.

32. 1. **an image of Ammon —— with ram's horns on his head.** See Herodotus, ii. 42 with Wiedemann's note; *id.*, iv. 181. A curious bronze statuette in the National Museum at Athens represents Ammon as a bearded man with ram's horns, the lower part of his body being that of a serpent. See Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1893, pp. 187-192, with pl. 12 and 13. The type of the ram-headed god was probably of Egyptian origin and came to Greece through Cyrene. It appears on coins of Cyrene (Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 728 *sq.*), and the Cyrenians dedicated an image of Ammon at Delphi (Paus. x. 13. 5). It has, however, been suggested, without much probability, that the original home of the type was the Boeotian Thebes, where there was a temple of Ammon (Paus. ix. 16. 1), and whence the worship might have been diffused over Greece. See Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 2. p. 273 *sqq.*

32. 2. **The sanctuary of Aphrodite.** An inscription found at Megalopolis records in four elegiac couplets that a certain priestess of Aphrodite, by name Euxenia, a descendant of Philopoemen, had built a wall round the temple of the goddess and erected a dwelling for the

use of banqueters. See Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 1044; *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 134 *sq.*, Inscr. No. 13.

32. 2. **Heavenly —— Vulgar.** Although from the fourth century B.C. onward the epithet *Pandemos* as applied to Aphrodite was popularly understood to designate the goddess of vulgar or sensual, as opposed to the goddess of pure or heavenly love, it would seem that originally the title had a purely political significance, meaning the goddess "of the whole people." Her worship may perhaps have been instituted in Megalopolis, the new capital of Arcadia, in the hope of thereby drawing closer the bonds of union between the Arcadian communities. See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 658 *sqq.*; and note on i. 22. 3.

32. 3. **an altar of Ares.** L. Ross thought he recognised the site of this altar in a round foundation above the steep bank of the river (*Reisen*, p. 75). The English excavations have brought to light two altars near the theatre, one of which may perhaps be the altar of Ares. See above, p. 348 *sq.*

32. 3. **a stadium —— a fountain.** About a hundred paces east of the theatre is a spring rising in a small ravine. It is commonly supposed that this is the spring mentioned by Pausanias, and that the stadium may have been in the ravine. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 74 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 284 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 409; Baedeker,[3] p. 297; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 302. To this identification it is objected by Mr. W. Loring that the shape of the ground here is not specially suitable for a stadium, and that a spring could hardly have been described by Pausanias as close to the theatre if it were really 100 yards distant from it. Hence Mr. Loring, following the French surveyors (*Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures, etc.*, par A. Blouet, 2. p. 45), identifies the spring mentioned by Pausanias with the excellent and perennial spring which rises on the west side of the theatre, immediately behind the embankment of the auditorium. If he is right, the stadium probably extended from the spring either northward, towards the river, or westward, in the direction of a ruined chapel, beside which there is a piece of good wall of breccia. The latter direction is perhaps the more likely, first, because the ground here is almost flat, while the ground between the spring and the river slopes considerably; and, second, because the low hills immediately to the south of the line connecting the spring with the chapel would be an excellent place from which to watch the races in the stadium. No remains of the stadium, however, have been brought to light. But it would accord very well with Mr. Loring's view of its situation if the large altar to the west of the Thersilium (see above, p. 348) were the altar of Ares, since it follows from Pausanias's description that the altar of Ares was not far from the stadium. See W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 119 *sq.*

32. 4. **a hill to the east, on which is a temple of Huntress Artemis.** Pausanias has been speaking of the stadium, which we have seen some grounds for placing immediately to the west of the theatre. Hence the hill on which stood the temple of Huntress Artemis may have

been either the gentle rising ground immediately to the east of the theatre or the steep and almost precipitous little hill still farther east, beyond the present public road. Mr. Loring prefers to suppose that the temple of Artemis stood in the former situation, to the west of the road, for two reasons: first, because the ancient remains (walls of breccia, scattered drums of columns, etc.) are more numerous to the west of the road than to the east of it; and, second, because Pausanias's expression, in Mr. Loring's opinion, seems to imply that the temple stood on the slope rather than on the top of the hill, whereas the hill to the east of the road is so steep that no building could have stood on it anywhere except on the top. Still Mr. Loring found nothing to identify the actual site of the temple of Artemis. At a point about half-way between the road and the theatre his workmen dug up a number of white marble mullions, evidently from the windows of a Byzantine church. As a Christian church very often succeeded to the site of a pagan temple, it is possible that remains of a temple may yet be discovered in this neighbourhood. See W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 120 *sq.* Cp. L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 75; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 285. As to Artemis in her character of the Huntress (*Agrotera*) or, as the epithet should rather be rendered, the Goddess of the Wilds, see L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 431 *sqq.* Mr. Farnell is probably right in holding that "while Greek poetry and art usually describe her as the huntress and destroyer, the older religion was more familiar with the conception of her as the protector and patroness of wild animals, and especially of those that were with young" (p. 434).

32. 4. **it, too, was dedicated by Aristodemus.** This seems to refer to viii. 30. 7, where it is perhaps implied that the colonnade called Myropolis was built by Aristodemus. A sanctuary of Artemis, said to have been founded by Aristodemus, is mentioned below (viii. 35. 5). But see the Critical Note on the present passage (vol. 1. p. 598).

32. 4. **Aesculapius —— Health.** On a base of white marble in a house at Megalopolis there is a mutilated inscription containing part of a dedication to Aesculapius and Health (*Bulletin de Corr. hellénique*, 6 (1882), p. 194; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 178; *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 128, Inscr. No. 6).

32. 4. **Athena Worker and Apollo God of Streets.** See notes on i. 24. 3 (vol. 2. p. 297 *sq.*); i. 31. 6 (vol. 2. p. 417).

32. 4. **the poems of Homer** etc. The passages here referred to are *Odyssey*, xxiv. 1 *sqq.*; *Iliad*, viii. 362 *sq.*, xvi. 187 *sq.*, xix. 103 *sq.*

32. 5. **another sanctuary of the Boy Aesculapius.** As Pausanias tells us that this sanctuary was near a spring, the water of which flowed into the Helisson, we may conjecture with Mr. Loring that it lay near the spring which rises about 100 yards east of the Thersilium and flows into the Helisson hard by. Between the spring and the bed of the river there are many remains of breccia. See W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 121. L. Ross would seem to have looked for the sanctuary about half a mile farther east near the chapel of St. Athanasius, which stands on the south bank of the Helisson, a little way to the east of the present public road (*Reisen*, p. 75).

32. 5. **bones of superhuman size** etc. These were probably bones of mammoths. See viii. 29. 1 note. In the museum at *Dimitsana* in Arcadia (see above, p. 311 *sq.*) there is a large partially-fossilised bone which was brought from Megalopolis and which the collector, the aged priest and late schoolmaster Hieronymus, calls the shoulder-blade of an elephant (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 121). He may be more nearly right than Mr. Loring seems to think.

32. 5. **Hopladamus.** See viii. 36. 2.

33. 1. **Megalopolis —— now lies mostly in ruins.** Even in Strabo's time, about 150 years before Pausanias, Megalopolis was mostly uninhabited; he applied to it the verse of a comic poet, "The great city is a great desert" (Strabo, viii. p. 388).

33. 2. **Nineveh** etc. Lucian says, "Nineveh has perished and not a vestige of it remains; you could not even tell where once it stood" (*Charon*, 23). According to Strabo (xvi. p. 737) Nineveh was much larger than Babylon.

33. 2. **Delos, once the common mart of Greece** etc. The commercial prosperity of Delos is attested by inscriptions, particularly dedicatory inscriptions of the period 200-80 B.C., which constantly refer to the Romans, Italians, and Greeks who traded in the island. The trade of Delos received a great impetus through the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., for the merchants migrated to the island, attracted by the convenience of its situation and the protection of the sanctuary (Strabo, x. p. 486; cp. Paus. iii. 23. 3). Cicero speaks of Delos as "a small unfortified island, crowded with riches, whither merchants resorted from all sides with their wares and cargoes" (*Pro lege Manilia*, 18. 55). "Puteoli was called a lesser Delos, because Delos had once been the greatest mart in the whole world" (Festus, *s.v. Minorem Delum*, p. 122, ed. Müller). Delos was a great centre of the slave-trade (Strabo, xiv. p. 668); the site of an enclosure in which the slaves were penned can still be traced at the north-east corner of the island. See Prof. Jebb, 'Delos,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), p. 32 *sq.* On the other hand, Pausanias's description of the solitude and desolation of the island in his own time is strikingly borne out by some epigrams in the Greek Anthology, all probably dating from the first or early part of the second century A.D. See Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 36 *sq.* The decline of Delos dated from the sack of the island in the first Mithridatic war, about 87 B.C. See Pausanias iii. 23. 3 *sqq.* "The guards sent from Athens to watch over the sanctuary," whom Pausanias mentions, are referred to in Delian inscriptions as the men "appointed to guard the sacred treasures and the other revenues of the temple." See Homolle, *Les archives de l'intendance sacrée à Delos*, p. 25; Jebb, *op. cit.* p. 33. Delos had been restored to Athens by the Roman senate (Polybius, xxx. 18; Livy, xxxiii. 30).

33. 3. **At Babylon the sanctuary of Bel remains.** Cp. i. 16. 3; iv. 23. 10. Herodotus says (i. 181) that this sanctuary still existed in his time, and he has given us a description of it. But Strabo (xvi. p. 738) and Arrian (*Anabasis*, vii. 17) state that the temple or tomb of Bel was destroyed by Xerxes after his return from Greece, and that

Alexander the Great had it in his mind to restore it, but died before he could execute the design. Pliny (*Nat. hist.* vi. 121) speaks of the temple of Bel as still in existence. The temple is now generally identified with the mound which is still called Babil by the Arabs. It is "an oblong mass composed chiefly of unbaked brick, rising from the plain to the height of 110 feet, and having at the top a broad flat space, broken with heaps of rubbish, and otherwise very uneven. The northern and southern faces of the mound are about 200 yards in length; the eastern and western are respectively 182 and 136 yards. All the faces, and especially that which looks to the west, present at intervals some appearance of brickwork, the bricks being sun-dried, and cemented, not with bitumen, but with mud, a thin layer of reeds occurring between each course of the brick. Tunnels driven into the base of the mound on a level with the plain show that the structure was formerly coated with a wall of burnt-brick masonry, supported by numerous piers and buttresses of the same material. These baked bricks, as well as most of those which are found loose among the rubbish wherever it is dug into, bear the name of Nebuchadnezzar" (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. 2. p. 576 *sq.*) In an inscription which has been discovered Nebuchadnezzar states that he thoroughly repaired the temple (Rawlinson, *op. cit.* 2. p. 578). Cp. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 2. p. 399 *sq.* It is possible that Pliny and Pausanias, in asserting that the temple of Bel still existed in their time, meant no more than that the mound, with the remains of brickwork, was still to be seen. The name Bel is only another form of Baal, which is a general word signifying 'lord.' The proper name of the Babylonian god was Merodach; he was the Baal or lord of the city. See Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887), p. 92 *sqq.*; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: Les origines*, p. 649. Cp. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,[2] p. 93 *sqq.* The reason why Xerxes destroyed the temple of Bel has lately been discovered by Prof. Jules Oppert. A Babylonian contract table, published by Father Strassmaier, is dated in the reign of a king called Samas-Erba. Prof. Oppert has shown, from the names of the witnesses, that the contract was made in the year of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece. Hence it would seem that the Babylonians took advantage of the absence of Xerxes to revolt and set up a king of their own; and that on his return Xerxes punished them by destroying or at least dismantling the temple of Bel. See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 500.

33. 3. **of that Babylon —— nothing is left but the walls.** Lucian represents Charon as visiting the upper earth and curious to see the mighty cities of old, thousands and thousands of whose inhabitants he had ferried across the River of Death. Hermes, who has undertaken to show him the sights, points to Babylon in the distance: "Yonder is Babylon, the city with the noble towers, the city of vast compass; but soon it too, like Nineveh, will be sought for in vain" (Lucian, *Charon*, 23). This does not necessarily imply that Lucian believed the walls and towers of Babylon to be still standing in his time.

33. 4. **the island of Chryse** etc. Appian mentions (*Mithrid.* 77)

"a desert island near Lemnos, where are shown an altar of Philoctetes, a bronze serpent, a bow and arrows, and a cuirass bedecked with ribbons, memorials of the sufferings of Philoctetes." As the island was the scene of an affair in the third Mithridatic war (73 or 72 B.C.), its disappearance must have happened some time between that date and the time when Pausanias wrote. According to some ancient writers, Philoctetes was stung by the hydra not in Chryse but in Lemnos. See Schol. on Sophocles, *Philoct.* 270; Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 724 (p. 330); Hyginus, *Fab.* 102. But Sophocles in his *Philoctetes* (v. 268 *sqq.*) plainly implies that Philoctetes, though abandoned by his comrades at Lemnos, had received his wound in Chryse; and this was afterwards the prevalent version of the story. Cp. Michaelis in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 29 (1857), p. 235 *sqq.*; and note on viii. 8. 5.

33. 4. **the Sacred Isle (Hiera).** This is the island which rose out of the sea between the islands of Thera (*Santorin*) and Therasia during a volcanic eruption. See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 202; Strabo, i. p. 57; Justin, xxx. 4. 1; Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 11. The Sacred Isle appears to be the one which is now called *Palaea Kammeni* ('Old Burnt Island'). The whole gulf between Thera (*Santorin*) and Therasia is in fact the crater of a submarine volcano. A fresh volcanic island, now called *Nea Kammeni* ('New Burnt Island'), was formed in the gulf in 1707 and 1709. See Lyell, *Principles of Geology*,[12] 2. p. 65 *sqq.*; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*, *s.v.* 'Thera.' The island of Thera (*Santorin*) is the subject of an elaborate geological monograph by Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions* (Paris, 1879) Cp. note on iii. 1. 8.

34. 1. **Maniae.** E. Curtius thought that this place was between *Sinanou* and the village of *Agias Bey*, at a spot where there are four mounds. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 84; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 291; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 412 *sq.* Dodwell identified Maniae with a place to the south-east of *Sinanou*, where there are the remains of a small Doric temple, which has been converted into a church (*Tour*, 2. p. 376 *sq.*) But he is clearly wrong; for Maniae was on the road to Messene, and therefore must have been situated south-west, not south-east, of Megalopolis (*Sinanou*). With the Greek idea that a murderer was driven mad by the avenging spirit of his victim we may compare a superstition prevalent among the Arawak tribe of Indians in British Guiana (South America). They think that if an avenger of blood does not taste the blood of his victim within three days after he has killed him, he (the avenger of blood) must die mad. See Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, 2. p. 497; Bernau, *Missionary Labours in British Guiana*, p. 57 *sq.*: Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 358 *sq.*

34. 2. **a small mound of earth surmounted by a finger made of stone** etc. It was said that one of Hercules's fingers was bitten off by the Nemean lion and that the finger was buried in a grave by itself at Sparta, the grave being surmounted by a stone lion (Ptolemaeus, *Nov. hist.* ii., in *Mythogr. Graeci*, ed. Westermann, p. 184). Liebrecht proposed to explain Finger's Tomb by the popular superstition, current in Germany

and Normandy, that the hand of a child who has struck his parents will protrude from the grave. He supposes that the tomb in question was that of a matricide, who was at a later time identified with Orestes. See Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 343; and as to the superstition see Grimm's note on No. 117 of his *Kinder und Hausmärchen;* K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Maerchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, p. 103 *sq.*; A. Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse*, p. 263. It is perhaps more probable that we have here a tradition of self-mutilation practised as an expiatory sacrifice. There was a legend that Lycurgus, king of the Edonians in Thrace, killed his son in a fit of madness, but recovered his senses after he had cut off some of his own extremities (Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1). The old heathen Prussians believed that a certain god named Patollo sometimes haunted a man, and that if Patollo appeared thrice to him, the only way to get rid of him was for the man to go to a priest and make him a present, in return for which the priest made a cut in the man's arm so as to draw blood. When this was done, a humming sound was heard from the sacred oak-tree in token that Patollo would never haunt the man again. See Simon Grunau, *Preussischer Chronik*, herausgegeben von M. Perlbach (Leipzig, 1876), p. 94 *sq.* Similarly Orestes may be supposed to have bitten off his finger as a sacrifice to the avenging Furies of his mother, who immediately indicated their acceptance of the sacrifice by appearing to him white instead of black.

The custom of cutting off a finger or a joint of a finger as a propitiatory offering has prevailed in many places. Thus in some parts of India "when a woman is from 15 to 20 years of age, and has borne some children, terrified lest the angry deity should deprive her of her infants, she goes to the temple, and, as an offering to appease his wrath, cuts off one or two of her fingers of the right hand" (Francis Buchanan, 'Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar,' Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 8. p. 661). In a certain Indian caste, when a woman is about to be married, two of her fingers are cut off in the temple as an offering to the idol (*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 13. p. 203). In other cases it is the mother of the bride who has to submit to the amputation of several finger-joints (Dubois, *Mœurs etc. des peuples de l'Inde*, 1. p. 5 *sq.*; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, 1. No. 438). Among some tribes of north-west Canada, *e.g.* among the Blackfeet, in times of great public or private necessity a warrior cuts off a finger of his left hand and offers it to the Morning Star at its rising (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 15 (1886), p. 163). Among the Mandan Indians of North America young men at initiation used to have a finger (sometimes two fingers) cut off as a sacrifice to the Great Spirit (Catlin, *North American Indians*, 1. p. 173). In Tonga or the Friendly Islands it was a common practice to cut off a finger or portion of one as a sacrifice to the gods for the recovery of a superior relation who was sick. If this proved of no avail, children were sometimes strangled. This last fact clearly shows that the sacrifice of a finger is a substitute for the sacrifice of the person. See Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, 1. p. 438 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. pp. 210-212. Cp. Dumont D'Urville,

Voyage autour du Monde et à la recherche de la Perouse, 4. p. 71 *sq.*; *Journal of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 22 (1852), p. 115. Captain Cook states that in these islands the sick person's own finger was cut off, adding: "They suppose that the Deity will accept of the little finger, as a sort of sacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health" (*Voyages*, 5. p. 421 *sq.* (ed. 1809); cp. *id.*, 3. p. 204). In Fiji a finger was sometimes cut off and presented to an offended superior to appease his wrath (*United States Exploring Expedition. Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale, p. 66). Hottentot women and Bushwomen cut off a joint of a child's finger, especially if a previous child has died. The sacrifice of the finger-joint is supposed to save the second child's life. See Boeving, quoted by Kolbe, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1. p. 309; Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine*, 2. p. 93; Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, p. 493; Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 332 *sq.*; Th. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 87; cp. Isaacs, *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa*, 1. p. 55. Some South African tribes believe that to cut off the joint of a sick man's finger is a cure; the sickness is supposed to pass out of the patient with the blood. See Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, 1. p. 289; G. Thompson, *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*, 2. p. 357; B. Shaw, *Memorials of South Africa*, pp. 43, 55; J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa* (Second Journey), 1. p. 48. Cp. J. E. Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 2. p. 135. The mutilation of finger-joints as a mark of mourning for the dead has been practised by many peoples, as by the Beaver Indians, the Crow Indians, the Blackfeet, the Sioux, and the Nateotain, all of North America (A. Mackenzie, *Voyages through the Continent of North America*, p. 148; Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 160; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das innere Nord-America*, 1. p. 583; Brackett, 'The Sioux,' *Report of the Smithsonian Institution for* 1876, p. 470; E. James, *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 2. p. 3; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 1. p. 127); by the Charruas and some Paraguayan Indians in South America (Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, 2. p. 25; D'Orbigny, *L'homme Américain*, 1. p. 238; *id.*, 2. p. 90; Picart, *Cérémonies et Coutumes*, 3. p. 123, Amsterdam, 1735); by the Bushwomen (Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, 2. p. 61); by widows in Car Nicobar (*Asiatick Researches*, 2. p. 342); and by the Fijians, Tongans, and Samoans (Th. Williams, *Fiji*, 1. p. 198; Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition*, 3. pp. 100, 101, 159; Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage au Pole Sud*, 4. p. 225; *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 32 (1862), p. 46; Erskine, *Western Pacific*, pp. 123, 254; *Papers read before the Anthropological Society of London*, 1863-1864, p. 203; Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 4. p. 177; La Perouse, *Voyage round the World*, 2. p. 173). The practice of cutting off one or more finger-joints prevails to a large extent among the Australian aborigines; it is commonly the girls who are thus mutilated. See Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du Monde et à la recherche de la Perouse*, 1. p. 406; G. Barrington, *History of New South Wales*, p. 11 *sq.*; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and*

Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, 2. p. 225; J. D. Lang, *Queensland*, p. 344; Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, 1. p. xxiii.; Curr, *The Australian Race*, 1. pp. 73 *sq.*, 252; *id.*, 2. p. 425; *id.*, 3. pp. 119, 139, 144, 223, 406, 412; *Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia*, 1 (1883-84), p. 39. Among the Hottentots, when a widow marries again she has to cut off a finger-joint (Kolbe, *op. cit.* 1. pp. 159, 309 *sqq.*; Thunberg, 'Account of the Cape of Good Hope,' Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, 16. p. 141). For more evidence of this custom of mutilation practised by various peoples and for various reasons, see Theoph. Hahn, 'Die Buschmänner,' *Globus*, 18 (1870), p. 122; Bleek, *Brief Account of Bushman Folk-lore*, p. 17, No. 97; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *op. cit.* 2. pp. 188, 207; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, 1. p. 331; *id.*, 6. p. 13 note; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* (first series), pp. 148-150. It seems possible that a practice so wide spread has left its trace in the legend about Orestes here reported by Pausanias. Mr. Ch. Belger, however, conjectures that Finger's Tomb was a mound surmounted by the effigy of a phallus (*Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 12 (1892), p. 640).

34. 3. **they appeared to him black —— they seemed to him white.** The Zulus believe that there are black spirits (Itongos) and white spirits; the black spirits cause disease and suffering, but the white spirits are beneficent (Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 271). The Yakuts think that bad men after death become dark ghosts, but good men become bright ones (Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 157). There is a Westphalian superstition that ghosts which can be seen are either white or black: the black are dangerous; the white are harmless, but they become black, if they are obliged to walk the earth long (A. Kuhn, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen*, 2. p. 53, No. 154 a). As I have remarked above, the change of the Furies from black to white plainly indicates that they were appeased by the sacrifice of Orestes's finger. We may compare and contrast a Hindoo legend. The wicked Chanacya had caused eight royal brothers to be murdered. Being stung with remorse for his crime, he withdrew to a famous place of worship near the sea on the bank of the river Narmada, to be purified. There after going through a course of expiatory ceremonies he was directed to sail on the river in a boat with white sails, and was told that if his sins were forgiven the white sails would turn black, the blackness of his crimes being transferred to the sails. It happened so, and he joyfully allowed the boat to drift down to the sea bearing his sins with it. See *Asiatic Researches*, 9. p. 96 *sq.*

According to a scholiast on Sophocles (*Oed. Col.* 42) the Furies became propitious to Orestes after he had sacrificed a black sheep to them as a whole burnt offering at Cerynea (cp. vii. 25. 7).

34. 3. **Orestes cut off his hair** etc. He was also said to have shorn his hair, which he had allowed to grow in sign of mourning, at Comana in Asia Minor (Strabo, xii. p. 535). On a Greek vase Apollo is depicted preparing to cut off a lock of the hair of Orestes, who is leaning against the Omphalus. See note on ii. 31. 8. The cropping

of the murderer's hair was probably a mode of purification. At some Hindu places of pilgrimage on the banks of rivers men who have committed great crimes have their hair completely shaved by barbers before they plunge into the sacred stream, from which they emerge innocent (Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 375; cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 205 *sqq.*)

34. 4. **the Furies of Clytaemnestra.** Cp. ix. 5. 15, "the Furies of Laius and Oedipus." That the Furies were originally nothing but the angry and vengeful ghost of a murdered person, has been well shown by Prof. Erwin Rohde (*Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 50 (1895), pp. 6-22).

34. 5. **the river Gatheatas —— the Carnion.** The ancient road which Pausanias is now describing, from Megalopolis to Messene probably, like the modern road between these two places, followed the direct route over the *Makri-plagi* Pass. This pass leads, at a moderate elevation, over the ridge which unites Mt. *Hellenitsa* on the south-east with Mt. *Tetrasi* on the north-west. On the Arcadian side of the pass the path leads up among heights covered with woods and pastures and watered by many springs. The ancient road probably crossed the Alpheus between the villages *Agias-bey* and *Dede-bey*. The united streams of the Gatheatas and Carnion are doubtless the *Xerilla* or *Xerilopotamo*, which flows northward into the Alpheus, joining that river on its left bank. The main stream of the *Xerilopotamo* seems to be the Carnion; while the Gatheatas would appear to be its much shorter tributary which rising near the picturesque village of *Kyrades*, on the western side of Mt. *Hellenitsa*, flows into the *Xerilopotamo* from the south-west, a little north of the village of *Samara*. Gatheae, therefore, was probably on or near the site of the village of *Kyrades*.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 169; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 295 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 233 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 291; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 414; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 242; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 77 *sq.*

34. 5. **the Aegytian district.** See above, note on viii. 27. 4. The Aegytian district must have been about the head waters of the *Xerilopotamo* (Carnion), on the western side of Mt. Taygetus. Aegys, the capital of the district (see iii. 2. 5 and cp. viii. 27. 4), may have been at or near the modern village of *Kamara*, or *Kamarais* as it is now called because the village has split up or extended itself into three. Above the highest of the three villages rises a sharp conspicuous hill, projecting from the flank of Mt. Taygetus. Its summit must be at least 1000 feet above the village, and bears many vestiges of rude buildings; but most, if not all of them, are either mediaeval or modern. In the valley, below the village, Peytier observed some ruins, which Boblaye and Curtius conjectured might be those of the temple of Apollo Cereatas.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 170; Leake, *Pelop.* pp. 234, 235; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 292 *sqq.*, 336; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 241; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 78.

34. 6. **Cromi.** This is probably the place called Cromnus by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vii. 4. 20 *sqq.*) and Callisthenes (quoted by Athenaeus, x. p. 452 a b). Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Κρῶμνα) mentions a form Cromna. The situation of the town is uncertain. At *Samara*, a village on the left bank of the *Xerilopotamo*, a little over a mile to the west of *Leondari*, Leake saw the remains of the walls of an ancient Greek city, which he identified with Cromi. No ancient Greek ruins are now to be seen here, but on a small hill, surmounted by a miserable chapel of St. Demetrius, there are remains of some rather massive walls of stone, mortar, and occasionally bricks. The hill would be a very suitable site for a small acropolis, but Cromi can hardly have been here, since it was on the direct way from Megalopolis to Messenia, which *Samara* is not. Boblaye would place Cromi in the plain of *Neochori*, to the north-west of *Leondari*. Bursian identified Cromi with some ancient ruins which Vischer observed beside the road near the hamlet of *Panagiti*, two hours beyond *Choremi*, on the road from Megalopolis to Messenia. Half an hour higher up than the hamlet a pretty spring rises at the foot of a pointed rocky hill which the natives call *Petra Gegrammene* ('the inscribed rock'). But Vischer looked about for inscriptions in vain.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 44, 297; *id.*, *Pelopon.* p. 234 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 169; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 291 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 414; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 242; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 78.

34. 6. **Nymphas.** Leake identified this with the *Pasha-brysi* or 'spring of the Pasha,' distant 20 furlongs from the ruins at *Samara*, which he took to be those of Cromi. There is, however, this objection to the identification, that it assumes that the ancient road from Megalopolis to Messene went, not by the direct route over the *Makri-plagi* pass, but south of it by *Kokala* or *Kokla-derveni*. Nymphas may well have been in the pass of *Makri-plagi*, which on the Arcadian side ascends, as we have seen, through heights covered with woods and pastures and abounding in springs. The place thus answers to Pausanias's description.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 296 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 235; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 292; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 414.

35. 1. **Another road leads from Megalopolis to Carnasium.** This road appears to have followed a direction somewhat farther to the north than the road from Megalopolis to Messene. It is supposed to have crossed the mountains in the neighbourhood of the village of *Krano*. The Malus may be the stream which flows north past the village of *Neochori* to join the Alpheus on the left bank of the latter. The southern tributary of this stream, flowing from the village of *Kourtaga*, may be the Scyrus. Phaedrias perhaps stood on the height above *Neochori*. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 295 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 235 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 170; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 292; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 242 *sq.* Carnasium is probably the Carnesian grove

described by Pausanias (iv. 33. 4), though Leake attempted to distinguish them (*Morea*, 2. p. 296 *sq.*; *Pelop.* p. 236).

35. 3. **The road from Megalopolis to Lacedaemon** etc. This account of the road from Megalopolis to Belemina is described by Mr. Loring, who knows it well, as concise and satisfactory. That it was the western route, passing close to *Leondari*, not the eastern one by *Skortsinou*, which is commonly followed at the present day, appears from the fact that it crossed the Alpheus below the junction of that river with its tributary the Thius. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 46 *sq.*

35. 3. **the river Thius.** This must be the stream now called the *Koutoupharina*, which, flowing from the south, joins the Alpheus (on the left bank of the latter) near *Chamouza*. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 298; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 237; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 243; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 47.

35. 3. **Phalaesiae.** This place is commonly supposed to have been near the village of *Boura*, on the eastern slope of Taygetus, where Gell reported "vestiges of a city, and tiles." But the French surveyors could see no remains but those of a ruined hamlet (*Kalyvia*) belonging to *Boura*, and in this they are confirmed by Mr. Loring, who also objects that the spot indicated is rather too far from the crossing of the Alpheus, and rather too near to the Hermaeum, to correspond well with Pausanias's account. For the Hermaeum was no doubt about the watershed between the valleys of the Alpheus and Eurotas, *i.e.* below *Spančika*. See Leake, *Pelop.* p. 237 (cp. *id.*, *Morea*, 2. p. 298); Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 213; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 170; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 290; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 243; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 47.

35. 3. **Belemina.** See iii. 21. 3 note.

35. 5. **The distance to Methydrium** etc. Methydrium lies about 16 miles north of Megalopolis in a straight line. Of the places which Pausanias mentions between the two (§§ 5-10) none has been positively identified. Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 299 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 238 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 167; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 306 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 231; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 75 *sq.*

35. 5. **Tricoloni.** It is conjectured that this place may have been near the modern *Karatoula*, on the edge of the plain of Megalopolis, about 4 miles north-east of the city (Leake, *Pelop.* p. 238; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 167; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 307). To this it is objected by Mr. Loring that *Karatoula* is not on the direct route from Megalopolis to Methydrium (*Nemnitsa*). You do not pass near *Karatoula* on the way to Methydrium unless you go by way of the *Langadia* river and the plain of *Davia* (the plain of Maenalus), which was clearly not Pausanias's route. Mr. Loring accordingly suggests that Tricoloni may have been at a spot just north of *Zonati* (a village about 4 miles north of *Sinanou*), where there are remains of rough but massive masonry which appear to be ancient. From *Zonati* the route to Methydrium runs northward till it brings us to the foot of the hills. The path now

ascends steeply a little to the left of the villages of *Palamari* and *Psari* and continues to climb till we have reached a height of about 1500 feet above the plain. It then descends more gradually to the bed of a stream, sometimes dry, which drains the narrow valley behind Mount *Rhapouni*. Keeping along the valley, we at length strike a track from *Tripolitsa* to *Dimitsana* near *Arkoudorhevma*. The Helisson never comes in sight at all; but the deserted village of *Libovisi* near *Arkoudorhevma* (both of which places lie somewhat to the right or east of the path and are not seen from it) might perhaps be described as "on (or in the direction of) the Helisson"; and if so, Leake may perhaps be right in placing Anemosa near it (*Peloponnesiaca*, p. 238 *sq.*, where the name is spelt *Zibovisi* by mistake). Keeping due north, and soon leaving the path to *Dimitsana*, we traverse narrow fir-clad tracks and one small level plain, which may be the plain of Polus mentioned by Pausanias (§ 10), and so reach the village of *Nemnitsa*. A little beyond it is the site of the ancient Methydrium. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 75 *sq.*

35. 6. **Zoetia.** In this plain, between 2 and 3 miles west of *Karatoula*, Peytier observed the ruins of a temple, which may have been the temple of Demeter and Artemis mentioned by Pausanias (§ 7). See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 167; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 239; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 307.

35. 6. and 7. **Paroria —— Thyraeum —— Hypsus.** Some topographers, as Leake, Bursian, and Curtius, hold that Mount Hypsus is the modern Mt. *Klinitsa*, a mountain over 5000 feet high, which rises to the north of *Stemnitsa;* its northern slopes are clothed with fir-woods. *Stemnitsa* is a large village about 10 miles north of Megalopolis, lying in a mountain-trough high above the river Gortynius, surrounded on all sides by bare mountains. Leake thought that *Stemnitsa* probably stands on the site of the town of Hypsus. He would place Thyraeum and Paroria at *Palamari* and *Paleomiri* respectively, villages which lie near each other at the foot of the hills about half-way between Megalopolis and *Stemnitsa*. See Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 240; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 307 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 231; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 91.

35. 7. **I have already pointed out** etc. See viii. 3. 3.

35. 8. **Cruni** etc. Leake conjectured (*Pelopon.* p. 239) that this may have been near the modern *Piana* (as to which see note on viii. 30. 1). E. Curtius placed Cruni conjecturally farther south, on the southern side of Mt. *Rhenissa;* he thought that Callisto's tomb may have been near *Chrysovitzi*, a village about 2½ miles to the south-west of *Piana* (*Pelop.* 1. p. 309). Mt. *Rhenissa* is one of the chain of mountains which bounds the plain of Megalopolis, dividing it from the much smaller plain of Maenalus (*Davia*) on the east.

35. 9. **Anemosa.** See note on § 5, 'Tricoloni.'

35. 9. **Mount Phalanthus.** This is supposed to be the mountain which rises to the west of the modern village of *Alonistena* (see note on viii. 30. 1). The route over the mountain from *Alonistena* to Methydrium ascends a wild picturesque glen, through a magnificent pine-forest, to

the summit of the pass, and then descends by a charming path under pine-trees, to which the telegraph wires are attached. A gorge traversed by an aqueduct with wide arches leads to an undulating plain, seamed and furrowed by the deep beds of torrents flowing from the precipitous mountains which enclose the valley. This is the valley or plain of Methydrium. See Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 308; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 91 *sq.*

35. 10. **the plain of Polus.** See above, note on § 5, 'Tricoloni.'

36. 1. **Methydrium.** The ruins of Methydrium, a town situated in the heart and centre of Arcadia, are to be seen in a valley at the angle formed by the junction of two small streams which flow northward. The eastern of these two streams is the river of *Nemnitsa*, the western is the *Bourboulistra* or river of *Pyrgaki.* They are the Maloetas and Mylaon of Pausanias, though which of them is the Maloetas and which the Mylaon is not certain. These brooks go to form the river or stream of *Vytina*, which, like its tributaries, flows in a deep, rocky bed far below the fields and villages of the valley. The ruins are situated ten minutes to the north-west of the village of *Nemnitsa* and about 2 miles to the south of the larger village of *Vytina*, which lies among fields and vineyards at a height of more than 3000 feet above the sea. The rising ground which the ruins occupy between the two streams is now covered with vines; it is not high, but on the north side it has a steep rocky slope. The circuit-walls, partly demolished, partly hidden by bushes, follow the edge of the knoll. In the better preserved portions the wall is about 8 feet thick. The jointing is irregular, but here and there it approaches to the quadrangular style. On the south side the blocks are very large. There were towers at the angles.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 57 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 200 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 126; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 150 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 116; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 309 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229; Baedeker,[3] p. 311; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 380 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 92.

Methydrium was a small and humble town; a wealthy man of Magnesia, in Asia, who made a journey to this sequestered corner of the Arcadian highlands, regarded the place with contempt (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 16).

36. 1. **a high knoll.** The Greek is κολωνὸς ὑψηλός. A difficulty has been made about these words, as if Pausanias had said that Methydrium stood on a high hill, which is certainly not the fact. But κολωνός is not a *hill* but a *hillock* or *knoll.* No one who has seen the famous Colonus (κολωνός) near Athens would describe it as a hill. It is merely a knoll.

36. 2. **a temple of Horse Poseidon.** The site of this temple is perhaps marked by a ruined chapel which stands about the middle of the space enclosed by the walls of Methydrium. It is shaded by evergreen oaks. See *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381. Immediately below Methydrium the united streams of *Nemnitsa* and *Pyrgaki* are joined by a tributary from the west, the river of *Korphoxylia.* In the valley of this tributary, on the right bank of the stream, are the foundations of a

temple, 30 feet long by 15 feet broad. The temple lies east and west. The walls of the *cella* are built of grey limestone, and are well preserved at the south-western corner. Leake conjectured that this may have been the temple of Horse Poseidon. But if so, it was not within the walls of Methydrium. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 57 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 202; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 126; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 116; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 310. In 1858 or 1859 the Greek Archaeological Society proposed to excavate "the temple of Horse Poseidon, of which some columns appear above the ground near the ancient Arcadian city of Methydrium." (This probably refers to the ruins in the valley of the *Korphoxylia* river.) See Συνοπτικὴ ἔκθεσις τῶν πραξέων τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρίας, 1859, p. 21. But it does not appear that this intention was ever executed.

From a passage in Theopompus, quoted by Porphyry (*De abstin.* ii. 16), we may perhaps infer that Hermes and Hecate were worshipped at Methydrium; for the pious Clearchus of that town is said to have wreathed and cleaned their images at every new moon.

36. 3. **a grotto of Rhea.** On Mount *St. Elias*, above *Nemnitsa*, there is a grotto, which the peasants call the cave of Nikolaki. It may be the grotto of Rhea. If so, Mt. *St. Elias* is the Mount Thaumasius of Pausanias, and the river of *Nemnitsa* (a brook which dries up in summer) is the Maloetas. The peasants of *Vytina* speak of a dragon-hole in a place not easy of access somewhere in the neighbourhood. See *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 381; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 310. Others have identified Mount Thaumasius with the modern Mount *Madara*, on the opposite (western) side of the valley of Methydrium. It is a pyramidal mountain with a sharp bare peak, but with thin pine-woods scattered over its lower slopes. See Curtius, *l.c.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 314; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 92.

36. 4. **Nymphasia.** This is perhaps the fine spring which rises to the east of the village of *Vytina*. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 151; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 311; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 230.

36. 5. **'the Gate to the Marsh.'** Leake strangely misunderstood these words, applying them to a pass in the hills (*Morea*, 2. p. 305; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 241).

36. 5. **the Good God.** This seems to have been the same deity who was more commonly called the Good Demon (*Agathodaimon*). Pausanias is probably mistaken in identifying him with Zeus. See note on ix. 39. 5.

36. 5. **a mound of earth, the grave of Aristodemus.** This is perhaps the tumulus which lies just outside the line of the eastern wall of Megalopolis, on the right or northern bank of the Helisson. Against this identification, however, it is to be observed, first, that though the English excavation of the tumulus in 1890 proved it to be indeed sepulchral, it brought to light no traces of a tomb appropriate to a tyrant's burial; and, second, that while the tumulus is situated on the *right* rank of the river, Pausanias's route, in the course of which he passed the grave of Aristodemus, followed the *left* bank, as appears from the list of places through which he went without crossing the river, as

well as from his mention of a torrent, up the course of which he walked for some distance without crossing it, keeping it on his *left*. It is possible, however, that Pausanias may have omitted to mention that the tumulus was on the farther side of the river.

The tumulus in question is situated near the north bank of the river, a little to the east of the modern bridge. Though connected at the back with a long low ridge of hill, the mound presents on every other side a remarkably conical appearance, and has hence been generally regarded as artificial. The natives call it the Black Man's Mound (*Arapou magoula*), and tell stories of a treasure that is buried there and guarded by a mysterious black man. Some say the black man's son is buried in the mound, and that with the corpse the father deposited two barrels, one full of money and the other full of snakes, the snakes being no doubt intended for the reception of any thieves who should break into the tomb. The English excavations of the mound brought to light traces of several interments and a large quantity of bones. Thus in a trench dug in the south-west side of the tumulus there was found, about half-way up the mound and within 6 inches of the surface, a curious cylindrical vessel of white limestone covered with a lid and containing some charred bones and two gold ornaments. One of the ornaments is a small headband tapering at either end and decorated with a simple leaf pattern in *repoussé* work. The other is a small hollow disc of gold made of two very thin pieces of gold folded together at their edges. This disc is clearly a piece of sham money intended for circulation in the other world, for it bears on one side a coin-type representing apparently an eagle standing on a thunderbolt. As this is a type which appears on gold coins from the time of Ptolemy I. onwards, but not before, it furnishes us with a clue to the date of the burial. Further, the same trench brought to light, at a lower level and rather farther south, a circular enclosure some 12 feet in diameter. Its sides are built wholly of common cobbles held together by crumbly mortar, and are about 5 feet high. The roof was domed, but it has fallen in, with the exception of the first course or two, which lean slightly inwards to form the spring of the dome. The height of the sides and the extant courses of the dome together is about 6 feet. There was an entrance some 5 feet wide on the west, roughly filled in with loose stones and earth. Nothing was found in the enclosure except one or two small pots, without any decoration, an earthenware lamp, and a strigil. Another trench dug by the English archaeologists on the eastern side of the tumulus resulted in the discovery of a plain sarcophagus of coarse thick earthenware containing some slabs of thinner and rather finer earthenware, which had apparently been laid over the top as a covering, but had been crushed in by the weight of the superincumbent soil. There was nothing else in the sarcophagus, which was found 10 feet below the surface of the mound and a little to the east of its centre. See W. Loring, in *Excavations at Megalopolis*, pp. 9-11, 118 *sq.*

36. 6. **a precinct sacred to the North Wind** etc. See viii. 27. 14.

36. 7. **the Elaphus —— ruins of Peraethenses.** The Elaphus is no doubt the torrent which flows into the Helisson on the left bank of the latter stream, about 4 miles north-east of Megalopolis. It rises near the large village of *Valtetsi*, which stands among dreary and barren mountains at a height of about 3400 feet above the sea. The rude inhabitants of the village are mostly shepherds, who at the approach of winter drive their great flocks of sheep and goats to the genial coast of eastern Argolis, where the orange ripens in December, not returning to their bleak mountains till spring is far advanced. The glen through which the Elaphus flows from its source near *Valtetsi* is desolate and rocky, shut in by bare mountains of black limestone. The track along the bottom of the glen is truly execrable. At the village of *Rhachamytaes*, some 4 miles or so from *Valtetsi*, the dale opens a little, and there is a little cultivated level in its bottom. This may be the site of Peraethenses. The distance from Megalopolis, some 6 or 7 miles, agrees fairly with the 55 Greek furlongs (about 6 miles) of Pausanias. On the top of the high conspicuous hill called *St. Elias of Kandreva*, immediately to the south of *Rhachamytaes*, there are remains of a large Doric temple, which may possibly have been that of Pan. See note on viii. 44. 4. Leake proposed to place Paliscius at *Rhachamytaes* and Peraethenses at *Valtetsi*, but the distances of these places from Megalopolis do not tally with those given by Pausanias. From *Rhachamytaes* the torrent finds its way between bleak and barren hills into the plain of Megalopolis. After visiting Peraethenses our author apparently turned back to the junction of the Elaphus with the Helisson, crossed the Elaphus there, and pursued his way beside the Helisson up the long and difficult defile through which the river flows from the plain of Maenalus to that of Megalopolis.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 171; Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, p. 241 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 314; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 87 *sq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 77.

36. 7. **a plain.** The plain of Maenalus is the long narrow mountain-locked plain or valley traversed by the upper waters of the Helisson, which, rising near the village of *Alonistena*, flows southward in a winding course through the valley for a direct distance of about 8 miles, then turning south-west forces its way through a narrow and difficult gorge into the plain of Megalopolis. At the present day the valley takes its name from *Davia*, a village on its eastern side, at the foot of the high bare slopes of Mount Maenalus which bound the valley on the east. The view of the valley, as seen from its south-eastern end, is fine. After ascending from the Tegean plain through a desolate rocky defile to the west of *Tripolitsa*, we are surprised, on reaching the summit of the pass (about 3000 feet above the sea), by the prospect that suddenly opens out before us. In the north rises the chain of Mount Maenalus with its dark imposing peaks. On the west is seen, like a mighty wall, the central range of the Arcadian mountains, clothed with sombre pine-forests. In the long trough enclosed by these great mountains are low hills of soft undulating outlines, between which

stretches a valley some half-mile or more wide, covered with green fields and meadows, and watered by the winding stream of the Helisson. The contrast, especially in summer, between the parched plain of Tegea, which we left on the other side of the ridge, and this green well-watered valley, where herds of cattle browse on the banks of the river and mills are turned by its ever-flowing stream, is indeed a striking one. The valley forms the transition in climate and scenery from the arid wilderness of eastern to the woods and waters of western Arcadia.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 51 *sqq.* ; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 243 ; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 117 *sqq.* ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 314 *sq.* ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 228 ; Baedeker,[3] p. 309 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 313 *sq.* ; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 85, 89 ; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 76 *sq.*

36. 7. **fifteen furlongs from the river.** See the Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 598.

36. 7. **Lycoa.** In the south-eastern corner of the plain or valley of *Davia*, between the villages *Zarachova* (or *Arachova*) and *Karteroli*, there are some remains, including two ruined churches and some scattered blocks, which have been supposed to mark the site of Lycoa. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 120 *sq.* ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 315 ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 228 *sq.* ; Baedeker,[3] p. 309. Cp. Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 171. The place is called Lycoa by Pausanias here and in another passage (viii. 3. 4) ; but elsewhere (viii. 27. 3 ; viii. 30. 1) he calls it Lycaea. Stephanus Byzantius apparently distinguishes two Arcadian towns, one Lycaea and the other Lycoa (*s.vv.* *Λύκαια* and *Λύκοα*) ; and there was a town Lycoa beside the Alpheus, below its junction with the Lucius (Polybius, xvi. 17 ; see note on viii. 38. 9) ; but that Pausanias refers to a single town, Lycaea or Lycoa, situated in the Maenalian district, seems clear. Leake, however, thought it evident from Pausanias that there were two Arcadian cities of nearly the same name, one in Maenalia, the other to the north of Mount Lycaeus (*Morea*, 2. p. 304). Cp. L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 121 note ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 342 ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229 note 1.

36. 8. **Sumetia.** See note on viii. 27. 3.

36. 8. **Meetings of Three Ways.** This place seems to have been somewhere near the south-east corner of the plain of *Davia*, not far from the modern *Selimna*. The pass which, beginning here, leads eastward down a ravine to the *Tripolitsa* and so on to Tegea, was probably one of the 'Three Ways.' Another of the divergent roads would be the one leading southward to Pallantium. The third road may have been the one leading westward to the plain of Megalopolis.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 306 ; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 172 ; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 121 ; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 315 ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 229 ; Baedeker,[3] p. 309 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 313.

36. 8. **fetched the bones of Arcas** etc. See viii. 9. 3 *sq.*

36. 8. **Ruins of the city of Maenalus.** Opposite the village of *Davia*, on the right (western) bank of the Helisson, a rocky projection

of the hills which border that side of the valley reaches nearly to the bed of the river. The top is flat and is enclosed by extensive remains of polygonal walls, built of very large hewn stones. On these ancient ruins a mediaeval castle has been built; of the walls of this castle there are considerable remains, especially on the highest point of the hill. Inside the walls are ruins of houses or barracks. The ascent to the fortress is at the south-east corner of the hill, where there are remains of a gateway. In the fields below the hill, on its northern side, are some indications of ancient buildings. These ruins may be, as L. Ross believed, the remains of the town of Maenalus. Leake, however, took them to be those of Dipaea, and Mr. Loring adopts the same view.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 52 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 117 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 315; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 228; Baedeker,[3] p. 309; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 76 *sq.*

36. 8. **they even hear Pan piping.** Cp. Virgil, *Ecl.* viii. 23 *sq.* Apollodorus (quoted by the scholiast on Euripides, *Rhesus*, 36) explained such fancies by saying that what simple folk mistook for the piping and fluting of Pan and the nymphs were simply the cries of distant and unseen men and animals heard among the hills and rocks.

36. 9. **it is forty furlongs to the sanctuary of the Mistress.** Pausanias now returns from Maenalus to Megalopolis and describes the road which led westward from Megalopolis to Mount Lycaeus and Lycosura. The sanctuary of the Mistress, as we shall see presently, lay just outside the walls of Lycosura.

36. 9. **Macareae.** This is doubtless the place which Pausanias elsewhere calls Macaria (viii. 3. 3; viii. 27. 4).

36. 9. **Daseae.** This is supposed to have been near the site of the modern village of *Deli Hassan*, between the Alpheus and Lycosura. In this neighbourhood there are some remains of ancient walls on the left bank of the little stream, the ancient Plataniston (Paus. viii. 39. 1), opposite a chapel of St. John which is shaded by fine oaks. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 87; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 294 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 239 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 308; Baedeker,[3] p. 322.

36. 9. **the Acacesian Hill.** See note on viii. 37. 8.

37. 1. **the sanctuary of the Mistress.** Among the hills, the southern spurs of Mount Lycaeus, which bound the plain of Megalopolis on the west, is the modern village of *Stala*. It stands on the bank of a stream (the ancient Plataniston) which flows eastward to join the Alpheus. From *Stala* a somewhat steep path ascends in about twenty minutes to the ruins of Lycosura, which lie on a small rocky hill to the east of the village. From the eastern side of the hill of Lycosura a low ridge runs eastward for a few hundreds of yards, ending in a green knoll or hillock which is crowned with a couple of oak-trees and with some remains of a chapel of St. Athanasius. This ridge is called *Terze*. Its northern slope is broken by a terrace, not many feet below the summit of the green hillock; and on this terrace, in full view of the walls of Lycosura, which girdle the low hill a couple of hundred yards or so to

the west, are the ruins of the sanctuary of the Mistress. They were excavated at the expense of the Greek Government under the direction of Messrs. Leonardos and Cavvadias in the years 1889, 1890, and 1895. The temple lies east and west, and comprises a fore-temple (*pronaos*) or portico and a *cella*. It was of the Doric order, with six columns on its eastern front, but none at the sides or the back. It is 20 metres long by 10 metres wide. The depth of the *pronaos* is 5.3 metres; that of the *cella* is 13 metres. The foundations are built of small unhewn stones bonded with clay, not mortar. On these foundations rests a socle of squared blocks of the native limestone, which are also bonded with clay. The upper part of the walls, so far as they are standing, is built of large burnt bricks, bonded with mortar, not clay. These bricks are not of the shape or size of Roman bricks; and the mortar, which seems to have disappeared since the temple was excavated, cannot, in Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, have been the good Roman mortar. The whole of the inner walls of the temple, down to the floor, was coated with this mortar. The columns and pilasters of the portico, together with the entablature and the *sima* of the whole temple, are made of a white coarse-grained marble, which seems to have come from *Doliana* near Tegea. The numerous fragments of the images which have been discovered are of the same coarse marble. The floor of the fore-temple is paved with flags; that of the *cella* seems also to have been flagged originally, but at a later time it was covered with a common mosaic composed of small stones and mortar. The design of the mosaic, which is carried out in red and white stones, exhibits two lions in the middle surrounded by several ornamental borders of meanders, plaited twigs, and arabesques. The bases of the two south columns of the portico are still in their places. Almost the whole of the fore-temple was found occupied with the inscribed pedestals of votive offerings; one of them, which supported a statue of Hadrian, is still in its place. A colossal pedestal of the same limestone as the lower part of the walls occupies nearly the whole west end of the *cella*; it doubtless supported the four images which Pausanias describes and of which many remains were found in the temple. The excavations of 1895 further laid bare the colonnade and altars mentioned by Pausanias, also various buildings above the temple, in which were found some very ancient votive offerings; but a detailed description of these latest discoveries has not yet (October 1896) been published. That the temple is indeed the temple of the Mistress is put beyond doubt by inscriptions found in it. Thus, tiles have been discovered bearing the inscription Δεσποίνας ('of the Mistress'). Again, an inscription found in the fore-temple records a decree of the city of Lycosura in honour of a certain Nicasippus, son of Philip, and his wife Timasistrata, daughter of Onasicrates. From it we learn that Nicasippus had twice held the priesthood of the Mistress and had celebrated the mysteries at his own expense. For these and other benefits conferred by him and his wife, the people of Lycosura resolved to set up portraits of Nicasippus and Timasistrata in the sanctuary, and it was further resolved that a copy of the decree in their honour should be deposited in the archives at Megalopolis, and that another copy,

engraved on stone, should be set up in the sanctuary of the Mistress. The decree is dated in the second priesthood of the Mistress held by

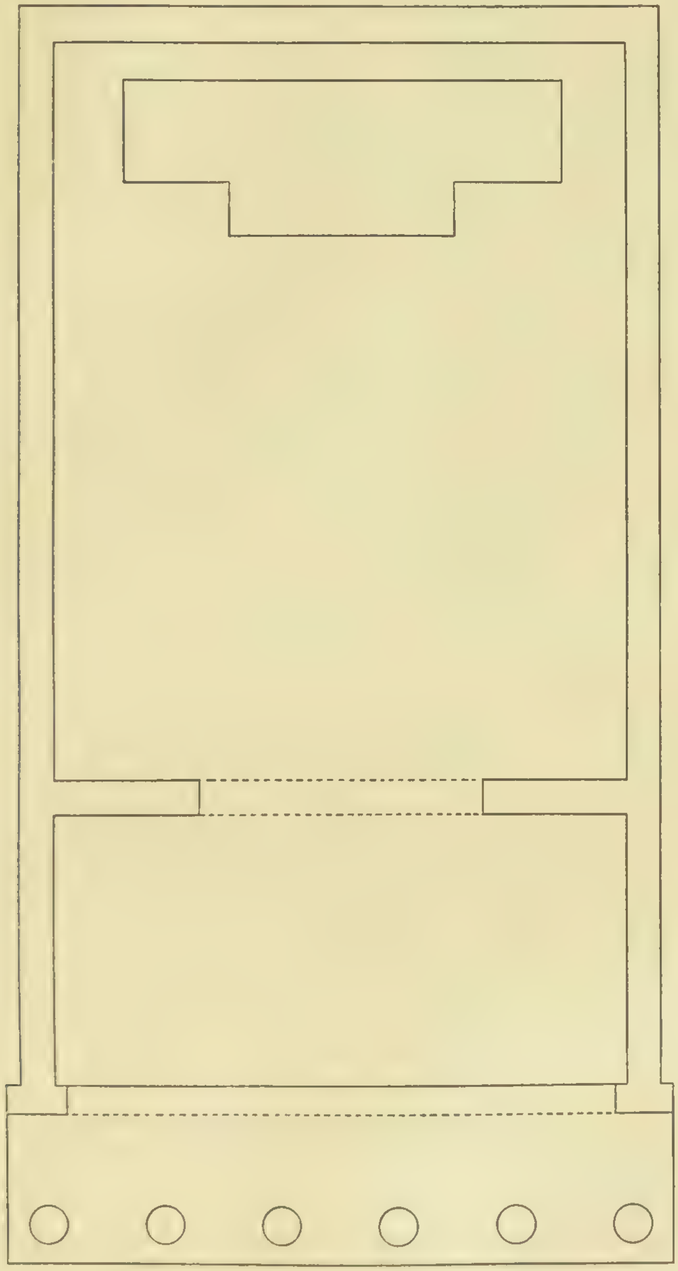


FIG. 36.—GROUND-PLAN OF TEMPLE AT LYCOSURA.

Nicasippus, and in the 32nd year "according to the emperor" (*κατὰ τὸν Σεβαστόν*), which may mean in 2 A.D.; but the style of the letters points to a later date.

Further, a marble pedestal shaped like the trunk of a tree bears an inscription recording that it was dedicated to the Mistress and Saviour by King Julius Epiphanes Philopappus. This personage was son of the last king of Commagene and father of the Philopappus whose monument still stands conspicuous on the top of the Museum Hill at Athens. See note on i. 25. 8. As Commagene was captured by the Romans in 72 A.D., we may suppose that the votive offering of Epiphanes Philopappus was dedicated towards the end of the first century A.D. Again, a square pedestal found in the *cella* bears a Greek inscription in letters of the latest Roman period stating that it was dedicated to the Mistress by Epagathus, the emperor's courier (*tabellarius*). These inscriptions have been published (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1890, pp. 43-45). Another inscription, found by a peasant near Lycosura and not yet published, records the rules to be observed in celebrating the mysteries and sacrifices of the Mistress. It would seem to be the very inscription mentioned by Pausanias (see note on § 2). Lastly, among the inscriptions found in 1895 and not yet published, is one which speaks of the repair of a temple with its fore-temple. The excavations of the same year brought to light some small votive offerings of terra-cotta representing rams and serpents, and an archaic bronze statuette of Athena.

With regard to the date of the temple Mr. Cavvadias is of opinion that the existing remains belong to two different periods, a Greek period and a Roman, the Roman being characterised by the employment of mortar and the Greek by its absence. If he is right, the foundations and the limestone socle of the walls belong to the original Greek building; but the brickwork of the upper walls, the coating of mortar applied equally to all the walls, and the mosaic pavement are later and date from Roman times. This view, which is accepted by the German architect Mr. Cawerau, is confirmed by the inscription, recently found, which speaks of the repair of a temple with its fore-temple; for this temple can hardly have been any other than the temple of the Mistress. Dr. Dörpfeld, however, writing before the discovery of this inscription, preferred to suppose that the temple was all built at one time, namely in the late 'Hellenistic' or early Roman period, and he would assign it, with the sculptures, either to the second or first century B.C. At the same time he does not deny the possibility of referring the remains to two different periods; an older temple built of limestone may, he says, have been afterwards repaired with marble. The arguments he adduces in support of his own view do not seem strong. He confesses that the workmanship and decoration of all the architectural members (columns, entablature, etc.) are so bad that every one would at once take them for Roman, and that he himself at first had unhesitatingly declared the temple to be of the Roman period. Yet the bricks and mortar, according to him, are not of the usual Roman sort. He argues that the images by Damophon which Pausanias describes and of which large pieces have been found must have been contemporary with the temple (1) because they are of the same marble as the columns and entablature; and (2) because the pedestal is made of the same

limestone as the lower part of the walls and exhibits the same inferior workmanship and the same shaped (⊓) clamps. But the argument from identity of materials to identity of date counts for very little; if the materials were within easy reach, they might well have been employed at Lycosura at very different dates, just as the Athens of to-day is built in part of the same Pentelic marble as the Parthenon. The fact upon which Mr. Cavvadias chiefly relies, namely the use of mortar in some parts of the temple and not in others, is not accounted for by Dr. Dörpfeld's theory of the unity of the temple. That fact indeed furnishes a strong presumption that the portions of the building so distinguished were erected at different times; and now that this presumption is confirmed by the inscription which appears to speak of a repair of the temple, we may provisionally accept it.

On Lycosura and the sanctuary of the Mistress see Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 395 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 84 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 264 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 295 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 237 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 322 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 307 *sq.*; *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, pp. 122 *sq.*, 153 *sq.*, 159-163, 170, 202; *id.*, 1890, pp. 43-45, 99 *sq.*, 113; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livraison 1. (Athens, 1893); Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1895, pp. 263-274 (inscriptions); *id.*, 1896, pp. 101-130 (inscriptions); W. Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 18 (1893), pp. 219-221; *Athenaeum*, 3rd August 1895, p. 169; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 20 (1895), p. 375 *sq.*; *Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift*, 13th June 1896, p. 769. I visited Lycosura and the sanctuary of the Mistress, in company with Mr. W. Loring and Mr. W. J. Woodhouse, 5th May 1890.

37. 1. **Guide of Fate.** See note on v. 15. 5; and L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. pp. 78-83, 119 *sq.*

37. 1. **Hercules wresting the tripod from Apollo.** See x. 13. 7 *sq.*, with the note.

37. 2. **on this tablet are painted pictures of the mysteries.** The Greek is *πινάκιόν ἐστι γεγραμμένον, ἔχον τὰ ἐς τὴν τελετήν*, which may refer either to a painting or to an inscription on the tablet. The discovery near Lycosura of an inscription recording the rules to be observed at the celebration of the mysteries makes it highly probable that Pausanias meant to say, "On this tablet are inscribed the rules of the mysteries," instead of (as I have translated him) "On this tablet are painted pictures of the mysteries." In fact we seem to have recovered the very inscription seen by Pausanias. Unfortunately it has not yet been published, but a few of the principal ordinances which it contains are mentioned by Mr. Cavvadias (*Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livraison 1. p. 13). They are as follows. Persons who were being initiated in the mysteries might not wear gold ornaments nor rings nor shoes nor red garments. Pregnant and nursing women were excluded from the mysteries. The victims sacrificed to the goddess had to be female and white; and in offering sacrifice use was to be made of olive-wood and myrtle, white poppies, incense, myrrh, perfumes, lamps, etc. Thus the inscription resembles in its character the great inscription which records the rules as to the celebration of the Andanian mysteries. See note on iv. 1. 5.

37. 3. **The images of the goddesses** etc. In excavating the *cella*

of the temple of the Mistress at Lycosura the Greek archaeologists found many fragments of colossal marble statues lying in front of or beside the pedestal. These fragments without doubt belonged to the images of the Mistress, Demeter, Artemis, and Anytus, which were made by



FIG. 37.—HEAD OF DEMETER (FRAGMENT OF COLOSSAL STATUE FOUND AT LYCOSURA).

Damophon and are described in the present passage by Pausanias. The most important of these fragments are three colossal heads (two female and one male) and a large piece of drapery. The heads are most probably those of Demeter, Artemis, and Anytus; the drapery, adorned with elaborate reliefs, may have formed part of the robe either

of Demeter or of the Mistress. The marble is white, coarse-grained, and friable; it probably comes from the quarries of *Doliana*, near Tegea.

The head which has been identified as that of Demeter (Fig. 37) is



FIG. 38.—HEAD OF ARTEMIS (FRAGMENT OF COLOSSAL STATUE FOUND AT LYCOSURA).

veiled and turned slightly to the right; it was originally encircled by a metal diadem. The hair falls in long locks down the back, and small locks were arranged round the brow from ear to ear. Some of these locks are missing; they were probably carved out of separate pieces of marble and fitted to the head. A small hole in each of the locks beside the

ears was apparently meant to attach some metal ornament. The back part of the skull is wanting; like some of the locks it was probably



FIG. [illegible].—HEAD OF ANYTUS (FRAGMENT OF COLOSSAL STATUE FOUND AT LYCOSURA)

made of a separate piece of marble. The face, though somewhat damaged, especially by the loss of the greater part of the nose, is comely, but neither god-like nor strikingly beautiful. It is merely

that of a well-bred lady. The height of the head is .80 metre (2 ft. 7 in.).

The other female head which has been identified as that of Artemis (Fig. 38) is a good deal smaller than the preceding, but still colossal. Its height is .48 metre (1 ft. 7 in.) The features and style of wearing the hair are girlish, not matronly. As the head is smaller than that of Demeter and of about the same size as that of Anytus, we infer that it represents Artemis; for the figures of Artemis and Anytus, who were represented standing, were probably smaller than those of the principal divinities, Demeter and the Mistress, who were represented sitting. The head of Artemis is turned slightly to the right. Like that of Demeter, it was adorned by a metal ornament of some sort attached to the hair beside each ear; the holes in which the ornaments were inserted are still visible. The eyes of this head, like those of the head of Anytus, were not carved out of the same block of marble as the rest of the face, but were inserted separately in the sockets. Two marble eyes, found in the course of the excavations, may have belonged either to this head or to that of Anytus. The upper part of the skull is wanting; it was probably made of a separate piece of marble. Amongst the fragments discovered on the site is a colossal hand holding a torch; its dimensions are proportional to the head of Artemis, whence we conclude that it belonged to her image, which, as we learn from Pausanias, held a torch in one hand.

The male head is that of a bearded man with shaggy locks, fleshy nose, thick lips, and good-humoured but commonplace expression (Fig. 39). Men with faces of this type may be seen any day lounging at the bars of public-houses. To compare this dull coarse face with the noble head of the Zeus of Otricoli or the strong face, rendered pathetic by suffering, of the famous Laocoon is absurd. The head is turned slightly to the left. No doubt it is that of the Titan Anytus. The back of the head as far as the nape of the neck is wanting; but on the other hand a part of the breast is preserved. The total height of the fragment is .83 metre (about 2 ft. 8 in.).

The head of the Mistress has not been found, but two of the existing fragments are believed to have belonged to her image. One represents the neck with a piece of the breast of a colossal statue of the same proportions as the head of Demeter; the other represents the right arm of a statue of the same size with the hand resting on the upper part of a rectangular object. This rectangular object was probably the sacred basket which the Mistress, as we learn from Pausanias, held in her right hand.

The fragment of marble drapery (Fig. 40) is 1.18 metres (about 3 ft. 10 in.) high. It represents either a piece of a long robe or cloak doubled over, or pieces of two separate garments hanging one over the other in large loose folds. If there were two garments, the lower is probably a tunic and the upper a mantle of the usual Greek sort. The whole surface of the drapery, except the side which was fitted to the body of the statue, is covered with beautifully-wrought reliefs representing a variety of figures, most of them mythical. These figures are arranged in four horizontal

bands of unequal breadth separated by stripes of a decorative pattern or by leafy branches. The lowest band, which is narrow, exhibits a proces-



FIG. 40.—MARBLE DRAPERY OF COLOSSAL STATUE (FOUND AT LYCOSURA)

sion of eleven figures clad in long tunics and moving rapidly to the spectator's right. Each of them has the body of a woman with the head, paws, and feet of different animals. Some of them are playing musical

instruments; others are dancing or striding along. Thus one with the head of an ass (?) is playing on a lyre; and two are playing on double flutes, one with the head of a horse, the other with the head of a cat or hare. Amongst the figures dancing or striding along two have the heads of rams; one has the head of a pig; another has, as it seemed to me, the head of an ass with an ass's legs and hoofs instead of human feet and hands, though Mr. Cavvadias appears to identify the head as that of a horse or mule. Other heads are difficult to make out. The second band, which is the broadest of all, is divided from the lowest by a border of myrtle leaves and a ribbon. It exhibits two winged women, perhaps Victories, each clad in a long garment and holding in both hands an object which resembles a chandelier. Behind and at the side of the chandeliers are some objects which are thought to resemble serpents and wings. The third band, which is broader than the first but not so broad as the second, is bordered on its lower edge by a pattern of fringes. It contains a series of sea creatures and sea monsters. We see a Nereid seated on a sea monster and preceded by a dolphin. Then comes another Nereid seated on the back of a Triton, who holds in his left hand an oar, while his right is placed on a small dolphin. After this Triton there is another dolphin. The fourth or highest band, the narrowest of all, is divided from the third by a border of olive branches with a ribbon on each side. It exhibits a series of eagles and thunderbolts.

The magnificence of this sculptured drapery, which in its elaborate decoration is unique among the remains of Greek art, was probably heightened by colour; for we may suppose that all the figures were painted in bright and varied hues, and that some of the details which have been left out by the sculptor were put in with the brush. The effect of the whole must have been gorgeous. As to the figures represented on the robe, they had all no doubt a close relation to the myths and perhaps to the worship of Demeter and the Mistress (Proserpine). The horse-headed woman reminds us that in the Phigalian cave, not very far from Lycosura, Demeter herself was anciently portrayed with the head of a horse (viii. 42. 4), and that at Lycosura she was said to have borne her daughter Proserpine (the Mistress) to Horse Poseidon (viii. 37. 10); while at Thelpusa the goddess and her lover were said to have met in the form of horse and mare and to have been the parents of the horse Arion (viii. 25. 5 *sqq.*) The sea creatures may also refer to Poseidon as the father of Proserpine. We may even suggest that the procession of animal-headed figures had its counterpart in the worship of the goddesses; men or women disguised with masks representing the heads of horses, asses, rams, pigs, etc., may have danced and played at the festivals as representatives of the fantastic creatures of mythology.

Further there were found four or five small figures of women with scales on the lower parts of their bellies, and with legs shaped like the bodies of fish or serpents; they are all in the same attitude, with one hand raised and the other lowered. In their raised hands they held some small round object with a hole in the middle of it.

Hence the figures may perhaps have served as the legs of a chair or table.

Great divergence of opinion prevails as to the date of these sculptures and of the artist Damophon who made them. Damophon is mentioned by no other ancient writer than Pausanias, who does not tell us his date. Before the discovery of the temple and the fragments of statuary at Lycosura it had been commonly supposed that the many statues by Damophon in temples at Messene and Megalopolis (iv. 31. 6, 7, and 10; viii. 31. 1-4 and 6) had been made by him for these cities at the time of their foundation in 369 and 370 B.C.; in particular it was thought that the group at Messene which comprised an image of the City of Thebes and a statue of Epaminondas (though the latter was the work of a different artist) must certainly have been set up in honour of the Thebans and their great general Epaminondas by the grateful Messenians immediately after their deliverance from the yoke of Sparta. The discovery of the remains of the images at Lycosura was at first supposed to confirm the date which archaeologists had assigned on other grounds to Damophon. Professor Waldstein declared that these fragments "would, even without the information derived from Pausanias, have been considered by any competent authority as remarkable works of the fourth century B.C." Mr. Cavvadias wrote of them: "We recognise in them easily works of the fourth century. These marbles therefore confirm the conclusions of Brunn (*Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, I. p. 290) that Damophon flourished about the middle of the fourth century, that is, about the time of the foundation of Messene."

But since Dr. Dörpfeld has declared his opinion that the temple in which the fragments were found is comparatively late, the judgment of archaeologists as to the artistic style of the fragments appears to have undergone a remarkable change, and they now with one voice, as it would seem, consign Damophon and his works to the declining age of Greek art or even to the reign of Hadrian. A singular resemblance has been detected between all three heads and the heads on Roman sarcophaguses; also between the head of Anytus and the heads of the Laocoon and the Zeus of Otricoli, and between his beard and the beard of a giant on the frieze of the altar at Pergamus. Above all, the reliefs on the robe, which were formerly regarded as indubitable proofs of pure Greek art, are now perceived to furnish the most convincing evidence that the sculptures are Roman. The chandeliers in particular, we are told, are of the Augustan age, and the figures of the Nereids are unparalleled except by similar figures in Pompeiian paintings. In short, the fourth century B.C. as a date for Damophon is, we are informed, absolutely excluded, and "no sensible man would any longer maintain, as a compromise, that he flourished in the second century B.C."[1]

Of the value of these arguments based on the style of the sculptures

[1] So writes Prof. C. Robert. But the second or first century B.C. is precisely the date assigned to Damophon by Dr. Dörpfeld, to whose authority Prof. Robert appeals. Prof. Robert has, by an oversight, misrepresented Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion, and then used it as a confirmation of his own theory, of which in fact, if true, it is destructive.

I cannot pretend to judge, though I have seen the originals repeatedly at Athens. The technical skill displayed on the drapery is certainly admirable, but there is no particular beauty or nobility in the heads. The silence, too, of Pliny and of all writers earlier than Pausanias as to Damophon and his works is most easily explained on the theory that the artist belonged to the age of Hadrian. On the other hand, the argument for assigning him to the fourth century B.C. on the ground of the works he executed for Megalopolis and especially for Messene still holds good; for it seems improbable that the Messenians should have felt moved to testify their gratitude to their deliverers, the Thebans, some 500 years after the deliverance had been effected. And the argument for the late date of the sculptures drawn from the supposed late date of the temple is by no means certain. For we have seen grounds for thinking that the temple was built in the Greek and restored in the Roman period; and it is apparently open to suppose that the images are contemporary either with the original Greek building (the date of which has not been determined) or with the Roman restoration. On the whole it would seem best for the present to suspend our judgment as to the date of the sculptures and of Damophon. Future discoveries may perhaps decide the question.

See Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, pp. 161-163, 170; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livraison I. pp. 9-14; C. Waldstein, in *Athenaeum*, 22nd March 1890, p. 377; *American Journal of Archaeology*, 5 (1889), p. 491; *id.*, 6 (1890), p. 209 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. p. 485 *sqq.*; C. Robert, in *Hermes*, 29 (1894), pp. 429-435; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. pp. 546-568. As to Damophon and his works, so far as we can estimate them from Pausanias's account, see H. Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, I. pp. 287-292. Cp. note on vii. 23. 7.

37. 3. **The images of the goddesses —— are all made of a single block** etc. Here Pausanias was mistaken. The fragments which have been found prove that the images were formed of a number of pieces fitted together (see above, p. 374 *sq.*) Pausanias was probably misled by the priests or local guides, who would wish to magnify the images in the eyes of visitors. Similarly the ancients believed that the Laocoon group was hewn out of a single block (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxvi. 37). But Michael Angelo distinguished three blocks, and later artists have professed to distinguish even more (Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν, 1889, p. 163; P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lycosoura*, Livraison I. p. 13).

37. 4. **the basket.** This was the sacred basket or *cista.* See note on viii. 25. 7.

37. 4. **Artemis clad in a deer-skin.** See note on vi. 22. 11.

37. 5. **Homer —— introduced the Titans into poetry** etc. See *Iliad*, xiv. 278 *sq.*

37. 5. **Onomacritus borrowed the name** etc. Pausanias does not affirm, nor is it likely, that Onomacritus invented the story of the murder of the infant Dionysus by the Titans (see note on vii. 18. 4). The legend bears the stamp of great antiquity; all that Onomacritus probably did was to put it in literary form. The resemblance of the myth

to that of Osiris does not prove, as Lobeck supposed, that Onomacritus simply borrowed it from Egypt, substituting the Titans for Typhon. The prevalence of similar legends in distant parts of the world seems to show that they originated independently, perhaps in a custom of slaying the representative of the god.

See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 616 *sqq.*, 670 *sqq.* ; K. O. Müller, *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, p. 390 *sqq.* ; Fr. Lenormant, in *Gazette archéologique*, 5 (1879), p. 21 *sqq.* ; A. Lang, *Myth, ritual and religion*, 2. p. 227 *sqq.*

37. 6. **Aeschylus —— taught the Greeks the Egyptian legend that Artemis is a daughter of Demeter.** The play in which Aeschylus represented Artemis as a daughter of Demeter is lost. The theory that this genealogy was borrowed by Aeschylus from Egypt is due to Herodotus, who identified Demeter with Isis and Artemis with Bubastis, the daughter of Isis, and hence regarded as an Egyptian doctrine the view that Demeter was the mother of Artemis (Herodotus, ii. 156).

37. 7. **The Arcadians bring into the sanctuary the fruits —— except the pomegranate.** Persons initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries were forbidden to eat pomegranates (Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iv. 16), and women engaged in celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria took care not to taste pomegranate seeds (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 19. p. 16, ed. Potter). The reason given for such abstinences probably was that Proserpine, when carried off by Pluto to the nether world, had forfeited her right of returning to the land of the living by eating the seed of a pomegranate. See note on ii. 17. 4. The belief that a living person must not taste of the food of the dead under pain of being obliged to stay for ever in dead-land "is found in New Zealand, Melanesia, Scotland, Finland, and among the Ojibbeways" (Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2. p. 273, note). Thus in a Maori story a man named Hutu sets out for the spirit-land to fetch back the soul of his dead love. A mythical being shows him the road and gives him a basket of cooked food to take with him, saying, "When you reach the lower regions eat sparingly of your provisions that they may last, and you may not be compelled to partake of their food, for if you do you cannot return upwards again" (R. Taylor, *Te ika a maui ; or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 271). In a Melanesian story a living woman visits Panoi, the abode of the dead ; there she meets her dead brother, who warns her to eat nothing, so she returns to the land of the living (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 277).

37. 8. **a little higher up —— is what is called the Hall.** The Hall (*megaron*) probably occupied the summit of the knoll immediately above the temple of the Mistress. Here in 1890 I observed some large squared blocks, of which some were in a row ; and here, apparently, the excavations of 1895 laid bare the remains of several buildings, in which some very archaic votive offerings were discovered (*Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 20 (1895), p. 376). The knoll above the temple cannot have been, as some have thought, the Acacesian hill, since its top is only a few feet above the temple, whereas the Acacesian hill was

distant from the temple 4 furlongs in the direction of the Alpheus (viii. 36. 9; viii. 37. 1).

37. 9. **it occurs in the poetry of Homer.** See *Iliad*, ix. 457, 569; *Odyssey*, x. 491, 494, 509, 534, xi. 47. Still the name of Proserpine (Persephone) seems to have been considered an awful one and people feared to pronounce it. Cp. Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 404 c d. Pausanias generally calls her the Maiden (*Kore*); the name Proserpine (Persephone) seems to occur only four times in his work (here and viii. 31. 2; viii. 42. 2; ix. 23. 3).

37. 10. **Above the Hall is a grove** etc. If the Hall (*megaron*) stood on the summit of the hillock, immediately above the temple, the sacred grove may have been on the ridge which connects the hillock with the hill of Lycosura or actually on the slope of the latter hill and so above the Hall. The altars of Poseidon and of other gods, which Pausanias mentions immediately, would then be still higher up the slope of the hill.

38. 1. **Lycosura.** See note on viii. 37. 1. Considerable portions of the circuit-wall of Lycosura still exist. They follow the edge of the flat top of the little hill, the sides of which, though not high, are steep and rocky, especially on the north and west. The wall is from 7 to 9 feet thick, but the style of masonry is inferior. The blocks are mostly squared, but on the outside are left rough. Some pieces of the wall appear to be mediaeval. A gate may be distinguished on the south side. Within the circuit of the walls is a ruined chapel of St. George, which contains some ancient fragments. From its high situation on the side of Mt. Lycaeus, Lycosura commands an extensive view over the plain of Megalopolis, with the Alpheus meandering through it. Prof. Curtius says: "If we consider the strong and healthy situation of this citadel, the springs at its foot which, with the perennial stream, supplied the town with water, the hill-slopes adapted for vineyards, the fine pastures on the mountains to north and south, the wooded heights which stretch away to the Alpheus, and lastly, beyond the Alpheus, only an hour away, the broad plain watered by the river and seemingly made for husbandry, we see that such a place was eminently suited to be the site of a very ancient town."

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 395; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 86; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 265 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 298 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 237 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 323; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 307.

38. 2. **To the left of the sanctuary of the Mistress is Mount Lycaeus.** The temple of the Mistress, as the recent excavations have proved, faced eastward. Pausanias supposes himself facing east, and hence "on the left of the sanctuary" means to the north of it. For a like reason "to the right of Lycosura" (viii. 38. 11) means to the south of it.

Mount Lycaeus, now called *Diaphorti* or Mount *St. Elias* from a chapel of St. Elias near the summit, is situated about 5 miles north-north-west of Lycosura as the crow flies. The summit may be ascended in 35 minutes from the hamlet of *Karyaes*, which lies among the hills to

the south-east, or in an hour from *Ampeliona*, which lies to the south-west of it. The mountain has a double peak. The higher peak (1420 metres or 4660 feet high) is called *Stephani;* the other peak, a few feet lower than the former but in a more open and commanding situation, is Mt. *St. Elias* or *Diaphorti* and appears to be the Mt. Lycaeus of the ancients. It lies a little to the south-east of Mt. *Stephani*, from which it is divided by a depression. In this basin or crater-like depression between the two peaks, which is called [illegible] or *Skaphidia* ('troughs') by the natives, may be seen the remains of the hippodrome mentioned by Pausanias (§ 5). It runs from south to north. The parallel walls, 130 feet apart, which bounded it on the east and west, may be traced; they extend for a distance of 900 feet. At the upper (south) end and the adjoining parts of the long sides a considerable number of rows of seats are preserved. At the north end are remains of a building sunk in the ground, apparently a cistern or reservoir: it is 50 feet long from east to west and 6 or 8 feet deep down to the rubbish by which it is partly filled up. The lower courses of the walls of this structure are of regular masonry; the upper courses are irregular and almost polygonal. Adjoining this building on the west are other foundations and ruin-heaps.

At the south end of the hippodrome begins a gully which leads up to the summit. On either side of the entrance to this gully there are ancient remains. Those on the west side are known as *Helleniko* and consist chiefly of large flags of grey limestone. On the east side of the entrance to the gully are the remains of a Doric temple, including fragments of columns 18 inches thick, which were fluted only half their length. This perhaps was the temple of Pan (§ 5). Between these ruins we ascend through the gully in 12 minutes to the simple chapel of St. Elias, in and beside which are some ancient squared blocks. In a quarter of an hour from the chapel we reach the summit. It is a circular level, about 50 yards across, and plainly artificial, resembling one of the threshing-floors which are so common in Greece. Spread over it is a layer of potsherds and fragments of charred and partially fossilised bones. This was the site of the altar of Zeus (§ 7); and the bones are those of the animals and perhaps men who were sacrificed on it. The peasants have a story that these are the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor. The view, as might be expected, is extensive, including the plains of Megalopolis, Elis, and Messenia, and the mountains of Erymanthus on the north, Maenalus on the east, Taygetus on the south, and Ithome on the south-west. To the west the sea is visible as far as Zacynthus.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 106 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 313 *sqq.*; *Expéd. scientifique de Morée: Architecture*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 37 *sq.*, with plates 33, 34; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 162; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 91 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 299 *sqq.*; Beulé, *Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 105 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 233 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 303 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 305 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 330. Dodwell ascended Mt. *Tetragi* or *Tetrasi* in the belief that it was Mt. Lycaeus. *Tetrasi* is a peak (4550 feet high) to the west of

Lycosura and about 5 miles to the south of *Diaphorti*, the true Lycaeus. See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 389 *sqq*.

38. 2. **Lycaeus, which they also call Olympus.** A scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 599) enumerates six mountains which the Greeks called Olympus. Cp. Benloew, *La Grèce avant les Grecs*, p. 81 *sq*.

38. 2. **Cretea.** It has been conjectured that this place was somewhere above the village of *Karyaes* (L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 94; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 300). As to *Karyaes* see note on § 1. Cp. Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 236.

38. 3. **Thisoa.** See note on § 9.

38. 3. **Hagno.** A little above the south end of the hippodrome, in the gully which leads up to the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, there is a spring, the highest source of the stream which flows past *Karyaes* to join the Alpheus: this may be the spring called Hagno (Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 106; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 162; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 303; Beulé, *Études*, p. 110; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 306). A little to the north of the village of *Karyaes*, under the eastern foot of the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, there are abundant springs, which form the principal source of the stream just mentioned. L. Ross surmised (*Reisen*, p. 94) that these might be Hagno. Leake conjectured that Hagno was the copious source at the foot of the mountain, below the village of *Tragomano;* this source immediately forms a large stream which flows into the Alpheus (Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 315). But it is far more probable that a spring, the water of which was used as a rain-charm, was at the top than at the foot of the mountain.

38. 4. **he lets down an oak-branch to the surface of the spring.** The oak-branch was used because the oak was the sacred tree of Zeus, the god of the mountain. Similarly in Halmahera or Gilolo, a large island to the west of New Guinea, the sorcerer makes rain by dipping the branch of a particular kind of tree in water and sprinkling the ground with it (C. F. Campen, 'De Godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherische Alfoeren,' *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, 27 (1882), p. 447). In Ceram rain is made by dedicating the bark of a certain tree to the spirits and laying it in water (Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 114). Gervasius of Tilbury mentions a spring into which if a stick or a stone were thrown, rain would at once issue from it and drench the thrower (Gervasius von Tilbury, ed. Liebrecht, p. 41 *sqq.*) For more examples of rain-charms, see *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 13 *sqq*.

38. 5. **the Lycaean games.** These games were said to have been founded by Lycaon, to whom the invention of athletic sports was attributed (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* vii. 205; Paus. viii. 2. 1 note). They are mentioned by Pindar (*Olymp.* ix. 145, xiii. 157 *sq.*; *Nem.* x. 89). The ancients traced a resemblance between the Lycaean games and the Lupercalia at Rome (Plutarch, *Caesar*, 61; Dionysius Halic., *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 80; Livy, i. 5; Justin, xliii. 6 *sq.*) They included a foot-race in the double course, and a race between men in armour or carrying shields, as we learn from an inscription found in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 78,

No. 240). In Roman times the Lycaean games were combined with games held in honour of the imperial family, as we gather from an inscription at *Sinanou*, close to Megalopolis (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 139 *sq.*, No. xxvi.)

38. 6. inside the precinct all creatures —— cast no shadows. The statement that persons who entered the precinct of Zeus on Mt. Lycaeus cast no shadow had the authority of Theophrastus (Polybius, xvi. 12. 7). Such persons were called 'deer': if they had entered the precinct voluntarily, they were stoned to death; if they had entered it unwittingly, they were sent away to Eleutherae (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 39). Cp. Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 1 and 4. The story of the loss of the shadow may have been told to explain the supposed fact that any person who entered the precinct would die within a year. Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year —obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the building (B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 196 *sq.*) In Austria it is thought that the person whose shadow does not appear on the wall when the family are seated at table on the eve of St. Silvester's day, will die next year (Vernalecken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich*, p. 341). Cp. *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 141 *sqq.*

Prof. W. H. Roscher would explain the story of the loss of the shadow on Mt. Lycaeus by pointing out that the mountain was also called Olympus (see § 2 of this chapter) and that the top of Olympus is described by Homer (*Od.* vi. 44 *sq.*) as cloudless and bathed in bright sunshine (*Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 38 (1892), pp. 701-709). The explanation seems insufficient.

38. 6. at Syene, on the frontier of Ethiopia etc. Syene in Upper Egypt is just outside the tropic of Cancer; hence at the summer solstice the sun is almost directly overhead and the shadows are so short as to be barely perceptible. There was a sacred well at Syene, in whose water the full disc of the sun was reflected "like a lid" at noon on the day of the summer solstice. The well was therefore used as a means of determining the day of the solstice. See Aristides, *Or.* xlviii. vol. 2. p. 462, ed. Dindorf; Strabo, xvii. p. 817; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 183; Eustathius, on Dionysius Periegetes, 222. Cp. Plutarch, *De defectu orac.*, 4; Lucan, ii. 587. The ancients, being acquainted with few places within the tropics, were much struck both with the absence of shadows in tropical lands at some seasons of the year and with their southward inclination at others. They knew that in some parts of India the hand of the dial cast no shadow at noon, and that at night the constellation of the Bear and even that of Arcturus were invisible (Diodorus, ii. 35; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* ii. 183-185). In the time of Augustus the frontier of the Roman empire was at Syene, which was held by three cohorts. But afterwards

the frontier was pushed farther south and a Roman garrison occupied Hiera Sycaminos (*Maharrako*). This appears to have been the only place within the tropics which was ever permanently held by a Roman garrison. See Strabo, *l.c.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 594 *sq.*

38. 7. **In front of the altar, on the east, stand two pillars.** May these columns have been set up for the purpose of determining the solstices and equinoxes by means of the length and direction of the shadows? On a height near Quito, on the equator, the Caras built a temple of the Sun, and in front of the eastern door of the temple were two tall columns for observing the solstices. See C. R. Markham, note on Garcilasso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, 2. p. 347; *id.*, in *Journal of the Royal Geogr. Soc.*, 41 (1871), p. 317. To ascertain the time of the equinox the Incas of Peru had a stone column erected in front of the temples of the Sun. The column was set up in the midst of a large circle across which a line was drawn from east to west. As the equinox drew near the priests watched the shadow from day to day; and when the shadow rested exactly on the line from sunrise to sunset and no shadow at all was cast at noon, they knew that the equinox had come. Then they adorned the column with flowers and placed the chair of the Sun upon it, saying that on that day the Sun with all his light sat on the pillar. As the Incas extended their conquests northwards towards the equator, they observed that the farther north they went the smaller was the shadow thrown by the columns at noon. Hence the columns were more revered the nearer they were to Quito on the equator; above all others the columns at Quito itself were venerated because, the sun being perpendicular over them, they cast no shadow at all at noon. The people said that these must be the seats which were most agreeable to the Sun, seeing that he sat square upon them, whereas on the others he sat sideways. See Garcilasso de la Vega, *op. cit.* 1. p. 180 (Markham's translation). The Muyscas of Colombia also used columns as a rude sort of dial; human victims were sacrificed by being fastened to these columns and shot with arrows (*Colombia, being a geographical etc. account of that country* (London, 1822), 1. p. 557). It is said that one of the stones in the circle at Stonehenge is known as the Pointer because, viewed from the centre of the circle, the sun is seen to rise exactly over it at the summer solstice (June 21st); many people are said to assemble on the spot every year on the morning of June 21st, to observe the phenomenon. See C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 219. On Mount Cythnus, in the island of Delos, there is a grotto which is supposed to have been an early temple of Apollo. The east end of the temple is not closed, and on an April morning a ray of the sun pierces the cavern and fills it with light in a moment. As Apollo was supposed to winter in Lycia and return to Delos in spring, the sudden illumination of his grotto in that island would be the signal of his return. It has been suggested that the grotto may have been a station at which the revolution of the seasons was observed by noting the length and inclination of the sunbeams. See Jebb, 'Delos,' *Journal of Hellenic*

Studies, I (1880), p. 50 *sq.* If my conjecture as to the purpose of the two columns on Mt. Lycaeus prove to be true (and I merely offer it as a suggestion), it would be tempting to suppose that Lycaean Zeus was the god of light, deriving *lukaios* from the root *luk*, 'light.' See Curtius, *Griech. Etymologie*,[5] p. 160 *sq.* It would then be plain why persons who strayed into his precinct were believed to lose their shadows; they had entered the sanctuary of the god of light, where no darkness could abide. But this is probably fanciful. The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god (from *lukos*, 'wolf'). See viii. 2. 3 and 6; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I. p. 41 *sq.* This makes the resemblance which the ancients traced between the Lycaean games and the Lupercalia (see note on § 5) all the more remarkable, for it seems certain that the first syllable of Lupercalia must be from *lupus*, 'wolf.' Cp. W. Mannhardt, 'Die Lupercalien,' *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 72 *sqq.*

In the gully which leads from the hippodrome to the summit of Mt. Lycaeus, the peasants excavated some fragments of large Doric columns of white marble, which they broke up and used in building their chapel. The flutes of some of these fragments, seen by L. Ross, were 5 inches wide. He conjectured that these were pieces of the two columns which once stood on the summit of the mountain. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 92.

As to the gilt eagles which surmounted the columns, it is perhaps worth noting, after what has been said above, that in the temple of the Sun among the Taenças of Louisiana the bodies of two eagles were hung from the roof and turned toward the sun (De Tonti, 'Relation de la Louisianne et du Mississippi,' *Voyages au Nord*, 5 (Amsterdam, 1725), p. 123). Cp. above, viii. 30. 2.

38. 7. **they offer secret sacrifices** etc. Human victims were sacrificed to Lycaean Zeus, as we learn from Theophrastus (quoted by Porphyry, *De abstin.* ii. 27) and the pseudo-Plato (*Minos*, p. 315 c). From the guarded language in which Pausanias refers to the subject, we may perhaps infer that human sacrifices were still offered in his time. See note on viii. 2. 6. As to human sacrifices among the ancients, see Porphyry, *De abstin.* ii. 54-56; Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,[4] p. 438 *sqq.* (p. 414 *sqq.*, English trans.); Leist, *Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 257 *sqq.*

38. 8. **a sanctuary of Parrhasian Apollo; they also give him the surname of Pythian.** This sanctuary is mentioned under the name of Pythium (Πύτιον) in an inscription of Megalopolis copied by Fourmont at *Karytaena;* the same inscription mentions 'the road to Lycosura,' which so far confirms the statement of Pausanias that this sanctuary of Apollo stood on the eastern side of Mount Lycaeus (*C. I. G.* No. 1534; *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 131, No. 8 c).

38. 8. **they sacrifice a boar in the market-place** etc. The market-place referred to is that of Megalopolis. See viii. 30. 3 *sq.*

38. 9. **the land of Thisoa.** As to the town of Thisoa compare § 3. It is not to be confounded with the Thisoa near Methydrium which belonged to Orchomenus (viii. 27. 4; viii. 28. 3). On the left

or western bank of the Alpheus, about 5 miles below *Karytaena*, and about 4 miles north-east of *Andritsena*, rises the steep, lofty, and rocky mountain of *Lavda* (2420 feet high), crowned with the ruins of an ancient town which some topographers have identified with Thisoa. The ruins are now known as the Castle of St. Helen or the *palaeokastro* (ruined fortress) of *Lavda* from the village of that name (*Lavda*) which is pleasantly situated among clumps of trees at the northern foot of the mountain within sight of, but at a considerable height above, the river. The summit of the hill, which commands a magnificent view ranging from Mt. Erymanthus on the north to the mountains of Laconia on the south, extends from north-west to south-east for a quarter of a mile or more; its breadth is less. It is enclosed by a double line of fortifications, an outer and an inner, of which the latter formed the citadel. The ground within the walls is not level, but rises to a sharp point, from which the citadel extends south for 200 yards or so. The town occupied a terrace which runs round the citadel at a lower level and is enclosed by the outer wall. This terrace is widest on the west and north-west, and narrowest on the east, where it is a mere strip between the citadel and the steep slope of the mountain towards the Alpheus. The chief approach to the town would seem to have been from the south-west, on the side away from the river, for in this direction the slope is long, uniform, and not very steep, and here there are remains of a gate. The outer wall was defended at intervals by square projecting towers, of which five may be distinguished. With its towers it is standing in places to a height of from 2 to 10 or 12 feet. The masonry varies in style; in general it is massive but rough and irregular. However, some pieces of the north wall on both sides of a gate or sally-port are better built; the style is here mainly quadrangular, with some polygonal pieces, and the blocks are more carefully hewn than elsewhere. The wall at this gate is 7 ft. 6 in. thick, and is standing to a varying height of four and six courses. The breadth of the gateway is 6 feet. About 9 feet to the west of this gateway, at the north-western angle of the fortress, is one of the square towers; it projects 12 ft. 8 in. from the curtain, and its outer face, which measures 21 feet in breadth, is standing to a height of six courses or about 7 feet. On the west face of the hill the outer wall has mostly disappeared, but towards its southern end there are considerable remains, comprising the ruins of a large gateway, 16 ft. 6 in. wide, which would seem to have been the principal gateway of the town. It opens to the south, and is defended on the west by a square tower built of exceedingly massive rough blocks. The tower measures 14 paces on its western face and is standing to a height of about 8 feet. Inside of the outer wall at this point there are some remains of an inner wall running parallel to the outer at a distance about equal to the breadth of an ordinary road; it is built of smaller stones and appears not to have been a fortification-wall. On the eastern side of the hill the outer fortification-wall is fairly preserved for a stretch of about 60 yards between two square projecting towers, of which one, standing to a height of four courses, is at the extreme south point of the wall.

The inner fortification-wall, forming the small citadel, is on the

whole well preserved. It is built in a more regular and careful way than the outer wall; the style is in places, particularly on the north, a sort of compromise between the quadrangular and the polygonal, but elsewhere, as on the west, it is almost completely quadrangular. The north wall is 8 ft. 6 in. thick; seven to twelve courses of it are standing. A piece of the west wall, about 17 paces long, has seven to nine courses standing. The south wall of the citadel is ruinous, except at its eastern end, where it is still 7 to 10 feet high, with four to nine courses. Here is the entrance to the citadel, consisting of a passage 7 ft. 6 in. wide and about 9 yards long.

Within the citadel, just at the foot of the highest point of the hill, are nine drums of fluted columns standing or lying side by side; the diameter of each drum is about 18 inches. A temple may have stood here, but this is doubtful; there is hardly room for a temple at this point, and the drums seem too close together to be in their original positions. They may have been transferred to their present situation and used in the construction of some mediaeval building. For within the citadel there are foundations or the lower courses of walls which seem to have belonged to houses built in mediaeval or later times with materials taken from the ancient fortifications; and outside of the citadel there are remains of rough walls which point clearly to a settlement here in the Middle Ages. A few more drums may be seen lying about in or close to the citadel; they are all fluted and of the same style. One of them measures 16 inches in diameter. The material of these drums, as of the fortifications, appears to be a grey limestone. I further observed three triglyph blocks in or near the citadel; each was 22½ inches high, and two of them at least were 7 feet long. The metopes are unsculptured. One of these triglyph blocks is standing in the entrance to the citadel; at first I mistook it for a door-jamb. These drums and triglyph blocks prove that an ancient temple stood somewhere on the summit of the hill, probably within the citadel. Sherds of coarse red unpainted pottery lie strewn about in large quantities: they may be mediaeval.

The ancient town of which the ruins have been described is commonly identified by topographers (as by Leake, Boblaye, Bursian, and Lolling) with Thisoa. Curtius, however, supposed it to be the Lycoa of Polybius (xvi. 17), which stood beside the Alpheus, below its junction with the Lusius, and at a point where the river is deep and impassable. This description certainly suits the ruins at *Lavda* very well; for the river, flowing in a deep bed, is here 60 feet wide and from 3 to 6 feet deep according to the season. Curtius would place Thisoa on the site of *Andritsena*, a pleasant little town picturesquely situated high up on a mountain-side among trees, vineyards, and murmuring rills, with wide views across the low hills about the valley of the Alpheus away to the high blue mountains of north-western Arcadia. Among the vineyards to the north of the town have been observed foundations, tiles, and other vestiges of an ancient settlement.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 18 *sq.*, 315 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 160; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 101; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 358 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 234 *sq.*;

Baedeker,[3] p. 314 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 306 *sq.* I visited the ruins on the hill of *Lavda*, 8th October 1895, and have described them from my own observation. The charms of *Andritsena* are described in rapturous language by von Stackelberg (*Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadia*, p. 14).

38. 10. **is said by Homer** etc. See *Iliad*, xxi. 194.

38. 10. **another Achelous —— is mentioned by him.** See *Iliad*, xxiv. 616; and note on v. 13. 7.

38. 11. **the Nomian mountains.** These are generally identified with *Tetragi* or *Tetrasi*, a mountain 4500 feet high which rises to the west of Lycosura. A long and rugged ridge connects it with Mt. Lycaeus (*Diaphorti*) on the north. From the crest, which is a stony ridge some 500 yards long and 10 yards wide, with a very steep slope to the west, there is a wide and magnificent view. All the mountains round about are visible, and the plain of Megalopolis is seen below us on the east. But if the Nomian mountains were *Tetrasi*, which lies to the west of Lycosura, why should Pausanias have described them as to the *right* of Lycosura, when he had said that Mt. Lycaeus, which lies to the north of Lycosura, was to the *left* of it (§ 2)? Hence it is perhaps better, with L. Ross, to apply the name Nomian to the hills to the south of Lycosura, about the large village of *Isari*. These hills are, however, only a branch of *Tetrasi*. Their upper slopes are thinly wooded with oak; their lower slopes are under cultivation. Leake thought that the Nomian mountains were the high rugged ridge which connects *Tetrasi* with Mt. Lycaeus (*Diaphorti*).

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 315; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 165; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 88; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 317; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 184 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 308; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 532, 533.

39. 1. **going to Phigalia** etc. From *Stala*, the modern village near the ruins of Lycosura, the route to Phigalia crosses the *Gastritzi* and pursuing a westward direction ascends steeply to a pass between the south spurs of Mt. Lycaeus and Mt. *Tetrasi*. The summit of the pass is reached in an hour to an hour and a half from *Stala*, which agrees with the 30 furlongs of Pausanias. The path then descends through woods to the sources of the Neda, and passes through the poor but picturesque hamlet of *Kakaletri*, surrounded by fruit-trees and watered by an abundant spring. Thence it follows the valley of the Neda the whole way to Phigalia. The route along the valley is rough and difficult. The high heathy hills on either hand, intersected every now and then by small glens, advance almost to meet each other, leaving the river just room enough to turn and wind about at the bottom of a ravine. Fields or patches of corn occupy some of the lower slopes of the hills. The track leads along steep declivities, descending and ascending the sides of the wooded glens down which flow tributary brooks to join the Neda. To add to the difficulty of the route the peasants are in the habit of ploughing up and sowing the path, which in consequence sometimes disappears among the corn, and the traveller is left to flounder up hill and down dale as best he can without a path. The time from *Stala* to Phigalia is about seven hours.

See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 95 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 323 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 331. Cp. note on iv. 17. 10.

39. 2. **the story of Phigalus** etc. See viii. 3. 2.

39. 2. **the city changed its name and was called after Phialus.** The form Phialia (instead of Phigalia) is supported by coins of the city, which bear the inscription ΦΙΑΛΕΩΝ ('of the Phialians'). The form ΦΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ ('of the Phigalians') occurs on a coin of the Achaean League. See *Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, pp. 15, 197; Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 352, 376. The form Phialeus (ΦΙΑΛΕΥΣ) occurs in an inscription copied by Leake at *Mavromati* in Messene (Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 378; *id.*, 3. Inscr. No. 46); and in another inscription found at Phigalia itself the city is called Phialia (Φιαλεία) and the people Phialians (Φιαλέες) (*Archäologische Zeitung*, 17 (1859), Archäologischer Anzeiger, p. 111* *sq.*)

39. 3. **the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, in which Chionis —— was victorious.** *i.e.* in 659 B.C. As to Chionis see iii. 14. 3; iv. 23. 4 and 10; vi. 13. 2 note.

39. 5. **Phigalia.** The city of Phigalia was built on a high uneven plateau, which rises from south to north. On the south the plateau is bounded by the glen of the Neda; on the other sides it is surrounded by a semicircle of mountains. Almost everywhere the plateau falls sharply away, being bounded by ravines or deep glens. The ravine of the Neda, on the south, is of tremendous depth. The walls of the ancient city ran along the edge of the plateau. Their circuit measured about 3 miles, and their remains are very extensive, especially on the eastern side, where indeed the wall, with its flanking towers, both square and round, is nearly continuous, rising in places to a height of nine courses or 20 feet. The thickness of the wall is from 6 to 10 feet. The masonry is generally quadrangular, but in some places polygonal. In style it is distinctly inferior to the masonry of the walls of Mantinea and Messene, being not nearly so regular and well jointed. The towers on the east side are from forty to fifty paces apart, but they are not equally distributed. On the west side the French surveyors found two towers, which would seem to have since disappeared; at least I did not perceive them, nor did L. Ross. Leake saw the ruins of one tower on the west or south-west side. He could find no traces of gates, nor could I. But the French surveyors found a gate on the north-east, and on their plan of the site they marked another gate on the west. Sally-ports, however, still exist beside some of the towers on the east side. These ports are from 5 to 6 feet wide and are closed at the top by horizontal courses of stones, projecting one above the other. The highest point of the plateau is near the north-east corner; its height is considerable, but the slope is nowhere precipitous. This point was enclosed by separate walls, which formed a citadel of elliptic shape, about 80 yards long. But these walls of the citadel appear to be of later date, if not mediaeval. Within them are the ruins of two chapels, one of which may possibly mark

the site of the sanctuary of Saviour Artemis (§ 5). From this acropolis a considerable expanse of sea is visible on the west; and the sea may also be seen from other high points within the ancient walls. Owing to the elevated situation of the city the air of Phigalia is keen, fresh, and bracing—real highland air. The modern hamlet of *Pavlitsa*, surrounded by vineyards, fields, and olive-trees, occupies a corner of the ancient site, standing near its south-eastern extremity, on a sort of terrace about 800 feet above the deep glen of the Neda. The ground about the hamlet is comparatively flat, and here, probably, lay the ancient market-place. Some of the houses are built outside the line of the ancient walls, on the edge of the crags which overhang the narrow, wooded, and exceedingly picturesque gorge where the river tumbles over rocks at an immense depth below, the roar of its water adding to the savage grandeur of the scenery. Near the hamlet are three chapels with some fragments of antiquity. They may occupy the sites of ancient temples.

See Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 79 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 101 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 489 *sqq.*; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, p. 2 *sq.*, with plates 1-3; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 165; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 97 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 318 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 272 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 254 *sq.*; Wyse, *Pelop.* 2. p. 15 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 250 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 321; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 296 *sq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 331. I was at Phigalia, 1st-3rd May 1890.

39. 6. **laurel-leaves and ivy.** On the association of laurel and ivy with Dionysus, cp. Fr. Lenormant, in *Gazette archéologique*, 2. (1876), p. 103 *sq.*

39. 6. **cinnabar —— is said to be found by the Iberians.** Veins of cinnabar (bisulphuret of mercury) were worked at Sisapon in Andalusia. Under the Roman Empire the state enjoyed a monopoly of the mineral and drew considerable revenues from it. The cinnabar was extracted from the mines in blocks, which were sealed and sent to Rome to be worked by the company which farmed the industry from the State. Two thousand pounds weight of the mineral were annually brought to Rome. The red pigment was prepared by pounding the cinnabar in iron mortars and then washing and roasting it repeatedly. The factory, where the pigment was made, stood on the Quirinal, between the temple of Flora and the temple of Quirinus. At Almaden, in the Sierra Morena, supposed to be the ancient Sisapon, a vein of cinnabar, 25 feet thick, still exists, traversing rocks of quartz and slate.

See Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiii. 118 *sqq.*; Vitruvius, vii. 9; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des antiquités*, *s.v.* 'Cinnabaris'; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*, *s.v.* 'Sisapon'; H. Blümner, *Technologie*, 4. p. 488 *sq.*

40. 1. **a statue of Arrhachion** etc. Shortly before my visit to Phigalia in May 1890 an archaic statue had been found there of exactly the type described by Pausanias. It was shown to me in a field just outside the village of *Pavlitsa*. There was a worn and half-effaced inscription on the statue, below the neck; so that the correspondence

between this statue and the one described by Pausanias is complete. See note on ii. 5. 4. The story how Arrhachion won a victory in the pancratium and expired in the moment of victory is told briefly by Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 202, ed. Schöne) and at length by Philostratus (*Imagines*, ii. 6), who calls him Arrhichion. Elsewhere (*De arte gymnastica*, 21) Philostratus has recorded the cry with which his trainer cheered the dying athlete to prefer victory to life.

40. 3. boxers —— boxed with the soft straps. The earlier sort of boxing gloves used by the ancients is described also by Philostratus (*De arte gymnastica*, 10), but his description is not quite clear. It would seem, according to him, that the four fingers were fastened in a strap which allowed the tips to project from it, and were also held together by a cord wound round the forearm.

40. 4. struck him under the ribs etc. This story is told of the boxer Cleomedes of Astypalaea by Oenomaus, quoted by Eusebius. *Praepar. Evang.* v. 34. Oenomaus had confused Damoxenus with Cleomedes. As to Cleomedes, see Paus. vi. 9. 6 *sqq.*

40. 5. a statue to him in Argos. See ii. 20. 1.

41. 2. A river called the Lymax. This would seem to be the stream which flows down a glen on the east side of Phigalia, at the foot of the slope which is surmounted by the walls of the ancient city. But, on the other hand, Pausanias apparently says that the Lymax flowed into the Neda 12 furlongs above Phigalia (§ 4); hence Leake identified it with the river of *Dragói* (*Tragoi*), which joins the Neda on its right (north) bank about that distance above Phigalia. See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 10.

41. 2. Homer says etc. See *Iliad*, i. 314 *sq.*

41. 3. Mount Cerausius, which is a part of Mount Lycaeus. Of the rivulets that unite to form the Neda the chief have their source above the village of *Hagios Sostis*, in the range of hills which unites Mt. Lycaeus on the east with the peak called *Palaeokastro* on the west. These hills, therefore, would seem to be the Mt. Cerausius of the ancients. Bursian identified Cerausius with *Palaeokastro*; L. Ross with *Stephani*. But *Palaeokastro* seems too far west, and *Stephani* was probably not distinguished from Lycaeus (*Diapherti*) by the ancients. Leake thought that Cerausius was Mt. *Tetrasi* (as to which see above, p. 389).

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 10 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 94 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 317 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 184.

41. 3. shear their hair in honour of the river. It appears to have been common among the ancient Greeks for boys or men to allow their hair to grow for a certain time and then cut it off in honour of a river-god. See i. 37. 3; viii. 20. 3. Achilles kept his yellow hair long that he might sacrifice it to the river Spercheus when he came home from the wars (Homer, *Iliad*, xxiii. 141 *sqq.*) Orestes similarly vowed his hair to the river Inachus (Aeschylus, *Choephori*, 5 *sq.*) Ajax let his hair grow in honour of the Ilissus (Philostratus, *Heroica*, xiii. 4). Hindoo matrons are sometimes allowed, as a great privilege, to offer a

few locks of their long hair at the confluence of rivers, as for example at the meeting of the Ganges and Jumna. The priest with a pair of golden scissors cuts off a few inches of the woman's tresses and flings them into the river. See Monier Williams, *Religious life and thought in India*, p. 375 *sq.* Among some of the Australian aborigines, when a river was low with drought, the sorcerer used with chants and gesticulations to place some human hair in the stream. It was thought that this would make the water of the river to rise. See W. Stanbridge, 'On the aborigines of Victoria,' *Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London*, N.S. 1 (1861), p. 300. On the worship of rivers among the ancient Greeks, see Percy Gardner, 'Greek river-worship,' *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series (1878), pp. 173-218. Dio Chrysostom speaks of those who let their hair grow long for the sake of a god (*Or.* xxxv. vol. 2. p. 43, ed. Dindorf). Rufinus, son of the rhetorician Himerius, allowed his hair to grow in honour of Dionysus (Himerius, *Orat.* xxiii. 7). The people of Agyrium in Sicily were wont to let their hair grow long in honour of the hero Iolaus till they had propitiated him with sacrifices (Diodorus, iv. 24. 4). The Thasians allowed their hair to grow long in honour of Demeter, because once the land recovered its fertility after a period of barrenness (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* v. 34. 9). In the British Museum there is a votive relief representing two plaits of formally-twisted hair, dedicated to Poseidon by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus. The relief was brought from Phthiotic Thebes in Thessaly. See A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. No. 798, p. 366 *sq.*

41. 5. **of whom Homer makes mention.** See *Iliad*, xviii. 398 *sq.*

41. 6. **the image of Eurynome —— represents a woman to the hips, but below that a fish.** If Eurynome was, as the natives affirmed, a form of Artemis, her curious fish-tailed image may perhaps be explained by the relation in which Artemis stood to water, evinced by her common title, 'The Lady of the Lake.' Cp. L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 429 *sq.*

41. 7. **Bassae, and the temple of Apollo.** The famous temple of Apollo at Bassae is situated about 4 miles north-east of Phigalia as the crow flies; but as a wild and woody country of hill and dale lies between, and the path crosses glens and ascends steep slopes, the time occupied by the journey is about three and a half hours. From *Pavlitsa*, the village at the south-eastern extremity of Phigalia, our path leads at first eastward up the valley of the Neda. About a mile outside of the walls of Phigalia, on the top of a ridge, some remains of an ancient building, perhaps a temple, have been observed by travellers, who speak of having seen regularly-constructed foundations, a fragment of an architrave, and the base of a column. After following the valley of the Neda for some distance eastward, we turn up a glen down which a stream flows from the north to join the Neda. Pursuing our way up the glen we come to the village of *Voïka*, surrounded by many plane-trees and fig-trees. Then passing a waterfall and some picturesque rocks, we cross the stream by a little bridge and reach the village of *Dragogi* near the head of the glen. A rocky path now ascends the

hills immediately at the back of the village, and in a pretty little valley shaded by oaks we pass a spring, which may be the "spring on Mount Cotilius" mentioned by Pausanias. At the end of the valley a steep ascent through the somewhat scanty remnants of an oak forest brings us to the temple of Apollo.

The temple, which is by far the best preserved of all ancient temples in Peloponnese, stands in a strikingly wild and secluded situation at a height of 3700 feet above the sea, with a wide prospect southward to the distant mountains of Messenia and Laconia. The ground on which the temple is built is a narrow platform on the southern side of a hill, the Mount Cotilius of the ancients. The rocky slopes of this hill, rising rapidly behind the temple, shut out all distant views on the north and north-east. But to the south the slope descends gradually towards the valley of the Neda. Due south, through a dip in the hills, is seen the apparently flat-topped summit of Ithome. To the south-east, through another gap, appears the range of Taygetus, with its beautiful outlines and sharp snowy peaks. In the nearer foreground, between Ithome and Taygetus, rises Mount Ira, the last stronghold of the Messenian race in its struggle for freedom with Sparta. To the east are bare rough hills, dotted with oak-trees, the western spurs of Mount Lycaeus, while farther to the south appears the high, round-topped *Tetrasi*, perhaps the Nomian mountains of the ancients. The sea is not visible, but it may be seen by ascending the slope at the back of the temple. The bleak desolate mountains form a striking background to the solitary temple which, built of the same cold grey limestone which composes the surrounding rocks, tends to deepen rather than relieve the melancholy of the scene, the ruined fane witnessing silently to the transitoriness of human greatness and the vanity of human faith. "There is certainly nothing in Greece," says Leake, "beyond the bounds of Attica, more worthy of notice than these remains. The temple at Aegina in some of its accidents or accompaniments may be more picturesque, and the surrounding prospect more agreeable; but undoubtedly there are many persons who will prefer the severe grandeur, the wildness, and the variety of this Arcadian scene, in which, amidst a continued contrast of rugged mountain, forest, and cultivated land, there is no want of objects interesting to the spectator by their historical recollection. That which forms, on reflection, the most striking circumstance of all is the nature of the surrounding country, capable of producing little else than pasture for cattle, and offering no conveniences for the display of commercial industry either by sea or land. If it excites our astonishment that the inhabitants of such a district should have had the refinement to delight in works of this kind, it is still more wonderful that they should have had the means to execute them. This can only be accounted for by what Horace says of the early Romans:

> Privatus illis census erat brevis,
> Commune magnum.

This is the true secret of national power, which cannot be equally effective in an age of selfish luxury."

The temple stands on a narrow rocky ridge which runs nearly north and south. So narrow is the ridge that in order to find room for the temple it was necessary to widen the ridge artificially by constructing a platform about 22 feet broad along its western edge. On its eastern side the ridge ends in a low line of precipitous rocks. The temple is orientated nearly north and south. For this remarkable deviation from the rule that Greek temples lie east and west, no more recondite reason need be sought than the nature of the ground, which, while it affords a fairly good site for a temple lying north and south, would have needed to be supplemented by great artificial substructions if it had to be adapted to a temple lying east and west. The temple rests, as usual, on a three-stepped platform of masonry. Its length, measured on the first step below the stylobate, is 125 ft. 7 in.; its breadth is 48 ft. 2 in. Thus the temple is unusually long in proportion to its breadth and violates the canon laid down by Vitruvius (iv. 4) that the length of a temple should be just double its width. The walls, columns, and entablature were built of a grey compact limestone, veined with white and red, which is quarried on the neighbouring mountain; the capitals of the inner columns, the coffered ceilings of the north and south porticoes, the roof-tiles, and the sculptures were all of marble. The form and workmanship of the three steps leading up to the temple are somewhat unusual. The riser or face of each step is undercut horizontally and is left rough save for a drafted margin all round it; and there is a marked division perpendicularly between each pair of contiguous blocks. A Doric colonnade ran all round the temple, with six columns at each of the two narrow ends on the north and south, and fifteen columns on the long east and west sides, the corner columns being counted twice. Thus the total number of columns in the peristyle or outer colonnade was thirty-eight. Of these thirty-eight columns thirty-five are still standing (or at least were standing in 1890 when I visited the temple), and almost all of them still support their architraves. The columns which have fallen are the two at the southern end of the west side and the one at the southern end of the east side. The height of these Doric columns, including the capitals, is 19 ft. 5 in.; their lower diameter is 3 ft. 2 in., and their upper diameter 2 ft. 11 in. The intercolumniations are not regular, the distances between the columns even on the same side of the temple varying considerably. Nothing of the gables or roof is standing, but abundant remains of them lie in disorder on the ground. There were no sculptures in the gables. This is proved not only by the condition of the surface of the vertical stones composing the tympanum, but also by the fact that the projection of the two cornices (*geisa*), the horizontal and the raking cornice, is identical; for had there been sculptures within the gable the raking or ascending cornice would, in conformity with invariable Greek practice, have projected beyond the horizontal cornice so as to form a roof over the sculptures and protect them from rain and snow. But on the other hand ornaments of some sort (*akroteria*) were placed on the apex and two extremities of each gable, as appears from the preparation of the stones at these points to

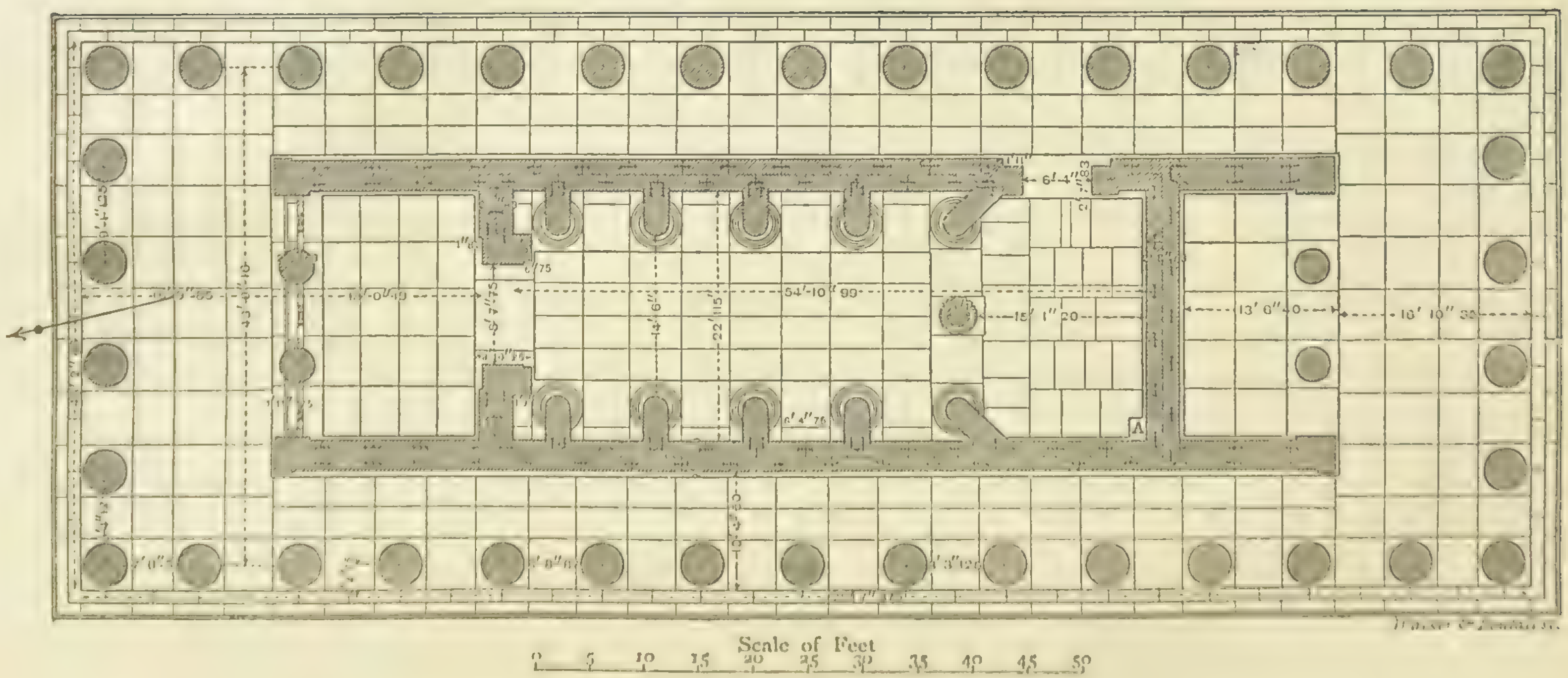


FIG. 41.—GROUND-PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT BASSAE (RESTORED).

receive them. The *cymatium* or band of ornament on the ascending cornice of the gables exhibits a series of palmettes (the Asiatic *cyma recta*) instead of the ovolo or 'egg-and-dart' pattern so commonly employed at Athens. Seventeen rows of tiles covered the roof. These tiles are unusually large, measuring 3 ft. 6 in. long by 2 ft. 1 in. wide. They are of Parian marble, and differ from ordinary Greek tiles in one remarkable respect. In general a Greek temple was roofed with tiles of two different sorts—flat tiles with raised edges laid side by side, and gable-like covering tiles placed over the junctions of the flat tiles to prevent the rain from penetrating between them. But in the temple at Bassae the tiles are all of one sort; each tile consists of a flat piece with a raised edge at one side and a miniature gable-roof at the other, so that when the tiles were placed side by side this miniature gable-roof overlapped the raised border of the tile next to it, and served instead of a separate covering tile. It is obvious that this system of tiling afforded an even better protection against the weather than the other, since it diminished by half the chance of rain finding its way between the junctions of the tiles. The ceiling of the colonnade was formed by slabs adorned with sunken panels. At the northern and southern ends these slabs were of marble, and the panels were of three different patterns (namely square and diamond-shaped in two varieties); the rest of the colonnade, on the two long eastern and western sides of the temple, was ceiled with slabs of limestone, and the panels sunk in them were uniformly square.

The kernel of the temple, inside of the Doric colonnade which ran round it, consisted of a central *cella* with a fore-temple (*pronaos*) at its northern and a back-chamber (*opisthodomos*) at its southern end. The *cella* is 54 ft. 11 in. long by 22 ft. 11 in. wide. The fore-temple is considerably deeper or longer than the back-chamber, the depth of the former being 18 ft., while the depth of the back-chamber is only 13 ft. 6 in. The lowest course of the eastern wall of the temple is mostly standing. It is built of blocks about 3 ft. 6 in. high and broad and 20 in. thick.[1] The façade both of the fore-temple and of the back-chamber was supported by two columns between *antae*, and the metopes of the entablature were adorned with sculptures of which some fragments have been found and are now in the British Museum. Gates or railings of metal seem to have shut off the fore-temple (but not the back-chamber) from the outer colonnade. They were fastened to the sides of the columns and *antae* and fitted into an elaborately-moulded marble step which formed a raised sill between the columns. The columns and *antae* both of the fore-temple and of the back-chamber are fallen.

The ceiling of the back-chamber consisted of blocks of marble adorned with square sunken panels, which were further set off with painting and gilding. Of the ceilings of the fore-temple and *cella*, on the other hand, no trace has been found, and we are left to conjecture that they were of wood; the architect perhaps judged that these chambers were too wide to be safely spanned by marble beams.

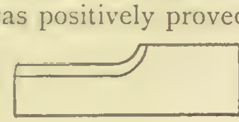
[1] These are rough estimates of my own made on the spot.

From the fore-temple a doorway about 8 ft. 8 in. wide led into the *cella*. The arrangement of the *cella* is very remarkable. Five short cross-walls or buttresses, ending in half-columns of the Ionic order, projected into it from either side at intervals of about 6 ft. 5 in. The length of each buttress, with the half-column, is about 3 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. Remains of all these ten buttresses and Ionic half-columns are to be seen in their places. Each half-column has ten flutes; its lower diameter is 2 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., its upper diameter is 1 ft. $9\frac{1}{3}$ in. The height of the half-columns, including the capitals, was 20 ft. 5 in. A remarkable feature of these Ionic capitals is that they have volutes on three sides instead of on two. This is the earliest example known to us of Ionic capitals with a volute on each face. The buttresses with their Ionic half-columns rested on a step 3.75 inches high, which left the central area of the *cella* at a correspondingly lower level. The effect of the protrusion of these short cross-walls or buttresses into the *cella* from either side was to form a series of compartments like the side chapels of some cathedrals. The same arrangement occurred in the Heraeum at Olympia (see vol. 3. p. 589). Above the half-columns and supported by them a marble frieze, sculptured with the battle of the Greeks and the Amazons, and with the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, ran all round the *cella*. This frieze has been preserved entire and is now in the British Museum (see below). Thus we see that the internal arrangement of the *cella* differed materially from that generally adopted in Greek temples. As a rule the roof of the *cella* was supported on each side by two rows of columns, one above the other, the columns of the lower row being of a different order from the columns of the upper row and taller than they, but not so tall as the columns of the outer colonnade. In the temple at Bassae, on the other hand, there was only a single row of columns (or, strictly speaking, of half-columns) on either side of the *cella*, and these half-columns were taller than the columns of the outer colonnade.

Nor is this the only or the most remarkable peculiarity of the temple. Between the last two buttresses and the south wall of the *cella* a space of about 15 feet intervenes, which may be supposed to have been the inmost shrine where stood the image of the deity. The two buttresses in question are set obliquely to the side walls of the *cella* instead of (like all the other buttresses) at right angles to them: and between them, in the axis of the *cella*, stood a marble Corinthian column with exquisitely-wrought capital, which has since been barbarously mutilated. The column had 20 flutes; its lower diameter was 2 ft. $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., its upper diameter 1 ft. $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. The total height of the column, including the base and the capital, was about 20 ft. 6 in. If this Corinthian column, of which the base was discovered in its place, belonged to the original temple, as Stackelberg, Blouet, and Cockerell all believed, it is the earliest known example of the Corinthian order. But its existence in the temple as originally built has been doubted or denied. Further—and this is the most singular feature in the temple—the inmost part of the *cella* was provided with a doorway of its own, 6 ft. 4 in. wide, which opened through the eastern wall upon the outer

colonnade. In all the remains of Greek temples that have survived to the present day there is not, I believe, any other example of a side door to the *cella*. The only plausible explanation of this architectural anomaly is that the existing temple, facing north and south, had replaced an older and smaller temple which, in accordance with Greek custom, faced east and west; and that when the large new temple was, in compliance with the exigencies of the site, built facing north and south, the religious prejudices of the worshippers required that the image of the god should still face eastward, and that accordingly the architect was obliged to open a doorway in the eastern wall through which the worshippers might see and approach their deity as before. We must therefore suppose that the image of Apollo stood in this inmost part of the *cella* with its back to the west wall and its face to the eastern doorway. Pausanias tells us (§ 9 and viii. 30. 3) that the bronze image, 12 feet high, had been transferred to Megalopolis. But it was apparently replaced by an image of the kind called *acrolithic*, that is, an image of which the extremities only were of marble, while the rest of the figure was made of wood or other inferior material. For in the inmost part of the *cella*, where the image must have stood, there were found fragments of the marble feet and hands of a colossal image; and that the image to which they belonged was *acrolithic* is inferred from the existence in the hands and feet of holes in which dowels were no doubt inserted for the purpose of attaching them to the image. Two of these fragments are now in the British Museum; one is the fore part of a male right foot wearing a sandal; the other is the palm and base of the thumb of a right hand. Another fragment, found with the rest, is supposed to have been part of Apollo's lyre.

The *cella* of the temple was believed by the architect Cockerell to have been hypaethral, that is, to have had an opening for light in the roof. He thought that such an opening was needed for the proper appreciation of the frieze, which would else have been half hidden in a dim twilight, and that its existence was positively proved by a fragment of a roof tile which from its shape would seem to have been placed at the edge of an opening in the roof. There was no doorway in the wall dividing the *cella* from the back-chamber.



The sculptured frieze which adorned the interior of the *cella* was discovered under the ruins of the temple in 1812 by a party of English and German archaeologists, among whom were Baron Haller and the architect C. R. Cockerell. In the following year the party, reinforced by the accession of Baron von Stackelberg of Esthonia and the Chevalier Bronstedt of Copenhagen, but without the architect Cockerell, returned to Bassae, cleared the site of the temple, and disinterred the sculptures from the superincumbent mass of ruins. Transported to Zante, the sculptures were there sold in 1814 to the British Government for a nominal sum of 60,000 piastres (£15,800), which, however, through a disadvantageous exchange, was increased to £19,000. The frieze now forms one of the chief treasures of the British Museum. It is composed of twenty-three slabs of a marble which, according to

some, resembles Pentelic marble; but it is rather a coarse-grained yellowish-brownish marble. Prof. G. R. Lepsius observed at Bassae blocks of a coarse-grained crystalline marble of a white colour tinged with light grey; pieces of the same marble were seen by him at Olympia, but nowhere else. He conjectures that it comes from one of the islands of the Aegean. See G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmorstudien*, p. 57. Whether the marble described by him is that of which the frieze is composed does not appear. The slabs of the frieze are each 2 ft. 1¼ in. high and about 3½ inches thick. They are of unequal length, but together make up a total length of 101 ft. ¾ in. The frieze formed by them ran round the *cella* above the half-columns; it rested on the upper edge of the architrave and was fastened by bolts into the wall behind. Its length proves that, if the frieze as we have it is entire, it could not have extended round the whole of the *cella*, which was nearly 55 feet long. We must, therefore, suppose that it adorned the northern part of the *cella* only, stopping short at the two last half-columns towards the south, and crossing over the *cella* between these two half-columns, above the central Corinthian column. Hence it did not extend into the inner shrine or Holy of Holies in which stood the image of the god. The space to which the frieze was thus confined was a rectangle with two long sides, one on the east and one on the west, each measuring 35 ft. 9 in., and two short sides, one on the north and the other on the south, each measuring 14 ft. 2⅛ in. The slight excess (1 ft. 2½ in.) of the frieze over the length of the space which it was intended to occupy may be explained by supposing that the slabs overlapped each other a little at the angles.

The subjects represented by the sculptures are two, namely the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and the battle of the Greeks and Amazons. The former subject occupies eleven slabs, with a combined length of 45 ft. 6¾ in., while the latter occupies twelve slabs with a length of 55 ft. 6 in. It would seem, therefore, that the battle of the Greeks and Amazons filled two sides and a part of a third, while the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths was confined to one entire side and the greater part of another. Each slab contains a separate group of figures, proving that the sculptures were executed before the slabs were placed in position in the *cella*; for had the slabs been first fixed in their final positions and then sculptured, it is most likely that the artist would have found it convenient, at least in some places, to allow the groups and even the separate figures to flow over from one slab to another. The same fact makes it difficult or impossible to determine the exact order in which the slabs were arranged. Attempts have indeed been made to determine the original order, but they rest on very little positive evidence.

The figures are in high relief. The composition is extraordinarily vigorous, animated, and varied; the field is crowded with figures, and the violence and passion of battle are portrayed with fiery energy and with immense fertility and boldness of imagination. "If," says Overbeck, "we leave out of consideration style in the strict sense, that is the design and modelling of the figures, and consider simply the

contents of the frieze, we shall find that in sheer power of inventive imagination it surpasses most of its possible rivals, and that hardly anywhere can we point to a composition which in respect of variety of theme and wealth of thrilling interest can vie with the frieze of Phigalia." But combined with these high artistic merits are grave blemishes. The execution of the sculptures, at once coarse and florid, is by no means equal to the design. The figures are somewhat heavy and thickset, the attitudes occasionally uncouth, and the faces dull and expressionless. Worse than all, the proportions of the limbs and bodies are often wrong; this is especially observable in the hands, feet, and legs. "The feet are long, the legs short and stumpy, and the extremities ridiculous in the design, and imperfect in the execution, and they resemble the style which is observed on the better kinds of Roman sarcophagi" (Dodwell). To explain this union of imaginative power with defective execution it has been suggested that the frieze was designed by a great Athenian sculptor but carved on the spot by local artists of mediocre or less than mediocre abilities. This was the view taken by the painter Haydon, a good judge though a poor artist. He says: "The Phygaleian marbles arrived. I saw them. Though full of gross disproportions they are beautifully composed and were evidently the design of a great genius, executed provincially" (*Life of B. R. Haydon*, London, 1853, vol. 1. p. 329). But to attempt to determine the artist who designed or executed the frieze is, in the absence of all positive testimony, mere guess-work. The names of Alcamenes and Cresilas have, however, been suggested by different archaeologists. Overbeck thought that the work must have been designed as well as carried out by the local Arcadian talent.

A few of the scenes on the frieze may be mentioned.

Conspicuous amid the hurly-burly of battle are the figures of Apollo and Artemis who have arrived in a car drawn by two stags. Apollo has dismounted and is drawing his bow against a Centaur; Artemis, with one foot on the ground, grasps the reins. Elsewhere, two women have taken refuge at a stiff archaic image of Artemis; one of them stretches out her arms in despair, the other clings to the image, while a brutal Centaur is tearing her mantle from her body. But the Centaur is himself hotly attacked from behind by a man who is kneeling on the Centaur's back and is about to stab him with his sword. A lion's skin hanging on a tree beside this group has been thought to show that the man is Theseus. Another Centaur is rearing and kicking with his hind horse's legs and hoofs at a Lapith, while with his human arms he grasps another Lapith whom he is biting in the neck, and who is thrusting his sword into the monster's belly. Again, two Centaurs are heaving up a huge stone with which to crush into the earth the invulnerable Caeneus, who, already half buried in the ground, is holding up his shield above his head to avert the impending stroke. A similar scene is represented on the west frieze of the so-called Theseum at Athens (see vol. 3. p. 521). In the battle of the Greeks and Amazons a foremost place is taken by Hercules, who with the lion's skin wrapt round his left arm is striking with his club at an Amazon; she is

drawing back and holding out her shield. This figure of Hercules has been sometimes interpreted as Theseus. Behind Hercules (or Theseus) a mounted Amazon, mortally wounded, is sinking with her horse to the ground. A Greek has seized her by foot and arm and is about to fling her to the ground, when he is suddenly moved with pity and stoops over her with grief-stricken face. This is not the only touch of pathos and chivalry which the genius of the artist has introduced into the battle of the men and women. One Amazon is seen tenderly supporting the steps of a wounded Greek, while another carries off on her back a Greek who has probably fallen by her hand. Yet again, an Amazon interposes to save a fallen Greek from the blow which another female warrior is about to deal him. The battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, on the other hand, is redeemed by no such touches of humanity: all is ferocity, fury, and lust, as was to be expected in a contest between men and monsters.

The twelve fragments of the metopes are too shattered to allow us to determine their subjects with certainty. They have recently, however, been subjected to a searching examination by Prof. B. Sauer, who has offered acute and plausible explanations of some of them. (1) One fragment seems to represent Apollo with his lyre. It is the figure of a man wearing the costume of a lyre-player, with a long tunic falling to his feet and a flowing mantle. The tunic is confined by a broad belt and bands which cross on his breast. Long hair falls down on his shoulders. He is standing turned a little to the spectator's right, but his face is looking backwards to the left. In his left hand, which is broken off, he probably held a lyre. (2) Another fragment seems to represent Orpheus or at all events a Thracian lyre-player. It represents the head and upper body of a beardless man wearing a skin cap, a sleeveless tunic girt round the waist, and a small cloak. Two bands, crossing on his breast, are held together by a brooch in the form of a Gorgon's head. With his raised left hand he seems to be playing on a lyre, which is partly expressed in relief, and was probably further indicated by colour. His face is seen in profile, for he is looking towards the lyre. (3) Two fragments apparently belonged to a group representing a man and woman seated opposite each other. The woman, whose head, upper body, and left foot are preserved, wears a veil, a sleeveless tunic, and a mantle, and seems to be coyly averting her face from the man; she is raising her right hand, wrapt in her mantle, towards her face. The man on the other hand appears to be endeavouring to overcome the woman's shyness and to oblige her to show her face. His right hand is round the woman's neck, his left hand is under her right arm, and his right foot is close to her left. But beyond this and a doubtful trace of his left foot nothing of the man remains. The scene may represent, as Prof. B. Sauer holds, the marriage of Zeus and Hera. (4) Another fragment shows the torso of an old bearded man, who may be supposed to have been standing and leaning on a staff placed under his left arm. The folds and creases on his naked breast and belly show that he is old: his head seems to have been sunk on his breast; and he wears a mantle which crosses his

body from the right hip to the left armpit, while some folds of drapery on his right shoulder indicate that the mantle was also drawn over his head to serve as a hood. This hooded old man, with his head sunk on his wrinkled breast, is interpreted by Prof. Sauer as the aged Cronus moodily contemplating the stone wrapt in swaddling clothes which he is about to swallow in the belief that it is his infant son Zeus. (5) Another fragment represents the torso of a young and graceful woman clad in a thin clinging tunic, with a mantle thrown over her left arm and round her body from the waist downwards. In her right hand, which reposes on her hip, she holds a pair of castanets; in her left hand, which is broken off, she may have held another pair of castanets. Prof. Sauer interprets her as a nymph attending on the infant Zeus and drowning his squalls in the rattle of her castanets for the purpose of saving him from the maw of Cronus, his cruel father. A similar service was commonly said to have been performed for the infant by the Curetes. (6) Another fragment represents a cymbal, and this is supposed by Prof. Sauer to have been held by a nymph who may have been clashing her cymbals for the same humane purpose that the other rattled her castanets.

All the fragments which have just been described seem to have belonged to the metopes at the north end of the temple. The sculptures of these northern metopes, if Prof. Sauer's explanation of the fragments is right, fell into two groups, one relating to Apollo, the other to Zeus. In the group relating to Apollo, the god himself appeared along with Orpheus and perhaps the Muses; while in the group relating to Zeus were represented the outwitting of Cronus, the infant god surrounded by nymphs who were playing on musical instruments, and lastly the marriage of Zeus and Hera.

The artistic style of the metopes is more careful and finished than that of the frieze, indeed it has been compared to that of the exquisite reliefs on the balustrade of the Wingless Victory at Athens (vol. 2. p. 259). But apart from their better finish the sculptures of the metopes present the same essential characteristics as the sculptures of the frieze. Both are in high relief; both are marked by a florid treatment of the drapery, by heavy thickset figures, and by the stiffness and lifelessness of the hands. Probably, therefore, they were both designed by the same artist. The metopes may possibly have been executed by the artist himself, while the frieze was carved by inferior workmen after his designs. Prof. Sauer is of opinion that it was the metopes of the outer colonnade which were sculptured, not (as the architects think) the metopes above the entrances to the fore-temple and back-chamber.

With regard to the date of the temple, Pausanias tells us that it was built out of gratitude to Apollo for having delivered the people of Phigalia from the great plague of 430 B.C. But this statement appears to be based merely on an inference drawn by Pausanias from the god's surname and from the fact that the architect was Ictinus, the builder of the Parthenon. On the other hand, we know from Thucydides (ii. 54) that the plague scarcely touched Peloponnese; and it seems unlikely that an Athenian architect should have worked for a Peloponnesian city

while the war between Athens and Peloponnese was raging. As Ictinus was the architect of the temple, and we have no reason to suppose that he survived the Peloponnesian war, we may conjecture that the temple was built either before the outbreak of the war, that is, before 431 B.C., or during its temporary cessation consequent on the peace of Nicias, *i.e.* in 421 B.C. or one of the immediately succeeding years. The florid and almost pictorial style of the sculptures, which can hardly have been executed before those of the Parthenon, favours the later date. There are some grounds for holding that the pestilence broke out again in 420 B.C., and it has been proposed to connect the foundation of the temple with the deliverance of Phigalia from the plague of that year. See Ch. Petersen, in *Philologus*, 4 (1849), p. 234 *sqq.* That the partial destruction of the temple is due to the fury of Christian iconoclasts rather than to earthquakes appears from the fact, while the well-buttressed and iron-clamped walls of the *cella* have been destroyed, the long rows of columns, though naturally weak from want of support, are still standing almost entire.

The first modern traveller who is known to have visited the temple at Bassae was a French architect named Joacchim Bochor, who accidentally discovered it in November 1765. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the years 1805 and 1806, the temple was visited by the English travellers Leake, Dodwell, and Gell; and in 1811 and 1812 the ruins were thoroughly explored and plans and drawings of them prepared by the party of English and German archaeologists, who, as we have seen, discovered and carried off the sculptures, which now adorn the British Museum.

See Chandler, *Travels in Greece*, p. 295 *sq.*; von Stackelberg, *Der Apollotempel zu Bassae in Arcadien und die daselbst ausgegrabenen Bildwerke* (Rome, 1826); Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities of Athens:* Supplementary volume by C. R. Cockerell, W. Kinnaird, T. L. Donaldson, etc. (London, 1830) (the description of the temple at Bassae, comprising 18 pages of text with 11 plates, is by the architect T. L. Donaldson); *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. pp. 5-29, with plates 4-30; C. R. Cockerell, *The temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Aegina and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae near Phigaleia in Arcadia* (London, 1860); Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. pp. 384-389; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 81 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 109 *sqq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 1 *sqq.*; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 269 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 99 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 324 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 275 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 255 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 455 *sqq.*; Wyse, *Pelop.* 2. p. 26 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 254 *sq.*; Mahaffy, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*,[3] p. 317 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 318 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 297 *sqq.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, *s.v.* 'Phigalia'; K. O. Müller, 'De Phidiae vita et operibus,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 2. p. 11 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Ueber die Zeit der Erbauung des Apollontempels zu Bassae bei Phigalia,' *ib.* 3. pp. 179-184; S. Ivanoff, 'Il bassorelievo del tempio di Apollo Epicurio a Basse presso Figalia,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 37 (1865), pp. 20-42; *id.*, 'La dispositione architettonica della cella del tempio di Apollo Epicurio a Basse presso Figalia,' *ib.* pp. 43-54; Michaelis, 'Zum Tempel von Bassae,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 34 (1876), p. 161 *sq.*; K. Lange, 'Die Composition des Frieses von Phigalia,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Classe, 32 (1880), pp. 57-69; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. pp. 168-178; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 548-557; Lucy M. Mitchell, *History of ancient sculpture*, pp. 397-401; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, Nos. 880-905, pp. 300-305; Bie, *Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen in der Antike*, p. 101

sqq.; A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1. p. 207 *sqq.*; B. Sauer, 'Die Metopen des Apollontempels von Phigalia,' *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Phil. hist. Classe, 1895, pp. 207-250.

Marble copies of three of the slabs of the Phigalian frieze exist at *Patras*. They were at first supposed to be ancient, but it has been proved that they are modern. See L. Gurlitt, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 364-367; von Duhn, *ib.* 6 (1881), pp. 308 *sq.*; Treu, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 40 (1882), pp. 59-66; R. Klette, *ib.* pp. 165-168; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 177 note.

41. 8. **the symmetry of its proportions.** The Greek is *τῆς ἁρμονίας ἕνεκα.* By *ἁρμονία* Leake understood Pausanias to mean "the nice adaptation of the stones to each other, or, in other words, the fine execution of the masonry, and not the general harmony of the proportions of the temple" (*Morea*, 2. p. 6). Leake thought that this interpretation, which was accepted by E. Curtius (*Pelop.* 1. p. 326) and Mure (*Journal*, 2. p. 271), was proved by other passages in Pausanias. The only other passage which he refers to is ii. 25. 9 *λίθια δὲ ἐνήρμοσται πάλαι, ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἁρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι*, where *ἁρμονία* is certainly used in the sense of 'bond,' 'ligament.' Compare also viii. 8. 8 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ (λίθοι)—ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐκ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν.* ix. 33. 7 *κισσός οἱ* (scil. *τῷ ναῷ*) *προσπεφυκὼς μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς διέλυσεν ἐκ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν καὶ διέσπα τοὺς λίθους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.* In ix. 39. 2 (*τὸν δὲ ἀνωτάτω τῶν λίθων φασὶν ἁρμονίαν παντὶ εἶναι τῷ οἰκοδομήματι*) the word *ἁρμονία* seems to mean 'keystone.' In ix. 39. 9 (*χάσμα γῆς ἐστὶν οὐκ αὐτόματον, ἀλλὰ σὺν τέχνῃ καὶ ἁρμονίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον ᾠκοδομημένον*) it perhaps means 'accurate jointing,' the sense which Leake, Curtius, and Mure give to it in the present passage. On the other hand, see ii. 27. 5 *ἁρμονίας δὲ ἢ κάλλους ἕνεκα ἀρχιτέκτων ποῖος ἐς ἅμιλλαν Πολυκλείτῳ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀξιόχρεως*; where *ἁρμονία* clearly means 'symmetry of proportions.'

41. 8. **the surname of Averter of Evil.** See i. 3. 4.

41. 9. **I have already shown** etc. See viii. 30. 3.

41. 10. **a spring of water on Mount Cotilius.** In a trough-like hollow about ten minutes to the west-south-west of the temple at Bassae there is a spring, the water of which soon disappears underground. This is probably the spring described by Pausanias. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 166; *Expéd. scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 5; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 81 *sq.*; *id.*, *Journey in the Morea*, p. 109; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 99; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 324; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 255.

41. 10. **Aphrodite in Cotilum** etc. The highest point of Mount Cotilius rises just to the north of the temple at Bassae. A little below the summit, about ten minutes to the north-west of the temple, is a small cup-shaped dell surrounded by rocky slopes, but with an opening to the south. Here there are foundations of an ancient temple, covered with the ruins of a chapel. Large blocks and fragments of roof-tiles are also to be seen scattered about. These are probably the remains of the temple of Aphrodite in Cotilum. See *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Architecture, Sculptures*, etc., par A. Blouet, 2. p. 5; Boblaye, *Re-*

cherches, p. 166; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 100 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 324 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 255; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 299.

42. 1. **Mount Elaius —— there is a cave there sacred to Demeter.** According to Pausanias (viii. 41. 7) Mount Cotilius was on the left and Mount Elaius on the right of Phigalia. But Mount Cotilius is to the north-east of the city. Hence Mount Elaius is to be looked for to the west of it. It is perhaps the mountain of *Smarlina* or *Smerlina* which rises to the west and north-west of Phigalia. The cave of the Black Demeter has been identified with a small cavern in the glen of the Neda, about an hour's walk to the west of Phigalia. The place is known in the neighbourhood as the *stomion tes Panagias* or Gully of the Virgin. To reach the cavern it is necessary to descend into the ravine by a steep and narrow path which affords very little foothold and overhangs depths which might turn a weak head. At the awkward places, however, it is generally possible to hold on to bushes or rocks with the hands. Thus we descend to the bed of the river, which here rushes roaring along at the bottom of the narrow wooded ravine, the precipitous sides of which tower up on either hand to an immense height. The cave is situated in the face of a prodigious cliff on the north side of the ravine, about a hundred feet or so above the bed of the river, from which it is accessible only by a narrow and difficult footpath. The ravine at this point sweeps round in a sharp curve, and the cavern is placed just at the elbow of the bend. On the opposite side of the linn, some fifty feet or so away, a great crag, its sides green with grass and trees wherever they can find a footing, soars up to a height about as far above the cavern as the cavern is above the stream. Hills close the view both up and down the glen; those at the upper end are high, steep, and wooded.

The cavern itself, originally a mere shallow depression or hollow on the side of the cliff, has been artificially closed by a rough wall of masonry, apparently of recent date; the plaster seemed to me fresh. In the cavern thus formed a rough floor of boards has been run across at a height of about 4 feet above the floor of the rock. Thus the grotto is divided into two compartments, the upper of which has been converted into a tiny chapel with an altar at the end and two holy pictures of Christ and John the Baptist. In another corner of the chapel is an artificial ledge, above which the rock is blackened with fire. On the opposite wall are some faded frescoes. Light enters the little cave by a small window (about 8 inches by 5) in the wall beside the altar. At least half of the roof is artificial, being built of the same rough masonry as the wall. Close beside this tiny cavern, to the east of it, may be seen a still tinier grotto, separated from the former by a slight protuberance in the rock. The same ledge of rock gives access to both grottoes.

What is called the *stomion tes Panagias* or Gully of the Virgin is a tunnel, some hundred yards long, formed of fallen rocks and earth, through which the Neda rushes in the ravine below the cavern. In winter the swollen stream flows over the roof of the tunnel, but in summer, when the river is low, you may walk through the tunnel and admire the stalactites which hang from its roof.

Just before you ascend the narrow path to the cavern, you pass on the right (north) the mouth of a narrow ravine, with exceedingly steep and lofty sides. Down this glen pours a stream which, after tumbling in a pretty cascade and then forming a deep pool, joins the Neda. Thus the cliff in which is the cavern forms a sort of tongue or promontory between the main ravine of the Neda on one side and the ravine of this tributary stream on the other.

That the cavern just described was the cave of Black Demeter is made probable (1) by its distance and direction from Phigalia, both of which fairly agree with Pausanias's description ; (2) by the veneration with which the place is regarded to this day, the people of *Pavlitsa* and the neighbouring villages still holding an annual festival of the Madonna on the spot, just as the Phigalians did in honour of Demeter (§ 11) ; (3) by a legend, current here, that once upon a time the Madonna, shocked at the incestuous love of a brother for his sister, took refuge in this cavern. This tale can hardly be anything but a transformation of the classical story of the incestuous love of Poseidon for his sister Demeter and her sullen retirement into the cave. The grove of oaks which grew round the cave in antiquity (§ 12) is still represented by the oaks in the wooded ravine of the Neda ; and the spring of cold water still trickles from the cave. But it is singular that in describing the situation of the cave Pausanias should make no mention of the Neda, which flows along in its deep bed not many yards below the mouth of the cavern.

See Conze and Michaelis, 'Rapporto d' un viaggio fatto nella Grecia,' *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 57-61 ; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 252 *sq.* ; Baedeker,[3] p. 322 ; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 295 *sq.* ; Philippson, p. 311. From Beulé's vague and rhetorical description (*Études sur le Péloponnèse*, p. 127 *sqq.*) it would seem that he visited the *stomion tes Panagias* but not the cavern. I visited the cave, 2nd May 1890, and have described it from personal observation.

42. 1. **All that the people of Thelpusa say** etc. See viii. 25. 4 *sqq.*

42. 4. **the head and the hair were those of a horse.** We have seen that on the robe of Demeter's image at Lycosura female figures with beasts' heads are represented (above, p. 375 *sq.*) On an archaic vase from Rhodes in the British Museum (B. 380), Medusa is depicted with the body of a woman and the head of a horse. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 5 (1884), pl. xliii., and p. 239 *sq.* ; *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan vases in the British Museum :* vol. 2, *Black-figured Vases*, by H. B. Walters, p. 212. Figures with asses' heads and human (?) bodies are painted on the wall of an ancient house excavated a few years ago on the citadel of Mycenae (see vol. 3. p. 121). Ass-headed or horse-headed monsters occur on the archaic Greek gems known as Island or Mycenaean gems ; and it is worth noting that one of these gems was found at Phigalia. On it we see two of the horse-headed monsters standing on their hind-legs, and between them a man, who is holding each of them by the lower jaw. See Milchhoefer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 54 *sq.* ; A. B. Cook, 'Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 14

(1894), pp. 81 *sqq.*, 138 *sqq.* We may perhaps infer that hybrid forms of this sort were commoner in the early than in the fully-developed art of Greece. We have seen from Pausanias (viii. 41. 6) that not far from Phigalia there was an image of Eurynome with the body of a woman and the tail of a fish; it was probably very ancient.

42. 4. **a dolphin —— a dove.** As the dolphin was an attribute of Poseidon and the dove of Aphrodite, the two together in the hands of Demeter may have been intended to symbolise Poseidon's love for the goddess. This is the explanation of W. Mannhardt (*Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 250 *sq.*), and I can suggest no better.

42. 5. **how it caught fire.** See viii. 5. 8.

42. 6. **the nook of the tunnel.** The Greek is *σήραγγός τε μυχός*. The word *σήραγγες* is defined by Photius in his Lexicon to mean "long fissures under ground, as it were veins of the earth, along which the water runs in search of a vent" (*αἱ ὑπὸ γῆν ὑπομήκεις ἐκρήξεις, οἱονεὶ φλέβες τινὲς οὖσαι τῆς γῆς, ἃς ὑποτρέχον τὸ ὕδωρ ζητεῖ διέξοδον*). The word, therefore, describes exactly the *stomion tes Panagias* or Gully of the Virgin, through which the Neda rushes below the cave of Demeter. See note on § 1.

42. 7. **a bronze Apollo at Pergamus by this Onatas.** A pedestal which probably supported the statue here mentioned by Pausanias has been found at Pergamus. It bears the inscription

Ὀνάτας] Σμίκωνος Αἰγινήτης [ἐποίησεν

i.e. "(Onatas,) an Aeginetan, son of Smicon, (made this statue)." See Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, No. 48. Smicon is an archaic form of Micon, the name of the sculptor's father as given by Pausanias (v. 25. 10). The statue of Apollo by Onatas had no doubt been transferred to Pergamus from its original place; for Pergamus was not founded till long after the time of Onatas. In the Greek Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* ix. 238) there is an epigram by Antipater in praise of a bronze statue of Apollo by Onatas, which may have been the one here mentioned by Pausanias. The last verse of the epigram implies that Onatas either made the statue by the help of Ilithyia or made an image of Ilithyia beside it. If the latter is the meaning, we have perhaps a copy of Onatas's group on a medallion of Marcus Aurelius, which represents Apollo with a female figure beside him; Apollo is naked and holds in his right hand a small four-footed creature, in his left hand the bow. See Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 91 *sq.* Onatas appears to have been one of the chief masters of the Aeginetan school of sculpture; hence it has been conjectured that the sculptures which adorned the temple at Aegina must be, partly at least, by his hand. Cp. A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 165 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 148 *sqq.*; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. pp. 282-286. See also the next note, and note on v. 25. 10. As to the Aeginetan school of sculpture, see note on v. 25. 13.

42. 8. **Hiero died before he dedicated** etc. Hiero died in 467

B.C. (Ol. 78. 2) and in the next year Thrasybulus, his brother and successor on the throne, was expelled from Syracuse (Diodorus, xi. 66 *sqq.*). Hence it would seem that the statues executed by Onatas for Dinomenes son of Hiero must have been finished in 467 or 466 B.C. This fixes the date of the sculptor Onatas and agrees with other evidence. See note on v. 25. 12. As to the votive offerings of Hiero at Olympia, see vi. 12. 1.

42. 9. **Onatas, son of Micon, wrought me** etc. An inscription almost identical with this was carved by Micon on the base of another of his works. See v. 25. 13.

42. 10. **the Athenian Hegias.** This sculptor was one of Phidias's masters (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lv. vol. 2. p. 169 ed. Dindorf). He must therefore have flourished in the early part of the fifth century B.C. Ancient writers sometimes call him Hegesias (Lucian, *Rhetor. praecept.* 9; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* x. 12. 7). See Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. p. 154 *sqq.*; Brunn, *Gesch. d. griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 101 *sq.*; A. S. Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. p. 225 *sq.*; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. p. 395 *sq.* A fragment of an inscribed pedestal which supported a statue by this sculptor was found on the Acropolis at Athens in 1889. It is of Pentelic marble and is scorched with fire, from which we may perhaps infer that the statue perished in the Persian sack. The inscription states that the statue was made by Egias (*sic*). See *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, p. 37 *sq.*; *C. I. A.* iv. p. 203, No. 373[259]. Prof. Furtwängler identifies as works of Hegias the Apollo of Mantua and a fine bronze head of a young man which was found on the Acropolis at Athens (*Les Musées d'Athènes*, pl. xvi.; Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. p. 322 *sqq.*, fig. 163). See A. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, p. 78 *sqq.* An inscription found at Olympia shows that there was an Athenian sculptor Hegias in the imperial age: he and another Athenian sculptor made a statue of the emperor Claudius which seems to have been set up in the Metroum. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 642; Loewy, *Inschriften griechischen Künstler*, No. 332.

42. 10. **Ageladas.** See note on iv. 33. 2.

43. 2. **Evander.** The legend of the settlement of an Arcadian colony on the site of Rome would seem to be based on, first, the resemblance of the names Palatium (the Palatine) and Pallantium, and, second, the supposed resemblance of the Lupercalia to the Lycaean games. The name of Evander's mother is variously given as Nicostrata, Themis, and Carmenta or Carmentis. For the legend see Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 51 *sqq.*, with the commentary of Servius; Livy, i. 5; Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 53; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* iv. 20; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 469 *sqq.*; Solinus, i. §§ 1, 10, 14, vii. 11; Justin, xliii. 6; Strabo, v. p. 230; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 31; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 56. In his life of Romulus (c. 21), Plutarch speaks of Carmenta or Nicostrata as the wife, not the mother, of Evander. Cp. J. R. Seeley's 'Historical examination,' p. 29 *sq.*, prefixed to his edition of Livy, bks. i.–x.

43. 3. **when the Moors took up arms against Rome** etc. Capi-

tolinus says briefly that Antoninus "compelled the Moors to sue for peace" (*Antoninus Pius*, v. 4).

43. 4. **the Brigantians in Britain** etc. The Brigantians occupied what are now the counties of York and Durham. Genunia is unknown, but it has been conjectured to be Vinonia (Vinovia), now Binchester, near Bishop Auckland in the county of Durham, where there are remains of Roman walls and other antiquities. The statement of Pausanias might lead us to suppose that some of the Brigantians were settled in Caledonia, whence they made an incursion into the north of England. But Mommsen thinks this supposition unnecessary; the Brigantians in the north of England may have made raids on the peaceful tribes under Roman protection and have been punished with the loss of part of their territory. See Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 5. p. 172 note 1; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geogr.*, articles 'Brigantes' and 'Vinovia.' Of the operations in Britain in the reign of Antoninus Pius it is said by Capitolinus that the emperor "conquered the Britons by his lieutenant Lollius Urbicus, and after driving out the barbarians built a wall of turf" (*Antoninus Pius*, v. 4). The wall of Antoninus is the one between the Forth and Clyde, of which the ruins are popularly known as 'Graham's Dyke.' It was built in the year 142 A.D. See Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 328 *sq.*; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1. p. 632 *sq.*

43. 4. **The Lycian and Carian cities, also Cos and Rhodes** etc. Capitolinus mentions that in the reign of Antoninus Pius the towns in Rhodes and Asia were laid low by an earthquake, and that the emperor "marvellously restored them all" (*Antoninus Pius*, ix. 1). The fearful havoc wrought by this earthquake on the city of Rhodes is described by the rhetorician Aristides; if we can trust his account, the city was almost destroyed. See Aristides, *Or.* xliii. p. 541 ed. Jebb (vol. 1. p. 800 *sq.* ed. Dindorf). The earthquake seems to have happened between 155 and 159 A.D. See Mason, 'De Aristidis vita collectanea historica,' in *Aristides*, ed. Dindorf, 3. p. xlvi. *sqq.*; Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. pp. 92, 364 *sq.*; Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in ancient times*, p. 55. Rhodes must have been rebuilt very quickly; for some years afterwards Aristides speaks of Rhodes as the most beautiful of Greek cities (p. 568 ed. Jebb; vol. 1. p. 839 ed. Dindorf). Pausanias himself speaks of the walls of Rhodes as amongst the finest he had ever seen (iv. 31. 5), probably referring to the new city. Stratonicea in Caria was one of the cities which suffered from the earthquake, for we learn from an inscription that it received 250,000 sesterces from the emperor (*C. I. G.* No. 2721). It is doubtful whether the earthquake here mentioned by Pausanias is the one of which he had spoken before (ii. 7. 1).

43. 5. **all provincials who were Roman citizens** etc. If a Greek obtained the Roman citizenship for himself but not for his children, the latter became legally aliens (*peregrini*) to him, and he could not bequeath his property by will to them. Hence at his death, his property, unless he had bequeathed it to a Roman citizen, escheated to the Imperial treasury. Formerly it would seem to have been customary in

such cases for the Roman citizen to leave his property in trust for his children; but in Hadrian's time the senate decreed that the property devised in trust for the benefit of aliens should be confiscated to the treasury. Hence the decree of Antoninus Pius which Pausanias mentions relieved Greeks who had the Roman citizenship from a very serious inconvenience. See Gaius, ii. § 285; Hertzberg, *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, 2. pp. 51, 361 *sq.*

43. 6. **Antoninus the Second, who inflicted punishment on the Germans** etc. Marcus Antoninus waged war for many years with the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other German tribes, also with the Sarmatians. The war seems to have broken out in 166 A.D. and to have lasted, with the interruption of a peace or truce, till the accession of Commodus in 180 A.D. Marcus Antoninus and his son Commodus celebrated a triumph, 23rd December 176 A.D. It has been suggested that Pausanias here refers to that triumph, and that accordingly the present passage must have been written after that date. But to this view it has been objected that, if this had been Pausanias's meaning, he would have chosen a stronger and more definite expression than the vague phrase "inflicted punishment" (τιμωρούμενος ἐπεξῆλθε). See W. Gurlitt, *Ueber Pausanias*, p. 59 *sq.*; M. Bencker, in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 36 (1890), p. 375 *sq.*; R. Heberdey, in *Archaeolog. epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, 13 (1890), p. 191. As to the German and Sarmatian wars see Capitolinus, *Marc. Anton.* 12 *sq.*, 17, 20, etc.; Dio Cassius, lxxi.; Eutropius, viii. 13; Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography*, article 'Marcomanni'; Schiller, *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1. p. 642 *sqq.* The triumph of 176 A.D. is mentioned by Lampridius (*Commodus*, xii. 5).

44. 1. **the road from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea.** The route from the plain of Megalopolis to the plain of Tegea traverses the smaller plain of Asea, which is divided from the two others by chains of barren hills. The modern carriage-road runs east from Megalopolis (*Sinanou*) across the plain, which is here flat and dull, then ascends the low, barren, treeless, and unsightly hills in a series of zigzags to the top of a pass which is about 1100 feet above the plain of Megalopolis. Thence it descends into the plain of Asea, a bare and dreary expanse surrounded by equally bare and dreary mountains. The hills which the road crosses between the Megalopolitan and the Asean plain are a northern prolongation of Mt. *Tsimbarou*, the highest summit of which (4100 feet) rises some distance to the south of the pass. The route taken by the carriage-road is the most direct, but there are two other routes, one to the north and another to the south, by which we may proceed from Megalopolis to the plain of Asea, and it is not at first sight clear which of the three routes Pausanias followed. (1) The most northerly route goes by the village of *Sialesi*. Though not quite so direct as the route followed by the carriage-road, it is naturally easier than it, and hence was used in preference by the inhabitants of *Sinanou* until the carriage-road was made. (2) The most southerly route is at the same time the most circuitous. The pass, which rises to a height of 1000 feet above the Megalopolitan and 300 feet above the Asean plain,

starts from a point a little south of the village of *Rhapsomati* and descends into the Asean plain near the village of *Marmaria*. This was the Turkish route from *Kalamata*, and Messenia generally, to *Tripolitza* in the plain of Tegea, but it has been almost wholly superseded by the carriage-road mentioned above. A stream, which sometimes swells to a torrent, flows this way from the Asean to the Megalopolitan plain at the bottom of a deep and rocky gorge; the Turkish road keeps several hundreds of feet above it. This route, though longer than the other two, has the advantage of being rather lower than they and easy of ascent. Further, since it is the obvious pass for travellers from Messenia, and was no doubt so used in ancient as well as in Turkish times, there must have been a regular track across it long before Megalopolis was built.

Which, then, of these three routes was the one followed by the ancient road which Pausanias describes? To answer this question we must observe that Oresthasium or Oresteum (viii. 3. 2) was near both the ancient road in question and the military road from Sparta to Tegea and beyond (Herodotus, ix. 11; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 10; Thucydides, v. 64). As the military road from Sparta must have entered the Asean plain from the south, it becomes probable that Oresthasium was in the southern part of that plain, and hence that the ancient road from Megalopolis to Asea, Pallantium, and Tegea followed the most southerly of the three passes described above.

See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 26-31.

44. 1. **the suburb of Ladocea.** This perhaps occupied the site of *Sinanou*, the modern village which lies immediately to the south-east of the site of Megalopolis. A battle was fought here between the Mantineans and Tegeans in the winter of 423-422 B.C. (Thucydides, iv. 134), and here the Achaeans were defeated by Cleomenes king of Sparta in 226 B.C. (Polybius, ii. 51 and 55).

44. 1. **a city called Haemoniae.** A mile and a half to the south-east of *Sinanou* (the modern representative of Megalopolis) lies the village of *Rousvanaga*, on the direct line between Megalopolis and the pass by which the ancient road appears to have crossed over to the plain of Asea. Just before entering the village, as you come from Megalopolis, you pass on the left of the road a chapel of Hag. Marina. A number of ancient blocks of limestone have been built into the chapel, and others lie scattered about, all of them being apparently fragments of a Doric shrine. And rather more than half a mile beyond the village, on the left of the path, rises a little hill surmounted by vestiges of rough walls, which probably formed part of an ancient fort. Potsherds are strewn over the top and sides of the hill. Probably these are remains of Haemoniae. See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 31.

44. 2. **some notable remains of the city of Oresthasium.** This place was known also as Oresteum (Paus. viii. 3. 2; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 10) or Orestheum (Herodotus, ix. 11; Thucydides, v. 64). The name Oresteum was supposed to be derived from Orestes (Paus. *l.c.*; Euri-

pides, *Electra*, 1273-75). We have seen (p. 412) that the place lay on the military road from Sparta to Tegea, probably in the southern part of the Asean plain. Some ancient remains which are perhaps those of Oresthasium have been discovered by Mr. W. Loring on a low hill at the south-western edge of the plain, between the villages of *Papari* and *Marmaria*, 3 miles south-west of the ruins of Asea. The hill, which lies just to the right of the path from *Papari* to *Marmaria*, is one of the last outlying spurs of Mt. *Tsimbarou*. On its southern slope is a chapel of the Holy Trinity (*Hagia Triada*) and on its northern slope a chapel, now in ruins, of St. John (*Hagios Giannakes*). Built into the former are several hewn blocks of limestone, of ancient Greek masonry; and built into the rude walls of the latter Mr. Loring found several pieces of worked marble, including a small fragment of a Doric column and a complete metope and triglyph from a Doric frieze. Besides these remains of a temple there are abundant traces of human habitation, consisting of rude walls, more or less buried, and coarse pottery; but that these are ancient cannot be confidently affirmed. At all events there was an ancient temple here, and probably an ancient town or village also. As the place is just where we should expect to find Oresthasium, namely on the south-western border of the Asean plain, and a little to the right of the ancient pass over the hills from Megalopolis, the ruins are probably those of Oresthasium. The fragments of a temple discovered by Mr. Loring may be those of the sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias.

The city of Oresthasium or Oresteum in the plain of Asea, the site of which has thus been identified, is not to be confused with Orestia, a quarter of Megalopolis (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Μεγάλη πόλις). The name of the quarter was taken from Oresthis, the district of which a part, comprising Laodicium, was afterwards occupied by the city of Megalopolis and its suburb Ladocea (Thucydides, iv. 134 compared with § 1 of the present chapter of Pausanias). This district was 'the Orestean plain' where the matricide Orestes was said to have spent a year of exile (Euripides, *Orestes*, 1643-47). It no doubt extended as far as Maniae, Acé, and Finger's Tomb on the way from Megalopolis to Messene (Pausanias, viii. 34. 1 *sqq.*)

See W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 27-31. Cp. Leake, *Morea*, 2. pp. 45, 318 *sq.*; *id.*, *Pelop.* p. 247 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 316; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 227.

44. 2. **Artemis, who is here surnamed Priestess.** A votive relief found at Tyndaris in Sicily and dedicated to Artemis as the divinity of welfare (εὐπραξία), represents the goddess in a manner which might well characterise her as Priestess. She is clad in a short tunic which leaves her right breast bare, and she stands holding a sacrificial basket over an altar, while in her right hand she grasps a lowered torch with which to kindle the sacrificial fire. See *Annali dell' Instituto*, 20 (1849), Tav. H; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. pp. 463, 531.

44. 2. **another place Athenaeum.** After crossing the ridge of

Mt. *Tsimbarou* the road to Pallantium descends eastward into the marshy plain of Asea, now called the plain of *Franko-vrysi*. The plain is of an irregular outline, sending out bays in all directions among the surrounding mountains; its average breadth may be 3 or 4 miles. The road traverses it in a straight line through fields of maize and corn. The scenery is monotonous; the hills which surround the plain are bare, rocky, and barren; a solitary khan is passed here and there on the way. In winter the whole plain is said to be under water. The Turkish road, already described (p. 411 *sq.*), strikes the modern carriage-road at the khan of *Davranda* and the chapel of Pandeleemon ('the All-merciful'). As this chapel is approximately 20 Greek furlongs (a little over 2 miles) from the ruins of Asea, it may very well mark the site of Athenaeum; perhaps it has succeeded to the temple of Athena mentioned by Pausanias. Some ruined walls were observed by the French surveyors in the plain to the west of the chapel, below the village of *Alika*; but these seem now to have disappeared. The place Athenaeum in the plain of Asea (*Franko-vrysi*) is not to be confounded with the place of the same name near Belemina which Polybius and Plutarch mention (see note on iii. 21. 3, vol. 3. p. 372 *sqq.*)

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 173; Leake, *Pelop.* p. 247 *sq.*; *id.*, *Morea*, 2. p. 83; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 264 *sqq.*, 316 *sq.*, 343; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 227; Baedeker,[3] p. 295 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 319; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 88; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 32.

44. 3. ruins of Asea. Following the road eastward across the plain of *Franko-vrysi*, we pass on the left (north) a low rocky hill which rises abruptly from the plain close to the road and extends in the form of a flat-topped ridge for a few hundred yards to the north-east, where it falls away again as abruptly to the plain. This isolated little rocky hill, distant about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the khan of *Franko-vrysi*, was the acropolis of Asea. It is defended on all sides by rocks, which in general run round the upper slopes of the hill, just under the crest. The summit is flat and may be from 100 to 150 yards in breadth. Remains of fortification-walls are said to encircle the summit, but though I walked all round the flat top looking for them I failed to find them. All I saw was a single large squared ancient block, scattered potsherds of the common red kind, and some loose stone dykes, probably put up by shepherds or other rustics. On the other hand considerable remains of an ancient fortification-wall do exist below the summit on the south-western side of the hill descending in a straight line towards the plain. The wall, which is conspicuous from the high road, descends the slope for some 30 yards or so. It is 12 feet thick and is standing to a height of 10 feet; the number of courses preserved is six. The material is grey limestone. The blocks are large; they are hewn and arranged in a style intermediate between the quadrangular and polygonal, but inclining rather to the quadrangular. Until lately there was at least one other massive wall running down from the summit of the hill towards the plain. In 1895 I saw no wall

but the one I have described. Possibly the remains of the other walls mentioned by previous travellers have been removed to help in the construction of the line of railway which is now being carried through the plain of Asea. Mr. Loring, who seems to have observed at least two fortification-walls descending the slope of the hill, would explain them by supposing that there were originally two circuit-walls, an inner one round the top and an outer one round the foot of the hill, and that two or more cross-walls, descending the slope of the hill, reached from the inner to the outer circuit-wall "so as to divide the intervening space into a number of sections, rather like the water-tight compartments of a ship. The effect of this was that, in case of a breach in the outer wall, the mischief would be concentrated, only one part of the circuit of the inner wall being exposed to attack; while the enemy would find himself cooped in between three walls—one in front of him and one on either side—all defended by the garrison." According to Mr. Loring there are clear indications of a similar arrangement on the fortified hill of *St. Andrew* in the Thyrean plain (see vol. 3. p. 307 *sq.*), and the same system was carried out in mediaeval, and perhaps in ancient, times in the fortifications on Mt. *Chelmos*, the mountain on the borders of Laconia and Arcadia (see vol. 3. p. 372 *sq.*) At the south foot of the hill, between it and the high-road, I observed a quantity of plain red pottery strewn about. Probably the lower town stood here.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 83 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 46; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 137; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 173; L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, 1. p. 223; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 266; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 226 *sq.*; *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), tav. d' agg. F; Baedeker,[3] p. 295 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318 *sq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 32.

44. 3. **About five furlongs from Asea are the sources of the Alpheus and Eurotas** etc. Similarly Strabo says (viii. p. 343) that the sources of the Alpheus and Eurotas were near each other, at Asea in the district of Megalopolis, and that both streams disappeared underground for many furlongs. The place at which the Eurotas reappeared was, according to Strabo, in the district of Belemina (see iii. 21. 3 note). Elsewhere (vi. p. 275) the same writer reports a fable that if garlands dedicated to the Alpheus and Eurotas respectively were thrown into the united stream at Asea, each garland would afterwards reappear in the river to which it was dedicated. Polybius, without mentioning the Eurotas, says (xvi. 17) that the Alpheus, not far from its source, disappears underground, and that 10 furlongs farther on it reappears in the district of Megalopolis. To these accounts of the origin of the Alpheus must be added the opinion of Pausanias (viii. 54. 1-3) that the spring of the Alpheus at Asea had its origin in the water of the river now called the *Saranta-potamos*, which disappeared down a chasm in the Tegean plain. But as this last opinion is certainly erroneous (see note on viii. 54. 1) and appears not to have been shared by the ancients, it may be neglected.

The two sets of springs which the ancients regarded as the sources of the Eurotas and Alpheus can still be easily recognised. If we

follow the high-road eastward from the ruins of Asea through fields of maize and wheat, we come, in about ten minutes, to the poor khan of *Franko-vrysi* standing at the foot of the bare, low, flat-topped hills which here bound the plain on the north. Some hundred yards or so to the east of the khan, beside a mean house, a spring rises in a basin-like hollow on the south side of the road; a few feet to the south its water appears as a tiny rill flowing beside a hedge with a couple of poplars growing on the bank. Another spring rises in front of the mean house already mentioned, and a few yards farther to the east a third small spring issues directly from under the road. Together these springs are known as *Franko-vrysi* ('The spring of the Frank'), and have given their name to the neighbouring khan; indeed the whole plain of Asea is at present called after them the plain of *Franko-vrysi*. These are the springs which Pausanias and the ancients regarded as the source of the Eurotas.

On the opposite side of the plain, about a third of a mile to the south, another group of springs rises at the foot of a hill, just beyond the embankment of the new railway. These are the springs which the ancients identified as the source of the Alpheus. To these springs should be added a third group of springs which rise about a mile and a half from the khan of *Franko-vrysi*, at the eastern end of the plain, not far from the khan of *Talagani*.

The water from all these springs ultimately unites and flows in a body south-westward across the plain towards a gorge in the hills near the village of *Marmaria*. It is through this gorge that the new railway makes its way from the plain of Asea (*Franko-vrysi*) to the plain of Megalopolis, which is about 700 feet lower than the former. In its course across the plain the water of the springs receives important contributions both from a series of surface streams descending from the hills in various directions and from a lake or swamp, haunted by wild ducks, which generally covers the centre of the plain in front of the village of *Papari*. Thus all the water from the springs of *Franko-vrysi* makes its way towards the gorge; but only a small part of the water which flows toward the gorge has its origin at *Franko-vrysi*. Just before the entrance to the gorge there is a series of chasms (*katavothras*) in the earth. In marked contrast to the great rocky chasms which receive the waters of the neighbouring Tegean plain and of the Copaic plain in Boeotia, these chasms at *Marmaria* are merely holes in the soft ground down which, when they are open, the water flows in a considerable stream. Sometimes, however, the holes are partially or even perhaps wholly choked. When this happens, the water, instead of engulfing itself in the chasms, pursues its course overground: and, being swollen by two more surface streams which join it on the right bank just beyond the chasms, makes its way right through the gorge to the Megalopolitan plain, which it reaches a little to the east of *Rhapsomati*. At the far end of the gorge, where it opens on the lower plain, there is a group of springs which rise beside the river among rocks shaded by gigantic plane-trees. These springs are unquestionably the place called Pegae ('springs') by Pausanias, where he believed that

the water of the Alpheus, after flowing underground from the plain of Asea, reappeared in the plain of Megalopolis. The belief appears to be well founded, but we must distinguish between the springs. The springs on the right bank of the ravine are clear, cool, and perennial; even after a thunderstorm, when all ordinary streams run thick with mud, the water of these springs is as limpid as ever. Obviously, therefore, these clear springs can have nothing to do with the stream which, after draining the plain of Asea, flows into the chasms at *Marmaria*. But, on the other hand, the springs on the left bank of the ravine, which are intermittent and comparatively turbid, have all the appearance of coming from the plain of Asea; and if it be true, as Mr. Loring was informed, that the time when they cease to run coincides with the time when the stream in the plain of Asea is dry, there can be no doubt that they do so come. Thus it appears that the water of the springs near Asea (*Franko-vrysi*), combined with a great deal of surface water from other parts of the plain, does make its way, overground or underground, to the place called Pegae by Pausanias and goes to feed the Alpheus. But the principal springs at Pegae, which are clear and perennial, have nothing to do with the springs near Asea.

So much for the origin of the Alpheus. With regard to the Eurotas, the ancients believed, as we have seen, that after flowing in a single stream with the Alpheus across the plain of Asea, it disappeared with it into the chasms at *Marmaria*, but separating from it somewhere underground reappeared by itself in the district of Belemina. The point where it was supposed to reappear would seem to have been the copious spring now called the *Kephalovrysis Logaras*, at the north-western foot of Mt. *Chelmos* (see note on iii. 21. 3); for this is by far the most important spring in the district of Belemina and is one of the chief sources of the Eurotas. Leake thought that this spring had the appearance of being an emissory, and he considered it not impossible that the stream which enters the chasms at *Marmaria* might divide in two under the mountain, and that one branch of it might reappear at *Kephalovrysis Logaras* to form the Eurotas. To this view it is objected by Mr. Loring that the whole body of the water which disappears at *Marmaria* would seem to reappear at Pegae; and that the spring called *Kephalovrysis Logaras* is "too clear, too cool, and too constant to owe its origin to so variable a supply." The south-eastern branch of the plain of Asea, near the village of *Lianou*, is indeed drained directly above ground by the Eurotas; but the stream which flows from this corner of the plain to swell the Eurotas has no connexion either with the springs near *Franko-vrysi* or with the chasms down which their water disappears at *Marmaria*.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 84; *id.*, 2. p. 46; *id.*, 3. p. 36 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, pp. 97 *sq.*, 137; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 173; *Expédition scientifique de Morée: Relation*, par Bory de Saint-Vincent, p. 404 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 265 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 187; Baedeker,[3] pp. 293, 295; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318; E. A. Martel, in *Revue de Géographie*, April 1892, p. 247 *sqq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 33, 67-71.

44. 3. **two lions made of stone.** The Alpheus was called, prob-

ably by a poet, 'the ford of the lion' (*Λέοντος πόρος*) on account of the images of lions which stood at its source (Hesychius, *s.v.* *Λέοντος πόρος*).

44. 4. **From Asea there is a way up Mount Boreus** etc. The plain of Asea, which Pausanias has now traversed on his way from Megalopolis to Pallantium, is bounded on the east by a range of dreary little hills which divide it from the great plain of Tegea. More dismal hills it would be hard to imagine. There is hardly a bush to break the monotony of their shapeless, stony slopes. The highest summit of the range, now called Mount *Kravari*, is probably the Mount Boreus of the ancients. At present the high-road from Megalopolis to *Tripolitza* quits the plain of Asea at its north-eastern corner and descends into a branch of the great Tegean plain just to the north of Pallantium, the site of which it passes on the right. But the ancient road must have followed a pass somewhat farther to the south, for Pausanias gives us to understand that after crossing the hills the traveller had to diverge to the left (that is, to the north) in order to reach Pallantium. Thus the ancient road crossed Mount *Kravari* to the south, while the modern road crosses it to the north, of Pallantium. The pass which the ancient road followed is identified by the remains of an ancient temple which was most probably the sanctuary of Saviour Athena mentioned by Pausanias. The ruins, situated at the highest point of the pass where it is hemmed in by rocks on both sides, consist chiefly of fragments of Doric columns, the flutes of which range in width from rather more than 3 inches to rather less than 4 inches. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the remains were more considerable. In 1806 Leake observed the foundations of the temple and fragments of Doric columns. When L. Ross visited the site in 1834 the greater part of the temple still existed, though in ruins. He found that the columns had twenty flutes and measured about 5½ feet at the base, and that the grooves of the triglyphs were 3 inches wide. The temple seemed to him to have been either prostyle or amphiprostyle, that is, to have had columns either at one or both of the narrow ends but not on the sides. He says the temple was built of white marble; but according to Leake the material was the native rock of the mountain. When Ross revisited the place in 1840 he found that most of the remains had been carried off by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of *Valtetsi* to repair a church. To such uses are the venerable monuments of antiquity too often put by the modern Greek peasantry.

It is to be observed that although Pausanias describes the temple as standing on the top of the mountain, the remains are situated not on the top of the mountain (Mount *Kravari*) but only on the top of one of the passes leading over it. The real summit of the mountain, some little way to the south of the pass, bears no traces of a temple. This inconsistency with the description of Pausanias might lead us to look for the sanctuary of Saviour Athena elsewhere. In point of fact Mr. W. Loring discovered the remains of a large temple within a very few feet of the summit of a conspicuous hill (*St. Elias*), which rises about 2 miles to the north-west of Asea, beside the village of *Kandreva*. The ruins comprise foundations together with fragments of marble columns

of the Doric order. The flutes of the columns range in width from 3½ inches to 4½ inches. There are also fragments of triglyphs. Clamps, both of the ├─┤ and of the ┌─┘ shape, were used. From the remains of the foundations it would seem that the temple was peristyle, *i.e.* surrounded by a colonnade, and that it measured on the outside 95 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth, the length of the *cella* being 74 feet and its breadth 22½ feet, both measured on the outside. But a ruined church of Hagios Demos occupies the site, and without the removal of its ruins accurate measurements of the temple cannot be obtained. If the temple was the sanctuary of Saviour Athena mentioned by Pausanias, it follows that the mountain on which it stands (Mt. *St. Elias*) is the ancient Mount Boreus. This hypothesis is quite consistent with the language of Pausanias; but as our author has been describing the route from Megalopolis to Pallantium and has given no indication that he diverged from it to visit Mount Boreus and the sanctuary of Athena, it is better on the whole to identify that mountain and sanctuary with Mount *Kravari* and its ruined temple, which lie directly on the route from Megalopolis to Pallantium, rather than with Mt. *St. Elias* and its temple, which lie quite off the route and about 2 miles distant from it.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 84; *id.*, 3. p. 34 *sq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 173; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 63 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, 1. p. 223; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 248, 264; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 187, 224; Baedeker,[3] pp. 279, 295; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 33 *sq.*

44. 5. **What is called the Dyke** etc. The word (χῶμα) here translated 'Dyke' should rather be translated 'Mound.' It applies to any artificial bank or mound of earth, whatever its shape. The Dyke or Mound which Pausanias mentions evidently lay in the plain at the eastern foot of the pass over Mount Boreus (Mt. *Kravari*). Hence it has been commonly identified with a causeway which runs across the narrow neck of plain between Mount *Kravari* and the low hills opposite, striking the latter near the village of *Birbati*. The causeway consists of two parallel rows of great unhewn stones, piled together, with a space between them. From whatever period it may date (a point which we have no means of settling), the causeway was evidently intended to resist the encroachment of the swamp or lake, now called the *Taka*, which nearly always covers a considerable part, and often the whole, of the plain to the south-east of it. This purpose the causeway still serves to a limited extent. The first to identify it with the Dyke or Mound of Pausanias were the French surveyors, and their view has since been generally accepted. But there are grave objections to it, which have been well pointed out by Mr. W. Loring. (1) The pass over Mt. *Kravari* (Mount Boreus) which debouches at the western end of the causeway is not the one by which Pausanias crossed the mountain, but another considerably to the south of it and not at all on the direct route from Asea to Pallantium and Tegea. (2) The causeway runs approximately north-east and south-west across the plain; hence, though it might very well have divided the plain of Tegea from that of Pallantium, it could not have divided (as Pausanias says the Dyke or Mound did) the terri-

tory of Megalopolis from the territories of Pallantium and Tegea. Hence we must look elsewhere for the Dyke or Mound. That it was at the eastern foot of the pass over Mount Boreus (*Kravari*) seems certain, since the roads to Pallantium and Tegea diverged from each other at it, the plain of Pallantium lying to the north of it and the plain of Tegea (the Manthuric plain) to the south. Now at the eastern end of the pass by which, as we have seen, Pausanias crossed the mountain, there is a little rocky hill just on the verge of the plain. It is detached from the slope of the mountain and almost blocks up the mouth of the pass. The traveller who has crossed the pass is bound to skirt the hillock on one side or the other—on the left or north side if he is going to Pallantium, on the right or south side if he is going to Tegea. This hillock is identified by Mr. Loring with the Dyke or Mound mentioned by Pausanias. The only objection to the identification is that the Greek word (χῶμα) is more properly applied to an artificial than to a natural mound. But, as Mr. Loring well points out, Pausanias himself seems to have felt that the common name of the rocky hillock was inappropriate; for whereas in speaking, as he often does, of an artificial mound he regularly uses the expression "a mound of earth" (γῆς χῶμα), in speaking of the Dyke or Mound in question he twice qualifies it as "the so-called Mound" (τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον χῶμα, viii. 44. 5 and 7). At all events, if the Dyke or Mound was not the little rocky hillock it must have been an artificial mound erected on or beside it.

The swamp or lake of *Taka*, of which mention has been made, receives all the waters of the south part of the plain of Tegea and discharges them through a great chasm (*katavothra*) at the foot of Mt. *Kravari*, about 2 miles to the south-east of Pallantium. The mouth of the chasm, which is turned to the north, resembles a lofty arched cave in the perpendicular face of the limestone rock. An artificial dyke has been constructed in front of the cavern with an opening through it to allow the water to pass; but a grating is fixed in the opening to arrest the trunks of trees which might otherwise be swept down into the chasm and choke the underground passage. A winding canal conducts the waters of the swamp to the mouth of the cavern. After the drought and heat of summer the canal, like the swamp itself, occasionally runs dry and its bottom presents merely a slough of fetid mud. Pausanias imagined that the water which disappears down this cavern in the face of Mt. *Kravari* reappears at the springs of *Franko-vrysi* near Asea. But this is a mistake. See viii. 54. 1 note.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 173; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 59 *sqq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 262 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 217; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, pp. 84, 107 *sq.*; E. A. Martel, 'Les Katavothres du Péloponnèse,' *Revue de Géographie*, May 1892, p. 336 *sqq.*; V. Bérard, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 16 (1892), p. 535; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 34 *sq.*

44. 5. **Pallantium.** The ruins of Pallatium were discovered by the French surveyors in the early part of this century. The acropolis occupied the summit of a conical green hill of moderate height, which rises at the south-west side of the great plain of Tegea, close to the

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SCALE OF ENG. MILES 0 1 2 3 4 5

SCALE OF KILOMETERS 0 2 4 6 8 10

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slopes of Mt. Boreus (Mt. *Kravari*). The modern high-road from Megalopolis to *Tripolitsa*, immediately after crossing Mt. *Kravari*, runs at the northern foot of the hill. Traces of the fortification-wall may be seen round the summit, and on the highest point of the hill are the foundations of a temple, doubtless the sanctuary of the Pure Gods mentioned by Pausanias. A little lower down, on the south-eastern slope, there is another foundation. The town was situated in the plain at the northern and eastern foot of the hill, and appears to have occupied a considerable area; but most of the stones have been carried away to build the neighbouring town of *Tripolitsa*. However some foundations, tiles, potsherds, and heaps of stones may be seen, especially in the fields a little to the north of the hill, where statues and bas-reliefs are said to have been found at the beginning of the century. Near a fountain there are the foundations of a temple.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 146; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 62 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 263 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 223; Baedeker,[3] p. 295; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318.

44. 7. **the Manthuric plain.** This must have been the south-western portion of the great plain of Tegea, round about and including the swampy lake of *Taka*. On the slopes of the hills which here bound the plain on the south are the modern villages of *Garouni* and *Kapareli*. Near the former village the French surveyors found a plateau covered with ruins, and in a chapel, near the brook, some fragments of an Ionic temple. At present all the remains of antiquity here consist of a profusion of scattered potsherds, together with one or two architectural fragments lying close to the chapel of the Panagia. The villagers told Boblaye that on the summit of a small hill which rises immediately behind the plateau there were ancient ruins. A ruined chapel of St. Elias, which stands on the top of the hill, may perhaps occupy the site of an ancient temple or watch-tower. At any rate Mr. Loring found there remains of two foundations, orientated somewhat differently; and he thought that one of them, which is built without mortar and of larger stones than the other, might be ancient. The remains on the hill and the plateau are probably those of Manthyrea, one of the original townships of Tegea (Paus. viii. 45. 1), which Stephanus Byzantius describes (*s.v.* Μανθυρέα) as a village of Arcadia.

See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 145; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 120 *sq.*; *id.*, 2. p. 47; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 61 *sq.*; Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), p. 32; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 35.

44. 7. **Mount Cresius.** This must be the little, isolated rocky hill of *Vouno* which rises from the plain about 2 miles to the west of *Piali* (Tegea). Here there are foundations and remains of ancient walls built of great polygonal blocks. On his way from Pallantium to Tegea Pausanias would pass this hill on the right (south), as he says.

See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 59; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 262, 273 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 223; Baedeker,[3] p. 295; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 318; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 35.

44. 8. the Leuconian fountain. This may perhaps be the spring at *Kerasitsa*, a village about twenty minutes west of *Piali* (Tegea). Boblaye, however, identified the Leuconian spring with a fine source at *Kamari*, a village farther to the south. See Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 145; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 59; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 262; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 223; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), p. 36.

44. 8. the city of Tegea. Tegea stood in the southern portion of that great eastern plain of Arcadia, of which the district of Mantinea occupied the northern part. The plain of Tegea is wider than that of Mantinea, its surface is less uniformly flat, being diversified by undulations, and the hills which surround it are lower. The soil, which in places is stony and light, in others a rich black loam, is well cultivated, producing excellent wheat and barley, also vines and mulberry-trees. The general slope of the plain, though scarcely perceptible, is toward the south, where the accumulated waters form the swampy lake of *Taka*. A low ridge crosses the northern end of the plain, separating the waters which flow southward to the lake of *Taka* from the waters which flow north and east to a swamp near the village of *Vertsova*, on the way to Argos. The plain to the south of this ridge is about 10 miles in circumference and contains no less than eighteen villages. It is about 2200 feet above the level of the sea; the climate is intensely hot in summer and piercingly cold in winter. The marshy soil breeds fever. The city of Tegea stood somewhat nearer to the eastern than to the western side of the plain. Very few remains of it are to be seen. Many of the ancient foundations are probably buried under the deep alluvial soil, and many of the stones have been carried off to build the neighbouring villages, and especially the large and flourishing town of *Tripolitsa*, which under the Turkish Government was the capital of the Morea. The exact area included within the ancient city has not been determined, but it appears to have been very considerable, as remains of antiquity have been discovered at places some distance apart, notably on the low hill of *Hagios Sostis* to the north (see notes on viii. 53. 7 and 9), at the conspicuous isolated church of *Palaeo-Episkopi*, where are the remains of the theatre (see note on viii. 49. 1), and near the church of *Hagios Nikolaos* in the village of *Piali* (see note on viii. 45. 5). In 1889 some pieces of the city-wall were discovered by members of the French School. One piece was found under a road about 550 yards to the north of *Palaeo-Episkopi* at the foot of the hillock of *Mertsaousi*. It consists of a tower measuring 4.5 metres along the front and projecting 4 metres from the wall. The wall is, as at Mantinea, merely a socle of limestone blocks .9 metre high and 1 metre thick. The upper courses were probably built of unburnt bricks, which have mouldered away. Similar traces of the wall have been found about 650 yards to the east of *Palaeo-Episkopi*. The French archaeologists think that the line of the city-wall is marked pretty exactly by a circular road, flanked on the outer side by a ditch, which passes to the west of the village of *Achouria* and encloses *Palaeo-Episkopi* and the greater part of the villages of *Piali* and *Ibrahim-Effendi*. The plan of the city thus

obtained is an oval, its long axis lying north and south and measuring about 2000 metres (a little less than 2200 yards), its short axis measuring about 1500 metres (1640 yards), and its circumference about 5500 metres ($3\frac{1}{3}$ miles).

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 418 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 140; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 88 *sqq.*; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 145 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 66 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 201 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 253 *sqq.*; W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 147 *sqq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 353 *sqq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 218 *sqq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 277 *sqq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 238 *sqq.*; *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 14 (1889), p. 327 *sq.*; V. Bérard, 'Tégée et la Tegeatide,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 16 (1892), p. 529 *sqq.* I visited the site of Tegea, 24th April 1890, and again 11th October 1895. For inscriptions found at Tegea, see *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 7 (1861), pp. 585-596; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] No. 454; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 317; Collitz, *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1. Nos. 1181, 1217-1249; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 9 (1885), pp. 510-512; *id.*, 13 (1889), pp. 281-293; *Berichte über die Verhandl. d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Classe, 41 (1889), pp. 71-98; and on antiquities (including inscriptions) found on the site, see Conze and Michaelis, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 33 (1861), pp. 30-32; *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 477-486; Milchhoefer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 131-144, 168-174. As to the excavations on the site of the temple of Athena Alea, see note on viii. 45. 4. On the history of Tegea, see G. I. Schwedler, 'De rebus Tegeaticis,' *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie*, 9 (1887), pp. 263-336.

45. 1. the people dwelt in townships. Strabo also mentions (viii. p. 337) that the Tegeans originally dwelt in nine separate townships. As to the situations of these various townships, so far as they can be ascertained, see V. Bérard, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 16 (1892), pp. 536-540; and the following notes.

45. 1. Gareatae. This must have been the valley of the Garates or Gareates river. See viii. 54. 4 note.

45. 1. Phylacenses. This must have been about Phylace. See viii. 54. 1 note.

45. 1. Caryatae. This was probably the district of Caryae, which may have belonged to Arcadia before it was conquered by Sparta. See iii. 10. 7 note.

45. 1. Corythenses. In this district was a temple of Demeter. See viii. 54. 5 note.

45. 1. Oeatae. This was probably the district in the north of Laconia of which the chief place was Oeum. Before the Spartan conquest the district perhaps belonged to Arcadia. In 369 B.C., when Laconia was threatened with a Theban invasion, Oeum was occupied by a Lacedaemonian garrison under an officer named Ischolaus. While the Theban army entered Laconia by Caryae, their Arcadian allies attacked Oeum, captured it, and put Ischolaus and most of his men to the sword. See Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vi. 5. 24 *sqq.*; cp. Diodorus, xv. 64. Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Οἶος) calls the place Oeus and says it belonged to Tegea. Xenophon says (*l.c.*) that Oeum belonged to the district of Sciritis and was situated on one of the easiest approaches to Sparta. Hence L. Ross supposed that it must have been on the direct road to Sparta, on the watershed between Arcadia and Laconia. The

place is now called *Klisoura;* it is a narrow and rugged defile between stony heights, an hour to the south of, and uphill from, the now disused khan of *Kryavrysi* in the bed of the *Saranta-Potamos.* The modern carriage-road from *Tripolitsa* to Sparta runs through the defile. In this pass, just at the point where the long range of Taygetus bursts into view, Welcker noticed a small field covered with tiles and potsherds. This he conjectured to be the site of Oeum.

An objection to this view is, however, suggested by the statement of Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 27) that after capturing Oeum the Arcadians marched to Caryae to join the Thebans. For the pass of the *Klisoura* lies to the south of Caryae; hence if Oeum had been in the pass, the Arcadians, after capturing it, must have retreated northwards, whereas the narrative of Xenophon seems to imply that the march from Oeum to Caryae was a forward movement, which was immediately followed up by the advance of the united Theban and Arcadian army first on Sellasia, which they burned and destroyed, and next upon Sparta. Mr. Loring is, therefore, probably right in looking for Oeum to the north of the *Klisoura.* At *Arvanito-Kerasia*, a village situated among luxuriant orchards close to the modern carriage-road and about 5 miles north of the *Klisoura*, he found remains of antiquity which with great probability he has identified as those of Oeum. They are situated on the crown of a hill about three minutes to the north of the village and comprise (1) remains of a wall of hewn masonry, slightly polygonal in style, which belonged to a large building partly cut out of the rock; (2) other cuttings in the rock: and (3) a profusion of pottery, some of it with black glaze. The site of the ruins answers perfectly to Xenophon's description. That the place is on one of the easiest approaches to Sparta appears from the fact that the modern high-road from *Tripolitsa* to Sparta runs close beside it. Moreover, it is about 4 miles to the north-west of Caryae, which was itself on the military road to Sparta. Hence it was natural that after their success at Oeum the Arcadians should advance on Caryae to join their allies, with the intention of thence continuing the united advance upon Sparta itself. The Arcadians may have reached Oeum from the north either by a route coinciding closely with the modern carriage-road, or, as Mr. Loring thinks more probable, from the plain of Asea by an easy route which starts from *Manari*, a village in a little recess of that plain, at its south-eastern end.

See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 178 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 203; Curtius, *Pelop.* 2. pp. 264, 322; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 118, 216; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 60-63; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 164.

45. 1. **Manthyrenses.** This township doubtless included the Manthuric plain and the village of Manthyrea. See viii. 44. 7 note.

45. 2. **the battle —— at Dipaea.** See iii. 11. 7; viii. 8. 6; and note on viii. 30. 1.

45. 2. **Ancaeus —— awaited the attack of the Calydonian boar.** Cp. § 7; viii. 4. 10; Apollodorus, i. 8. 2.

45. 3. **Echemus —— engaged in single combat with Hyllus.** Cp. i. 41. 2; i. 44. 10; viii. 53. 10.

45. 3. the Tegeans —— defeated them etc. See note on viii. 48. 4.

45. 4. in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad etc. *i.e.* in 395 B.C. That Diophantes was archon at Athens in this year is recorded also by Diodorus (xiv. 82). As to Eupolemus, the Olympic victor, see vi. 3. 7. Diodorus calls him Eupolis (xiv. 54), but the form Eupolemus is supported by Eusebius (*Chronic.* vol. 1. p. 203, ed. Schöne).

45. 5. The present temple etc. Archaeologists had long been of opinion that the great temple of Athena Alea at Tegea must have stood on or near the site of the church of St. Nicholas (*Hagios Nikolaos*) in the village of *Piali.* To this conclusion they were led chiefly by the fragments of large Doric columns of white marble which had been found here. The question was settled in 1879 by the excavations conducted here by Prof. Milchhöfer, of the German Archaeological Institute, who discovered the foundations of the temple immediately to the west of the church, under a mass of houses, courtyards, and garden-plots. The church stands at the northern extremity of the village, which lies about 4½ miles south-east of *Tripolitsa.* From Prof. Milchhöfer's excavations and the subsequent examination of the site by Dr. Dörpfeld it appears that the foundation of the temple was 49.9 metres long (about 163 ft. 8 in.) by 21.3 metres broad (about 69 ft. 10 in.) There were three main steps and one under step (*Unterstufe*, εὐθυντηρία) of white marble; and a ramp or inclined plain (of which the foundations were discovered) led up to the eastern end of the temple, just as at the temple of Zeus in Olympia. On the highest step, round about the temple, stood thirty-six Doric columns of white marble, six at each end, and fourteen at each side (the corner columns being counted twice over). The measurements of the columns cannot be exactly determined, but they seem to have been about 8 metres (26 ft. 3 in.) high. The largest drum of a column seen by Dr. Dörpfeld measured 1.5 metres (about 4 ft. 11 in.) Hence the lower diameter of the columns must have been at least this. The upper diameter, determined by a capital, was about 1.25 metres (about 4 ft. 1 in.) The temple was roofed with marble tiles of the usual two patterns, namely flat quadrangular tiles and roof-shaped covering tiles placed over the joinings of the former. Both the design and the workmanship of the fragments of the temple which have been found are admirable, and justify the praise which Pausanias here and elsewhere (viii. 41. 8) bestows on it as the finest temple in Peloponnese in respect of artistic style. But Pausanias is wrong in saying that it was the largest temple in Peloponnese; for the temple of Zeus at Olympia was nearly twice as large. But with this exception the temple at Tegea is the largest Peloponnesian temple known to us.

The white (or whitish-yellow) marble of which the temple was built comes from the neighbouring quarries of *Doliana*, to the south-east of Tegea.

The excavations of Prof. Milchhöfer, though sufficient to determine the general plan of the temple, laid bare only a small part of the foundations, and his trenches have since been filled up.

See Milchhöfer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), pp. 52-69; Dörpfeld, *ib.* 8 (1883), pp. 274-285; Baedeker,[3] p. 278 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 240. For the observations of earlier travellers on the site, see Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 419; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 140; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 91 *sqq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 67; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 219.

In the winter of 1888-89 an inscription relating to the rights and privileges of the sanctuary of Athena Alea was discovered about 200 paces north of the temple. The provisions mentioned in the inscription relate chiefly to the pasturing of the sacrificial victims on the lands sacred to the goddess at Alea, which seems to be the town of that name (see viii. 23. 1) rather than the quarter of Tegea in which the temple of Athena Alea was situated. But the inscription is obscure. See V. Bérard, 'Inscription archaïque de Tégée,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 13 (1889), pp. 281-293; R. Meister, in *Berichte der Verhandl. d. kön. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. zu Leipzig*, Philolog. histor. Classe, 41 (1889), pp. 71-98; Immerwahr, *Die arkadischen Kulte*, p. 47 *sq.* The bronze manger of the horses of Mardonius, which fell into the hands of the Greeks after the battle of Plataea, was dedicated in the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Herodotus, ix. 70).

45. 5. **The first row of columns is Doric** etc. That is, the columns of the peristyle or outer colonnade were Doric; the columns at the entrance to the fore-temple (*pronaos*) were Corinthian (as were doubtless also the corresponding columns at the entrance to the back-chamber or *opisthodomos*); and the columns in the interior of the *cella*, supporting the roof, were Ionic. See W. G. Clark, *Pelop.* p. 151 *sq.*; Dörpfeld, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 8 (1883), p. 282 *sq.*; and Critical Note on this passage, vol. 1. p. 600.

45. 6. **On the front gable is the hunt of the Calydonian boar.** At *Piala* on the site of the ancient Tegea, several fragments of sculpture have been found, which appear to have belonged to the gables of the temple of Athena Alea. The most important are two human heads (one of them helmeted) and the head of a boar. The chief reasons for identifying them as parts of the gable-sculptures are these. (1) They appear to have been found built into a late wall at the north-east angle of the temple. (2) One of the fragments so found is a boar's head, and we know from Pausanias that the Calydonian boar was represented on the front (eastern) gable. (3) The human heads are worked carefully on one side only, as in the gable-sculptures of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, showing that the other side was not meant to be seen. (4) The sculptures are of the same stone as the temple, namely the white marble of *Doliana*. (5) The size of the human heads, which is that of life, is just what one should expect from the known dimensions of the temple.

The boar's head is worked completely on both sides. From its length it would seem that the whole animal was about 2 metres (6 ft. 6¾ in.) long. On the right side of the head there are two holes, in which darts seem to have been fixed. Of the two human heads (Figs. 42, 43) one is certainly that of a young man in the prime of life. The helmeted head, on the other hand, is considered by Mr. A. S. Murray

to be that of a woman. If he is right, the head would seem to be that of Atalanta, as she appears to have been the only woman represented on either gable. The helmet, however, is against this identification, as no other example is known of a helmeted Atalanta. Overbeck thought that both heads are those of vanquished warriors from the back (western) gable. Both heads are remarkable for their length from front to back, for the breadth of the face and the massive development of the lower part of it (the chin and jowl), and the large, deeply-sunk, wide-open eyes. Both heads convey an impression of a nature at once powerful and refined, of deep feeling and a strong will: the look of both is fixed and

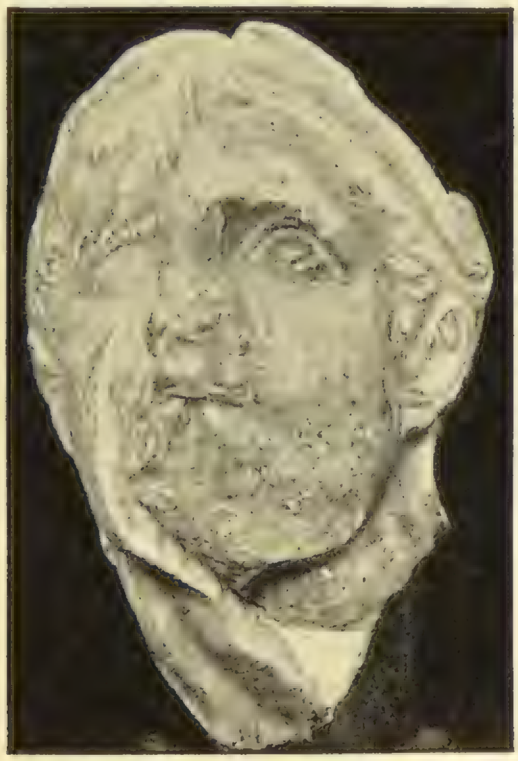


FIG. 42.—MARBLE HEAD FROM THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA ALEA AT TEGEA.

intent, with an undertone of sadness and longing. They are most probably by Scopas himself, and their importance for the history of Greek sculpture is very great, since no other existing remains of ancient sculpture can be traced with certainty to the hand of Scopas. Mutilated as the heads are, they fully sustain his great reputation.

Pausanias tells us that the boar was about the middle of the front (eastern) gable, and he mentions nine figures on one side of the boar and only six on the other. To explain this inequality Welcker conjectured (*Antike Denkmäler*, 1. pp. 157, 199 *sq.*) that Pausanias had omitted to mention some of the figures, and this view was taken also by Stark (*Philologus*, 21 (1864), p. 419). But Pausanias certainly seems to have intended to describe all the figures in the gable. Prof.

G. Treu gets over the difficulty by supposing that Meleager occupied the centre of the gable, that the boar was to the right (Meleager's left), that Atalanta stood behind the boar's head in the act of striking down at it, and that Theseus corresponded to her on the opposite side of Meleager.



FIG. 43.—MARBLE HEAD FROM THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA ALEA AT TEGEA.

By this arrangement the boar would be nearly in the middle of the gable (and Pausanias only says that the boar was *about* the middle), and there would be seven figures on each side of Meleager, the central figure.

See Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 1. pp. 199-206; G. Treu, 'Werke des Skopas,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), p. 190 *sq.*; *id.*, 'Fragmente aus den tegeatischen Giebelgruppen des Skopas,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 6 (1881), pp. 393-423; Milchhöfer, 'Zu den Sculpturen von Tegea,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), p. 190 *sq.*; P. Cavvadias, 'Sculture del Museo di Tegea,' *Bulletino dell' Instituto*, 1880, pp. 199-203; *id.*, in Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική, 1880, pp. 17-20; *id.*, Γλυπτὰ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου, 1. Nos. 178-180 b; L. R. Farnell, 'On some works of the school of Scopas,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 7 (1886), p. 114 *sqq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 2. pp. 20-24; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, 2. p. 288 *sqq.*; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 456; R. Weil, 'Skopas,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1667 *sqq.* On the art of Scopas see in addition to the histories of Greek sculpture, L. Urlichs, *Skopas* (Greisswald, 1863); K. B. Stark, in *Philologus*, 21 (1864), pp. 415-472.

On a Tegean coin (Fig. 44), of imperial date, Atalanta is represented as a huntress, with a quiver at her shoulder, spearing the Calydonian boar, which stands under a tree. This may possibly be a copy of part of the group in the gable of the temple. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner,

Num. Comm. on Paus. p. 108, with pl. V xx.; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1669. On representations of the hunt of the Calydonian boar and of hunting scenes generally in the existing monuments of ancient art, see Stephani, in *Compte-Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1867, p. 58 *sqq.*

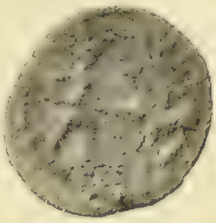


FIG. 44. — ATALANTA AND THE BOAR (COIN OF TEGEA).

45. 7. **On the back gable is represented the fight of Telephus with Achilles in the plain of the Caicus.** Cp. i. 4. 6; ix. 5. 14 note. Gerhard conjectured that the scene in this gable represented the combat over the body of Thersander, who may have been lying in the middle of the gable, with the combatants ranged on either side, as in the gable-sculptures of the temple in Aegina. Otto Jahn conjectured that the helmeted warrior who on coins of Tegea is represented charging, with a shield on his left arm and a sword in his right hand, is a copy of the figure of Telephus by Scopas in the back gable of the temple. The figure on the Tegean coins has been otherwise variously interpreted as Ares, or as Cepheus, son of Aleus, or as the Tegean hero Echemus. The same figure is repeated on coins of the Opuntian Locrians (where it stands for Ajax, son of Oeleus), and also on coins of Trikka. Welcker disapproved of Gerhard's suggestion, but was inclined to agree with Jahn's theory of the Tegean coin-type. L. Urlichs rejected the theories both of Gerhard and Jahn. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Aufsätze*, p. 164 *sqq.*; Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, 1. p. 201 *sqq.*; L. Urlichs, *Skopas*, p. 34 *sqq.* Achilles's combat with Telephus seems to have formed the subject of one of the smaller reliefs on the great altar at Pergamus. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1271.

46. 2. **images of the gods.** The Greek is ἕδη θεῶν. Cp. note on ii. 20. 8.

46. 2. **the wooden image of Zeus —— was given to Sthenelus.** This image was identified with the three-eyed image of Zeus at Argos (ii. 24. 3).

46. 2. **carried off to Gela an image** etc. Cp. ix. 40. 4.

46. 3. **an image of Brauronian Artemis.** See iii. 16. 8 note.

46. 3. **the bronze Apollo of Branchidae.** This image, known as the Philesian Apollo (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 75), was made by the elder Canachus, the Sicyonian sculptor; it was carried off by Xerxes to Ecbatana. See i. 16. 3; ii. 10. 5; ix. 10. 2. The occasion on which the Milesians betrayed the Persians seems to have been the battle of Mycale, fought in 479 B.C. (Herodotus, ix. 99 and 104). Xerxes punished them by burning the temple of Apollo at Branchidae and carrying off the image and the other sacred treasures (Strabo, xiv. p. 634, cp. *id.* xi. p. 518; Suidas, *s.v.* Βραγχίδαι; Q. Curtius, vii. 5. 28 *sqq.*) The image must therefore have been made before 479 B.C. And it was probably made after 494 B.C., for in that year the temple at Branchidae had been sacked and burned by the Persians in the reign of Darius (Herodotus, vi. 19), and it is hardly likely that the image of the god should have been saved. Thus the image appears to have been made by Canachus between 494 and 479 B.C. This enables us to fix

the date of the elder Canachus. (As to the younger Canachus, see note on vi. 13. 7.) It has indeed been held by R. Urlichs and others that the image was carried off by the Persians when they sacked the temple in the reign of Darius, 494 B.C., and that the story of the second sack of the temple by Xerxes is a mere blunder of writers who mistook Xerxes for Darius. If Urlichs were right, the image must have been made before 494 B.C. But Urlichs's view appears to be sufficiently disposed of by Brunn.

On a long series of coins of Miletus, Apollo is represented naked, holding in his right hand a stag and in his left hand a bow. This is almost certainly a copy of the famous statue by Canachus, which, as we learn from Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxxiv. 75), represented the god naked and holding a stag by the feet. The passage of Pliny is obscure, but so much at least seems fairly clear. The British Museum possesses a bronze statuette (Fig. 45) which is clearly copied from the same statue as the representations on the coins of Miletus. From the coins and the statuette together we are thus enabled to form a fairly accurate idea of the image. The god was represented standing naked, his left foot a little in advance of his right. His breast was broad and well developed, his whole build square and muscular. A fillet bound his hair, but his long locks escaped from under it, and fell on both his shoulders. His right hand, stretched straight out from the elbow, held a stag or fawn; his left hand, somewhat lower, grasped a bow. The general style of the statue was somewhat stiff and austere. Canachus made a very similar image of the Ismenian Apollo for the Thebans; the only difference between the two images seems to have been in the material, the image at Branchidae being of bronze, while the one at Thebes was of cedar-wood. See ix. 10. 2.



FIG. 45.—BRONZE STATUETTE IN BRITISH MUSEUM (COPY OF THE APOLLO OF CANACHUS).

See K. O. Müller, 'Ueber den Apollo des Kanachos,' *Kunstarchaeologische Werke*, 1. pp. 36-45; *id.*, 2. p. 185; H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griech. Künstler*, 1. p. 74 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 31 *sqq.*; *id.*, 'Zur Chronologie der

ältesten griech. Künstler,' *Sitzungsberichte d. kön. bayer. Akad. d. Wissen.* (Munich), Philosoph. philolog. Classe, 1871, p. 522 *sqq.*; R. Urlichs, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 10 (1856), p. 7 *sq.*; Overbeck, *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*,[4] 1. pp. 143-145; *id.*, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, 4. pp. 22-26; Lucy M. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 251; A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*,[2] 1. pp. 191-195; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. iv. Nos. 19-23; E. Petersen, 'Der Apollon mit dem Hirsch von Kanachos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 38 (1880), pp. 22-25; Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture grecque*, 1. pp. 311-316; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, pl. xv. 15 and 16; cp. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 505.

A bronze statuette of Apollo found at Naxos and now in the Berlin Museum bears a close resemblance to the British Museum statuette, except that the Naxian Apollo holds in his right hand a round object which has been variously explained as an ointment-pot and as a pomegranate. See Fränkel, 'Apollo aus Naxos,' *Archäologische Zeitung*, 37 (1879), pp. 84-91. Another bronze statuette of the same type has been found on the site of the temple of the Ptoan Apollo at *Perdikovrysi*, in Boeotia; but the objects which the figure had in its hands are lost. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 10 (1886), pp. 190-196. It is possible that both these statuettes may be imitations of the Apollo of Canachus at Branchidae. Mr. Holleaux would refer to the same type a fragmentary marble statue found by him on the same site. See *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 10 (1886), pp. 269-275; *id.*, 11 (1887), pp. 275-287. On several ancient gems an Apollo of the type here discussed is represented holding in his left hand a bow, while in his right hand he grasps the fore-feet of a stag, the animal's hind-feet resting on the ground. Mr. Cecil Smith argues that this was the scheme of the statue made by Canachus for Branchidae. Certainly the scheme fits Pliny's description better than the Apollo with the stag in his hand. But if, as on these gems, the Apollo of Branchidae was represented holding the stag by its fore-feet while its hind-feet rested on the ground, how comes it that on coins of Miletus Apollo is represented holding a tiny stag in the hollow of his hand? To meet this difficulty Mr. Smith supposes that in the wooden statue of Apollo made by Canachus for Thebes the stag was represented in the latter manner; that the bronze statue at Branchidae may have lost the stag at the sack of Miletus or on its journey to or from Persia; that when the latter statue was given back by Seleucus, the missing stag was restored after the model of the Theban statue; and that in this wrongly restored condition the Branchidae statue was copied on the coins of Miletus and described by Pausanias, whereas Pliny's account was borrowed from some earlier writer, who described the original statue before it had been wrongly restored. See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, Second Series, 11 (1885-1887), pp. 251-255; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, 1. pl. xv. No. 61.

46. 3. **the images they took from Tiryns.** Cp. ii. 17. 5.

46. 4. **an image of Mother Dindymene.** There was a sanctuary of this goddess at Cyzicus which was said to have been founded by the Argonauts (Strabo, xii. p. 575).

46. 5. **Endoeus.** See note on i. 26. 4.

47. 1. **Enceladus.** The combat of Athena with Enceladus is very

often represented in ancient art, particularly on vases. See A. H. Smith, 'Athene and Enceladus,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 4 (1883), pp. 90-95; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, p. 309 *sqq.*

47. 2. **the fetters which the Lacedaemonian prisoners wore** etc. The fetters were hanging in the temple in the time of Herodotus. See Herodotus, i. 66; and below viii. 48. 4 *sq.*, with the note.

47. 2. **a sacred couch of Athena.** Cp. ii. 17. 3; x. 32. 12. When the Thebans built a new temple to Hera at Plataea, they dedicated to her some couches made of bronze and iron (Thucydides, iii. 68).

47. 2. **Marpessa.** See viii. 48. 5.

47. 3. **A boy acts as priest of Athena** etc. So Cranaean Athena, near Elataea, was served by a boy priest under the age of puberty (x. 34. 8). Cp. vii. 24. 4 note. Athena Poliatis at Tegea was served by a male priest (below, § 5). The word translated 'boy' (παῖς) in the present passage may equally mean 'girl,' and so the translators have understood it here. But the analogies I have referred to are in favour of the other interpretation. Moreover the word here used by Pausanias to denote the attainment of puberty (ἡβάσκειν), generally, I think, refers to men, not to women. Cp. Pausanias x. 34. 8, where a kindred verb (ἡβᾶν) is applied to a boy. Where Pausanias speaks of puberty in women he uses a periphrasis (ii. 33. 2; vii. 26. 5).

47. 4. **a stadium.** About half a mile to the east of the site of the temple of Athena Alea is a line of low hills running north and south and surmounted by some windmills. Mr. V. Bérard conjectures that this line of hills may have formed one of the sides of the stadium. But its distance from the temple seems too great to answer to Pausanias's description. Many marbles are said to have been found here and transported to the neighbouring village of *Achouria*. See V. Bérard, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 3.

47. 4. **games —— which they name Aleaea.** These games are mentioned by a scholiast on Pindar (*Ol.* vii. 153) among the games celebrated in Arcadia. They are also mentioned in an inscription, found at Tegea, which records a long list of victories in the various games of Greece (*C. I. G.* No. 1515; Collitz, *Griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, 1. No. 1232), in another inscription found at Pergamus (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 156), and in a third inscription found in the Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, 1. p. 78, No. 240).

47. 4. **To the north of the temple is a fountain.** There is still a spring a few paces to the north of the site of the temple of Athena Alea, and there is another a little farther to the north-east. The former spring is enclosed by blocks of marble, which appear to have been taken from the temple. Prof. Milchhöfer thinks that both these springs are too near the temple to answer to the description of Pausanias. Farther north, in the low ground now occupied by mulberry gardens, there are patches of damp soil where reeds grow, and where, down to the beginning of the century, water is said to have stood permanently. This damp ground is said to be connected with the north-east side of

the temple by an underground conduit of stone. Here then Prof. Milchhöfer would place the fountain described by Pausanias. See *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 5 (1880), p. 65. Cp. L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 67 *sq.*; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 240.

47. 5. **once each year a priest enters it.** We often hear of sanctuaries which were opened only once a year. See vi. 20. 7; ix. 16. 6; ix. 25. 3. The sanctuary of Dionysus 'in the Marshes' at Athens was opened only once a year, on the 12th day of the month Anthesterion (Demosthenes, *Contra Neaer.* p. 1371). Cp. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1246; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 24; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 279 note [s]; and note on viii. 5. 5.

47. 5. **the goddess cut off some of the hair of Medusa** etc. The story was that Hercules invited Cepheus and his twenty sons to march with him against Lacedaemon. As Cepheus was afraid to leave Tegea lest the Argives should attack it in his absence, Hercules obtained from Athena a brazen lock of the Gorgon in a pitcher and gave it to Sterope or Asterope, daughter of Cepheus, telling her that if a host should advance against the city she was to lift up the lock thrice from the top of the wall without looking before her, and the enemy would at once take to flight. Hence 'a lock of the Gorgon' passed into a proverb. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 3; Apostolius, xiv. 38; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος. Cp. W. Roscher, *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes*, p. 80 *sqq.* Dr. Roscher thinks that the talisman, when exposed to view, was believed to bring on a storm of thunder and lightning which struck panic into the foe. His view is to some extent confirmed by a wide-spread superstition that cut or combed hair can cause storms of rain, thunder, and lightning. See *The Golden Bough*, 1. p. 199 *sq.* It is probable, as Lobeck has remarked, that many ancient cities possessed, like Tegea, a talisman on the preservation of which the safety of the city was supposed to depend; if we hear little of these talismans in ancient writers, the reason probably is that their very existence was kept a profound secret from most people. Cyzicus had one of these talismans in the shape of a stone of a fiery colour, with marks of iron on it; it was traditionally believed that if the stone were lost the city would simultaneously perish (Joannes Lydus, *De ostentis*, 7. p. 281 ed. Bekker). The safety of Messenia was supposed to depend on a certain secret object, apparently a copy of the mysteries of the Great Goddesses engraved on a sheet of tin (Paus. iv. 20. 4, iv. 26. 7 *sq.*) When Jason consulted the Delphic oracle, Apollo gave him two tripods which possessed the property of rendering inviolable by an enemy the land in which they were set up. One of the tripods was presented by Jason to the people of Hylle in Illyria, and they buried it deep under the threshold of the gate of their city, that no man might find it. The tripod was supposed to be still hidden there in the third century B.C. See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* iv. 527-536, with the schol. on 532. These public talismans may have sometimes consisted of the bones or other relics of some famous person, whether mythical or historical. When Alexander the Great died, it was predicted that the land in which his body should be buried would be prosperous and inviolate for ever (Aelian, *Var. hist.*

xii. 64). The possession of Tarentum was said to have been secured to the Parthenii for ever by grinding the bones of Phalantus to powder and scattering the powder in the market-place; hence the Tarentines paid divine honour to Phalantus (Justin, iii. 4. 13 *sqq.*) Similarly the ashes of Solon, scattered about Salamis, were supposed to secure the possession of that island to the Athenians (Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. 2. p. 230, ed. Dindorf; cp. Plutarch, *Solon*, 32). When Perdiccas king of Macedonia was dying he pointed out to his son Argaeus the place where he wished to be buried, telling him that if his bones and the bones of his successors were laid there, the kingdom would remain in the family (Justin, vii. 2. 2 *sqq.*) Troy was deemed impregnable so long as the tomb of Laomedon remained intact over the Scaean gate (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 241). Perhaps the grave of Dirce at Thebes was a talisman of this sort. See note on ix. 17. 6. Cp. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 278 *sqq.* At Athens there were certain secret graves or chests (θῆκαι) on which the safety of the city was supposed to depend (Dinarchus, i. 9); perhaps the grave of Oedipus was one of them (see note on i. 28. 7). It is said that in the reign of Constantius three silver statues were dug up in Thrace. They represented three barbarians clad in broidered robes with long hair and with their hands tied behind their backs; the statues were turned to the north. A few days after the removal of the statues the Goths overran Thrace from the north, and not long afterwards the Huns and Sarmatians overran both Thrace and Illyria. Hence it was inferred that the three statues had been talismans designed to ward off the incursions of these three barbarian tribes. See Olympiodorus, quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 60 ed. Bekker. The same credulous historian relates (p. 58) that Alaric was prevented from crossing over from Italy into Sicily by a magic statue which served as a talisman against both the fires of Etna and the passage of enemies into the island; in one foot of the statue was a perpetual fire, in the other pure water. The statue was removed, and in consequence Sicily was devastated by an eruption of Etna and by the inroads of barbarians. On the Old Bridge (Ponte Vecchio) at Florence there stood down to 1333 a broken old statue of Mars, on which the safety and existence of Florence were supposed to depend (Dante, *Inferno*, xiii. 146 *sqq.*, with the commentators). On coins of Tegea (Figs. 46, 47) we see Athena handing Medusa's hair to Cepheus or to Sterope, who receives it in a vessel. See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.* p. 109, with pl. V xxii. xxiii.; Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 381; P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum: Peloponnesus*, p. 202 sq.



FIGS. 46, 47.—ATHENA GIVES STEROPE AND CEPHEUS THE HAIR OF MEDUSA (COINS OF TEGEA).

47. 6. **Aristomelidas.** This tyrant appears not to be mentioned elsewhere in ancient literature.

48. 1. **The market-place.** The north-eastern corner of the market-place of Tegea was discovered by Mr. Bérard about 150 yards to the west of the church of *Palaeo-Episkopi*. It is marked by a line of ruined foundations on the east and a colonnade on the north. Of the columns of this colonnade only a few bases remain. They were of the Ionic or Corinthian order. On one of the intercolumniations is an inscription recording that the intercolumniations of the provision-market (μάκελλον) had been repaired by two clerks of the market (ἀγορανόμοι) at their own expense. Another inscription, found a few yards to the west of the colonnade, records that a certain Publius Memmius Agathocles, clerk of the market, had built (?) the house containing the standard weights and had repaired (?) the weights themselves. One of the weights, which weighed 50 pounds (*litrai*), seems to have been in the shape of a deer or stag; another, which weighed 25 pounds, represented Atalanta. Not far from the same place there was found, built into a modern pavement, a table of liquid measures. It is a slab of marble with seven holes, in which bronze cups were probably fixed. In this neighbourhood Mr. Bérard found a number of inscribed bases of statues, including the base of a statue of the emperor Diocletian; also the mosaic pavement of a quadrangular structure terminating in a semicircular apse. On the mosaic pavement of the apse are figures of the Fair Seasons (καλοὶ καιροί), and on the pavement of the quadrangle are figures of the months January, February, March, April, May, identified by inscriptions. The figures of the Fair Seasons in the apse are three in number. In the centre stands a young man clad in a short tunic which reaches to his thighs and shod with red boots which reach to his knees. His arms are bare. His curly locks fall over his ears and almost his eyes. In his left hand, which hangs by his side, he carries a leafy branch; while in his raised right hand he holds a plate full of fruits. On each side of him a boy, his mantle floating on the wind, is running toward the central figure carring a plate full of melons and cucumbers or pears and rosy apples. See V. Bérard, in *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 17 (1893), pp. 3-14. Cp. *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 240; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 257; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 220.

48. 2. **a crown of wild-olive —— at Olympia** etc. See v. 7. 7 note.

48. 2. **at Delphi —— a crown of laurel.** See x. 7. 8.

48. 2. **At the Isthmus the pine.** See note on ii. 1. 3.

48. 2. **at Nemea the celery** etc. See note on ii. 15. 2.

48. 2. **in most of the games the crown is of palm** etc. The victor's wreath at the Nemean games seems sometimes to have been of palm, though commonly it was of celery (Pindar, *Fragm.* p. 576, ed. Böckh; Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xxxv. 27). In later times the prize at the Olympic games was of palm (Horace, *Odes*, i. 1. 5, iv. 2. 17 *sq.*) As to the palm at Delos, to which Pausanias refers, see Homer, *Odyssey*, vi. 162 *sq.* The very palm said to have been seen by Ulysses was still shown in Cicero's time (Cicero, *De legibus*, i. 1. 2; cp. Pliny, *Nat. hist.* xvi. 240). It was believed to be the oldest palm-tree in the world and to have sprung up when Latona landed in Delos; in the act of giving birth to Apollo and Artemis she laid one hand on the palm-tree and the other

hand on an olive (Euripides, *Hecuba*, 458, with the schol.: Aelian, *Var. hist.* v. 4). From this same sacred palm Theseus broke the branch wherewith (as Pausanias mentions) he crowned the victors in the games which he celebrated at Delos (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 21; *id.*, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 4. 3). As to palms in Greece in ancient times and at the present day, see ix. 19. 8 note.

48. 4. **when Charillus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, led the first invasion** etc. As to this defeat of the Lacedaemonians by the Tegeans, see also iii. 7. 3; viii. 1. 6; viii. 5. 9; viii. 45. 3; viii. 47. 2 and 4. The Lacedaemonians were misled by an oracle which promised them that they should dance on the Tegean plain and have it measured out to them with a rope. So they marched against Tegea, carrying with them fetters with which they proposed to bind the Tegeans. But they were beaten in the battle and all who fell into the hands of the Tegeans were forced to till the Tegean plain for their conquerors, wearing the fetters which they had brought with them; the plot of ground which each man had to till was marked out for him with a rope. The fetters were hanging in the temple of Athena Alea in the time of Herodotus, and they were still there in the time of Pausanias. See Herodotus, i. 66. According to the historian Dinias of Argos this defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place "when Perimeda, who is generally called Choera, was queen of Tegea" (Herodianus, *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, 8. 12 *sqq.*, p. 20, ed. K. Lehrs; *Fragm. Histor. Graec.*, ed. Müller, 3. p. 26). This Perimeda seems to be the Marpessa of Pausanias. As to the war, cp. Schwedler, 'De rebus Tegeaticis,' *Leipziger Studien zur class. Philologie*, 9 (1887), p. 310 *sqq.* For another victory of the Tegeans over the Lacedaemonians, see viii. 53. 10 note.

48. 6. **Maera —— daughter of Atlas.** According to another account her grave was near Mantinea (viii. 12. 7). She is mentioned by Homer (*Odyssey*, xi. 326); but Eustathius on that passage describes her as a daughter of Proetus and Antaea. Maera daughter of Proetus was painted by Polygnotus in the Lesche at Delphi (Paus. x. 30. 5).

48. 7. **'Auge on her Knees.'** The image appears to have been that of a woman on her knees in the act of childbirth. So Latona brought forth Apollo and Artemis kneeling on the soft meadow (Homer, *Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, 116 *sqq.*) On the Capitol at Rome, in front of the temple of Minerva, there were images representing three male figures on their knees; they were called *Di Nixi*, and were supposed to be deities who presided over childbirth. These images had been brought to Rome from the East after the war with Antiochus, or, according to others, from the sack of Corinth (Festus, pp. 174, 176, ed. Müller). The images of Damia and Auxesia, goddesses of fertility (see note on ii. 30. 4), represented them kneeling (Herodotus, v. 86), probably in the act of child-bearing. Some years ago a mutilated marble group was found at *Magoula*, near Sparta, which appears to have represented a woman kneeling just after delivery. See Fr. Marx, 'Marmorgruppe aus Sparta,' *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 10 (1885), pp. 177-199. From these facts we may infer that in antiquity Greek

women were often, perhaps generally, delivered on their knees. This position is still adopted by women in Greece and in many other parts of the world (Ploss, *Das Weib*,[2] p. 175). As to the story of Auge and Telephus, see note on i. 4. 6. Mr. L. R. Farnell argues that Auge was originally a form of Artemis, the legend of her amour with Hercules pointing to an earlier stage of religious thought when Artemis was conceived not as chaste but merely as averse to marriage. See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 2. p. 442 *sq.*

48. 7. **the forsaken boy was suckled by a doe.** Cp. viii. 54. 6; ix. 31. 2. The suckling of Telephus by the doe is depicted on many existing works of ancient art, such as statues, paintings, and coins. It is remarkable that in these scenes Hercules is regularly represented along with Telephus and the doe, either watching the doe suckle the child, or holding the child in his arms while the doe stands beside him. This meeting of Hercules with the doe and Telephus is nowhere mentioned in ancient literature, and the works of art which illustrate it are all somewhat late. Hence Otto Jahn assumed that the incident was a late invention, and conjectured that it may have been invented at Pergamus, where Telephus was a national hero, and people had an interest in associating him with his deified father Hercules. In support of this view Jahn pointed out that on coins of Pergamus the doe is depicted suckling Telephus in presence of Hercules. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 160 *sqq.* Jahn's ingenious conjecture is confirmed by the discovery at Pergamus of a series of reliefs illustrative of the life of Telephus, which adorned part of the great altar on the acropolis. One of these scenes, unfortunately mutilated, represents Hercules watching Telephus, who is being suckled by an animal, which is thought, however, by some to be a lioness. See Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1270. The supposed kinship between Tegea and Pergamus, which was explained by the legend of Telephus and Auge, is expressly mentioned in a Pergamene inscription (Fränkel, *Inschriften von Pergamon*, 1. No. 156). The same inscription refers to a sanctuary of Athena at Pergamus which was believed to have been founded by Auge.

49. 1. **a theatre.** The theatre at Tegea was built on level ground, the tiers of seats being supported at the back by a massive semicircular wall. Part of this wall, built of great squared blocks, supports the apse of the church of *Palaeo-Episkopi*. To judge from this fragment of the supporting-wall the theatre must have been large; it opened to the north-west. See L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 68; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 256; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 220; Baedeker,[3] p. 278; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 239. A little to the north of the church was found an interesting theatrical monument. It is a cube of marble adorned on one side with a large crown of ivy carved in relief; on another side are six small crowns of ivy containing inscriptions, from which we infer that the monument was dedicated by an actor who had won prizes for acting at the Dionysiac festival at Athens, the Soterian festival at Delphi, the festival of Hera at Argos (?), and the Naean festival at Dodona. Among the plays which he had acted were the *Orestes*, *Hercules Furens*, *Achelous*, and *Electra* (?) of Euripides, and the *Achilles* of Chaeremon. From the

mention of the Soterian festival of Delphi we learn that this inscription is later than the irruption of the Gauls into Greece in 279 B.C. See *Bulletin de Corr. hellén.* 17 (1893), pp. 14-16; cp. note on x. 23. 11.

49. 1. **Philopoemen.** Our chief authorities for the life of Philopoemen are the histories of Polybius and Livy, the biography of him by Plutarch, and the present narrative of Pausanias. Polybius wrote a separate life of Philopoemen in three books, which is lost; it was probably the source from which the other writers derived their information. See Polybius, x. 21 (24) 6. As to the early life of Philopoemen, see Polybius, x. 22 (25); Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 1 *sqq.*

49. 3. **he was hard-favoured.** Plutarch, however, says: "He was not ugly, as some think; for we can see his portrait at Delphi, where it still remains" (*Philopoemen*, 2). The portrait to which Plutarch refers may have been the bronze statue of Philopoemen which stood at Delphi and represented him in the act of slaying the tyrant Machanidas (Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 10).

49. 4. **When Cleomenes seized Megalopolis** etc. See iv. 29. 7 *sq.*; Polybius, iv. 55; Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 5; *id.*, *Cleomenes*, 23 *sqq.*

49. 5. **the battle of Sellasia.** See note on iii. 10. 7.

49. 7. **chosen by the Achaeans to command their cavalry.** Cp. Polybius, x. 22 (25); Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 7.

50. 1. **He was thus enabled to change the equipment of their infantry** etc. Cp. Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 9.

50. 2. **the Lacedaemonians under their upstart tyrant Machanidas** etc. See Polybius, xi. 11-18; Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 10.

50. 3. **Philopoemen was present at the competition of the minstrels** etc. At the Nemean festival Philopoemen paraded and manœuvred his victorious regiment before the assembled Greeks, and then, surrounded by his stalwart, well-set-up men in their red coats, entered the theatre, just as the voice of the singer rose high and clear, singing "The glorious crown of freedom," etc. (Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 11).

50. 3. **Themistocles at Olympia.** When Themistocles attended the Olympic games after the battle of Salamis, the spectators turned their backs on the athletes and flocked to see him, followed him up and down all day, and pointed him out to strangers with expressions of admiration and clapping of hands, so that he confessed to his friends that he had reaped the fruit of his labours in the cause of Greece (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 17).

50. 4. **The Thebans had defeated the Megarians** etc. Cp. Polybius, xx. 6.

50. 5. **he fell upon —— the Messenians** etc. See iv. 29. 10.

50. 7. **embarked in a leaky galley** etc. See Livy, xxxv. 26; Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 14.

50. 7. **Homer speaks of the Arcadians as ignorant of the sea.** See *Iliad*, ii. 614.

50. 8. **burn down the Lacedaemonian camp at Gythium.** See Livy, xxxv. 27 *sqq.*; Plutarch, *l.c.*

50. 10. **Nabis —— was assassinated.** See Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 15; Livy, xxxv. 35. The assassin's name was Alexamenus.

51. 1. **Philopoemen —— compelled the Lacedaemonians to join the Achaean League** etc. See Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 15; Livy, xxxv. 37.

51. 2. **the Lacedaemonians offered to give him the house of Nabis** etc. As no native Spartan had the face to offer the present to Philopoemen, the task of doing so was deputed to a foreigner named Timolaus, who accordingly repaired to Megalopolis, where he was hospitably entertained by Philopoemen. But the dignity of that great man's bearing, the integrity of his character, and the simplicity of his life so impressed and overawed Timolaus, that he did not dare to broach the subject of his mission, but made some pretext for his visit and departed. A second time he made the attempt and with the same result. A third time he came, and bracing himself up for a great effort he avowed his mission. To his surprise and delight Philopoemen listened to the proposal very affably and promised to go to Sparta in a few days to thank the authorities in person. He went and in a public assembly advised the Spartans to keep such bribes to stop the mouths of the venal demagogues who railed against Sparta at the diet of the Achaean League. See Polybius, xxi. 15; Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 15. Plutarch says that the house and property of Nabis had been sold for 120 talents, and it was this sum which was offered by the Spartans to Philopoemen.

51. 3. **Philopoemen banished three hundred of the ringleaders** etc. On the revolt of Sparta from the Achaean League, its reduction, and the severity with which it was treated by the victorious Achaeans, see Livy, xxxviii. 30-34; Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 16. According to Polybius, cited by Plutarch, eighty of the Spartans were put to death; according to Aristocrates, also cited by Plutarch, the number of victims was three hundred and fifty. Livy seems to follow Polybius, for he puts the number of the victims at eighty.

51. 4. **Aristaenus —— advised the Achaeans** etc. For a contrast between the characters and aims of Aristaenus and Philopoemen, see Polybius, xxv. 9 *sqq*. Philopoemen was a born soldier, who, while he foresaw that the final subjection of Greece to Rome was inevitable, did his best to defer it. Aristaenus was a supple politician who, under a show of respect for Greek law and custom, masked a policy of abject subserviency to Rome. Cp. Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 17.

51. 5. **Philopoemen sent Lycortas with a force** etc. These operations are described more fully by Pausanias elsewhere. See iv. 29. 11 *sq.*; and on the capture and death of Philopoemen, see Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 18 *sqq.*; Livy, xxxix. 49 *sq.*

51. 8. **The bones of Philopoemen** etc. Plutarch has described the stately military procession in which the remains of Philopoemen were borne, amid universal tokens of mourning, from Messene to Megalopolis. The urn, almost hidden under flowers and ribbons, was carried by the historian Polybius. At his tomb in Megalopolis the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death. See Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 21. As to the divine honours paid to Philopoemen at Megalopolis, see note on viii. 30. 10.

52. 1. **the Spartan Polydorus.** See iii. 3. 1-3.

52. 4. **Epaminondas, son of Polymnis.** See note on iv. 31. 10.

52. 5. **Leosthenes.** See i. 25. 5.

52. 5. **The history of Aratus** etc. See ii. 8 *sq.*

53. 3. **the priestess of Artemis pursues a man** etc. This ceremony, taken in connexion with the story of its origin, appears to have been a substitute for human sacrifices offered to make the crops grow. This is confirmed by a parallel ceremony observed at the festival of the Agrionia in the Boeotian Orchomenus; for at that festival the priest of Dionysus not only pursued certain women with a drawn sword, but had the right to slay any of them whom he might overtake, a right which was actually exercised in Plutarch's own time. The women so pursued were the members of a particular family and were called Oleae ('destructive'). See Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 38; K. O. Müller, *Orchomenos und die Minyer*,[2] p. 161 *sq.*; Fr. Back, *De Graecorum caerimoniis in quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur* (Berlin, 1883), p. 24 *sqq.* As to the priestess acting the part of the goddess, see notes on vii. 18. 12; vii. 27. 2; as to flight and pursuit in religious rites, see note on i. 24. 4; and as to human sacrifices offered to promote the fertility of the ground, see vii. 19. 4 note.

53. 5. **Homer, in Proteus' speech** etc. See *Odyssey*, iv. 561 *sqq.*

53. 5. **Talos.** See note on i. 21. 4.

53. 6. **The names of the tribes are** etc. Inscriptions found at Tegea give the adjectival forms of the four tribal names, namely Κραριῶται, Ἱπποθοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιᾶται, and ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν (followed in each case by πολῖται), *i.e.* men of the tribes Crariotis, Hippothoetis, Apolloniatis, and ep' Athanaean. Thus the names given by Pausanias agree with those of the inscriptions except that Crariotis seems the correct form rather than Clareotis, and the phrase *ep' Athanaian* (Athanaia's, *i.e.* Athena's, tribe) rather than Athanaeatis.

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 89; *C. I. G.* No. 1513; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part 2, p. 11 *sqq.*, No. 156; Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.*[2] Nos. 454, 455; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 1. Nos. 1231, 1246, 1247; G. Gilbert, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, 2. p. 127; Schwedler, 'De rebus Tegeaticis,' *Leipziger Studien zur class. Philologie*, 9 (1887), p. 275 *sqq.*

53. 7. **a temple of Demeter and the Maid.** On the north-eastern slope of the hill of *Hagios Sostis* (see note on § 9) a great many bronzes and terra-cottas were discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Greek Archaeological Society in January 1862. The terra-cotta statuettes number about 1500; and by far the most of them represent Demeter seated on a chair with a large back to it, her head crowned with a *polos* or *cidaris*. The statuettes are of all periods of art, from the rudest and most archaic period downward. They are undoubtedly votive-offerings brought by pilgrims to the shrine of Demeter, and from the uniformity of their type we may perhaps infer that they represent the temple-statue of the goddess. In some of the statuettes a vine (not, as Fr. Lenormant thought, a poppy-stalk) is represented springing up between the knees of the seated goddess; this attribute is very appropriate to a goddess who here bore the surname of 'Fruit-bringer.'

Another type of statuette found here has been conjectured by Fr. Lenormant to represent the Maid (*Kore*); the type is very rude and archaic, consisting of a bust with well-marked breasts and rudimentary arms, the head crowned with a high head-dress, and the lower part of the body pillar-shaped. The spot where these votive-offerings were found probably indicates the site of the temple of Demeter and the Maid mentioned by Pausanias.

See Fr. Lenormant, 'Terres-cuites de Tégée,' *Gazette archéologique*, 4 (1878), pp. 42-48; Milchhöfer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, 4 (1879), pp. 168-174; Baedeker,[3] p. 278; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 238.

53. 7. **Laodice.** See viii. 5. 2 *sq.*

53. 7. **a temple of Apollo, with a gilded image.** This gilt image is mentioned in an inscription found at Tegea, which sets forth that "Philocrates, son of Damonicus, on behalf of his son Damonicus dedicated the altar and gilded the image of Apollo" (*Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 17 (1893), p. 12). The inscription seems to date from the first century B.C. or A.D. Doubtless whenever the gilding of the image grew tarnished or wore off, it was deemed a pious work to gild it afresh. The site of the temple of Apollo is perhaps marked by the remains of a large Byzantine church 45 metres (about 148 feet) long, the façade of which formed the eastern side of the market-place (*Bull. de Corr. hellén.*, *l.c.*)

53. 8. **Chirisophus.** Nothing more is known of this sculptor.

53. 8. **The residence of Daedalus in Cnosus.** Cp. vii. 4. 5 *sq.*

53. 9. **the Common Hearth of the Arcadians.** The 'Common Hearth' at Mantinea was a round structure. See viii. 9. 5. From an inscription found at Hermion we learn that in that city there was a 'Common Hearth' at which ambassadors were entertained (*C. I. G.* No. 1193; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* No. 389; Collitz, *G. D. I.* 3. No. 3386). Similarly at Athens ambassadors were entertained at the 'Common Hearth' or 'Hearth of the City' in the Prytaneum or town-hall; on this hearth a fire was kept burning perpetually and sacrifices were offered (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1322 b 28; Pollux, i. 7, ix. 40; *C. I. A.* 2. Nos. 467, 470, 471, 605; cp. Plutarch, *Numa*, 9). So at Olympia a fire burned day and night on the public hearth in the Prytaneum (Paus. v. 15. 9). At Chaeronea there was a 'Common Hearth' at which certain sacrifices were performed (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vi. 8. 1). At Delphi there was a 'Common Hearth' in the Prytaneum at which distinguished strangers and benefactors of the city were entertained, and a perpetual fire, tended by widows and fed only with pine-wood, burned on it. See an inscription found at Delphi and published by H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 1. p. 67 note 20; Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, p. 66; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20; *id.*, *Numa*, 9; *id.*, *De ei apud Delphos*, 2 (cp. note on x. 24. 4). At Acraephnium, Thisbe, and Orchomenus in Boeotia there was a 'Common Hearth' in the Prytaneum at which honoured guests were entertained (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. Nos. 21, 4130, 4131, 4138, 4139). At Tanagra the public hearth in the Prytaneum seems to have been

called 'the hearth of the people' (*C. I. G. G. S.* 1. No. 20). Pollux states generally (i. 7) that a perpetual fire burned on the hearth in the Prytaneum. Sometimes this perpetual fire took the form of a lamp (Theocritus, xxi. 36 *sq.*); Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Sicily, dedicated in the Prytaneum at Tarentum a lamp which could burn a year without being fed (Athenaeus, xv. p. 700 d). Probably every Greek city had its Prytaneum with its 'Common Hearth' and its perpetual fire burning on it; this common hearth may have been originally the hearth of the king's house (see *Journal of Philology*, 14 (1885), p. 145 *sqq.*) For other examples of the custom of maintaining a perpetual fire or lamp, see i. 26. 6 *sq.*; viii. 9. 2; viii. 37. 11. At Aetna, in Sicily, a perpetual fire was kept up in the temple of Hephaestus (Aelian, *Nat. anim.* xi. 3).

53. 9. **with a wound on his thigh.** Cp. viii. 28. 6 note. As to Hercules's combats with the sons of Hippocoon, see iii. 15. 3-6.

53. 9. **The high place on which stand most of the altars.** This must be the low hill of *Hagios Sostis*, about a mile and a half to the north of *Piali*. It is the only point in the whole site of Tegea which could with any show of reason be described as a 'high place.' Though really not more than a gentle eminence, it commands a fine view over the surrounding plain. The hill takes its name from the village which crowns it. Possibly this hill may have been the acropolis of Tegea spoken of by Polybius, who describes (v. 17. 1 *sq.*) how Lycurgus king of Sparta seized the city of Tegea, but was repulsed from the acropolis. But it is doubtful whether the hill of *Hagios Sostis* was included within the city-walls.

See Dodwell, *Tour*, 2. p. 418 *sq.*; Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 98 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 202; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 69; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 254, 258; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 253, 255; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. pp. 218, 220 *sq.*; Baedeker,[3] p. 277; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 238.

53. 9. **Clarian Zeus** etc. Zeus was worshipped under this title also at Argos (Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 360). The title may designate the god "who sanctified the original allotment of land among the clans or divisions of the people" (L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 1. p. 56). As to the legendary division of Arcadia among the sons of Arcas, see viii. 4. 3 *sq.*

53. 10. **once the Lacedaemonians marched against them** etc. A somewhat different account of this Lacedaemonian reverse is given by Polyaenus (i. 8). He says that when the Lacedaemonians were ravaging the Tegean lands, Elnes king of Arcadia sent his soldiers to attack the enemy in the rear; the hour of the assault was to be midnight, and the signal was to be given by a great fire which the old men and children were to kindle in front of the city. While the Lacedaemonians gazed with astonishment at the sudden blaze, the Arcadians fell on their rear, slew many of them and took many prisoners.

53. 11. **what the Greeks call Aeginetan.** See note on v. 25. 13.

53. 11. **a temple of Cnaceatian Artemis.** This would seem to have been near the place where the *Saranta Potamos* enters the Tegean

plain (see note on viii. 54. 1), for it is just about 19 furlongs (the distance mentioned by Pausanias) from Tegea to this point. See Leake, *Morea*, 1. p. 122 note c; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 262. This is perhaps the temple of Artemis mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, vi. 5. 9). As to the epithet Cnaceatian, see note on iii. 18. 4.

54. 1. **The river Alpheus is the boundary between the lands of Lacedaemon and Tegea** etc. What Pausanias here calls the Alpheus is unquestionably the stream now called the *Saranta Potamos* ('forty river') which enters the Tegean plain from the south and flows northward through it, passing Tegea (*Piali*) at some distance to the east. For our author is here describing the route from Tegea to Laconia (see viii. 53. 11); and until the carriage-road was constructed a few years ago the path from Tegea to Sparta still followed the channel of the *Saranta Potamos*, crossing and recrossing again and again the shallow stream, which sprawls along its broad gravelly bed between immensely high stony banks that effectually shut out all views of the surrounding country. The carriage-road misses the river altogether, being carried along the hills a good deal higher up to the west, but the old route by the bed of the river is still often adopted by travellers on foot. As Pausanias believed that this river was the upper course of the Alpheus and that after disappearing under ground it reappeared at the springs of *Franko-vrysi* in the plain of Asea (see viii. 44. 3), he must have supposed that it flowed into the chasm which still drains the swamp of *Taka* at the south-western corner of the Tegean plain (see above, p. 420). But in point of fact the *Saranta Potamos* does not go anywhere near this chasm; on entering the Tegean plain it bends away to the north-east, receives a tributary from the south-east (the ancient Garates), and, after flowing northward for some distance, turns sharply to the east, and disappears in a chasm at the foot of Mount Parthenius, not far from the village of *Vertsova*. It seems impossible that the ancients should have regarded as the head waters of the Alpheus a stream which thus disappears under the mountains on the *eastern* side of the plain of Tegea, flowing towards the Gulf of Argos. To meet this difficulty some modern topographers have supposed that the course of the *Saranta Potamos* has changed since antiquity, and that in ancient times the river did flow into the chasm of the *Taka* at the south-western side of the plain instead of into the chasm at the opposite side of the plain near *Vertsova*. Some support seemed to be lent to this theory by a tradition, told to L. Ross by peasants, that this was in fact the course of the river until about a hundred years or more before their time, when a Turk who owned *Piali* dug a new bed for the river and obliged it to follow its present course. But the researches of recent travellers have disproved this tradition, and shown that the *Saranta Potamos* can never have flowed in the course which the tradition assigns to it. For between the river and Tegea (*Piali*) there is a distinct, though gradual, rise in the ground, which makes any diversion of the river in this direction impossible. Nor is it open to us to suppose that the river may have flowed at a higher level in antiquity, its present bed having been hollowed out by the stream since the days of Pausanias. On the contrary, the bed of the river is being

actually raised by alluvial deposits, so that we are bound to suppose that in classical times it flowed at a lower, not a higher, level than at present. Even if the river had, contrary to all appearances, once flowed into the chasm of the *Taka* it could not have reappeared at the springs of *Franko-vrysi* in the plain of Asea, since those springs have recently been proved to be higher by 32 metres (105 feet) than the last point to which the water can be followed in the chasm of the *Taka*. This discovery was made in September 1891, by Mr. E. A. Martel, who succeeded, at some personal inconvenience, in penetrating into the chasm to a depth of about 35 metres. Thus it appears equally impossible that the *Saranta Potamos* should ever have flowed into the chasm of the *Taka*, and that, if it did, it should have reappeared at *Franko-vrysi* in the plain of Asea. Nothing remains but to regard this whole account of the supposed upper course of the Alpheus as a blunder of Pausanias or his guides. As to the water which is engulfed in the chasm of the *Taka*, the modern peasants believe that it reappears at the springs of *Koniditsa* in the upper valley of the Eurotas, about 15 miles south of the *Taka*.

If, taking the old route from Tegea to Sparta, we follow the course of the *Saranta Potamos*, we reach in about 3½ hours from Tegea the now deserted khan of *Kryavrysi* ('cold spring'), situated in the dry gravelly bed of the river. The fountain which gives its name to the khan is built of ancient blocks of marble. Two streams unite their waters at the khan to form the *Saranta Potamos*; their confluence is probably the Symbola of Pausanias. Of the two streams the shorter comes from the south; the larger and longer from the east. This latter stream, which flows past the village of *Vourvoura*, is probably the part of the river which, as Pausanias tells us, formed the boundary between Tegea and Laconia; for the rest of the river flows from north to south, and we cannot suppose that all the territory to the west of it was Tegean and all to the east of it Laconian, or *vice versa*. Hence Phylace, which was at the source of the river, lay probably somewhere to the east of *Vourvoura*, near the crest of Mt. Parnon. In this direction, but on the opposite or eastern side of the ridge, is the village of *Hagios Petros*. The boundaries of Tegea, Laconia, and Argolis met in this neighbourhood, and their meeting point was marked by the images of Hermes (Paus. ii. 38. 7, with the note, vol. 3. p. 310).

See Leake, *Morea*, 1. pp. 121-124; *id.*, 3. pp. 36-43; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 139; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 144; L. Ross, *Reisen*, pp. 60 *sq.*, 70-72; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. pp. 248 *sq.*, 261 *sq.*; Bursian, *Geogr.* 2. p. 187; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 355-357; Baedeker,[3] p. 280; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. pp. 248, 318; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 108; E. A. Martel, 'Les Katavothres du Péloponnèse,' *Revue de Géographie*, May 1892, pp. 336-341; V. Bérard, in *Bulletin de Corr. hellénique*, 16 (1892), p. 533 *sq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 52-54, 68 *sq.*

54. 3. **blends its water with Arethusa.** Cp. v. 7. 2; vii. 24. 3.

54. 4. **Thyrea.** See note on ii. 38. 4.

54. 4. **the tomb of Orestes** etc. See iii. 3. 5 *sq.*; iii. 11. 10.

54. 4. **The river Garates.** This must be the stream which comes

down from *Doliana* and joins the *Saranta Potamos* at *Magoula*, a mile and a half to the east of Tegea. The village of *Doliana*, which stands among fruit-trees high up on a bare mountain-side, and is inhabited only in the summer months, is well known for its marble quarries, which have been worked both in ancient and modern times. The marble quarried here bears a superficial resemblance to Pentelic, but it is less transparent and less white, being tinged with a light bluish grey. It is characterised by the presence of numerous small crystals of felspar, and it contains a little iron which gives it, when exposed to the weather, a yellowish or reddish-brown patina like the well-known patina on the columns of the Parthenon.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 332 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 72 note 14; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 249; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 241; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 161; G. R. Lepsius, *Griechische Marmor-Studien*, pp. 31-33.

54. 5. **The road from Tegea to Argos** etc. This road must have led in a north-easterly direction from Tegea across the plain to what is now called the pass of *Steno*. This is a narrow defile through which the *Saranta Potamos* flows eastward into a branch or bay of the great Tegean plain. After traversing the whole length of this branch of the Tegean plain the river disappears into three chasms (*katavothras*) at the eastern end of the plain, at the foot of Mount Parthenius (now Mt. *Rhoïno*), to the north-east of the village of *Vertsova*. An artificial canal conducts the water to the largest of the chasms. The modern road from *Tripolitsa* to Argos passes through the defile of *Steno*; from this point onward it probably coincides with the ancient road from Tegea to Argos here described by Pausanias. The village of *Steno* stands on the last point of the hill on the north side of the pass, just within the opening. The road runs along the north bank of the river, and the defile is so narrow that there is scarcely room for both road and river. After passing through the defile of *Steno* we enter on the branch of the Tegean plain spoken of above; it may be called the plain of *Vertsova*, from the village of that name which stands in the southern part of it. In winter this plain is little better than a swamp; the vineyards are then flooded. The road continues to run between the *Saranta Potamos* and the hills which bound the plain on the north. About a mile and a half after passing the village of *Steno* we pass the village of *Hagiorgitika*, situated on a flat spur of the rugged hills on the left.

About a mile farther on the road divides. The main road turns up a small valley to the left, then ascends the hills in a north-easterly direction, and making a great bend round the steep, conical, and isolated hill on the right (south) which is surmounted by the ruined castle of *Palaeo-Mouchli*, descends through a winding glen into the plain of *Achladokampos*. This route is known as the *Gyros*, either from the great circuit it makes or from its many windings. It is the line followed by the modern carriage-road, and no doubt the ancient carriage-road described by Pausanias went this way.

The other road, known as 'the ladder of the Bey' (*Skala tou Bey*), holds on eastward across the plain to the foot of Mt. Parthenius (Mt.

Rhoïno). In the plain, near the chapel of *Hagia Trias* (the Holy Trinity), Mr. Bérard of the French Archaeological School discovered in 1889 the remains of the two sanctuaries of 'Demeter in Corythenses' and Mystic Dionysus, which Pausanias mentions (§ 5). The remains consist of two small square foundations, built of large blocks of blue limestone. The westerly of the two foundations is the larger and is probably that of the temple of Demeter. Here was found an archaic statue of a seated woman, life-size but broken off at the knees; her hair descends in long straight curls or braids on her shoulders and neck: her hands rest on her knees. There was no back to the seat. The statue was painted, but the colours were mostly washed away by the rain. The material is a friable tufa. A statue of the same type was found a number of years ago at the khan of *Franko-vrysi*, between Tegea and Megalopolis. The image may be that of Demeter. At all events the discovery of the temple enables us to fix the position of Corythenses (cp. viii. 45. 1); it was the marshy plain of *Vertsova*. See V. Bérard, 'Statue archaïque de Tégée,' *Bulletin de Corresp. hellénique*, 14 (1890), pp. 382-384; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 236. Continuing our route beyond these ruins we reach the foot of Mt. Parthenius and ascend the slope by a path paved in the usual Turkish style with large unhewn blocks. The construction of this pavement, bad as it is, must have been a work of some labour, as the mountain consists entirely of bare jagged rocks. This is the true 'ladder of the Bey'; it is one of the wildest and most desolate tracks in Greece. It was here probably that Pan was said to have appeared to the runner Phidippides (see below). About half-way up the slope we pass a fountain and the abandoned khan of *Partheni*. The name is evidently a reminiscence of the ancient Parthenius, the name of the whole mountain, though the modern Greeks explain it by supposing that a chapel of the Virgin (*Parthenos*) formerly stood here. The summit of the ridge is reached in about half an hour from the plain. We then descend the eastern side of Mt. Parthenius, by steep zigzags, into the plain or valley of *Achladokampos* ('Plain of Wild Pears'). At the eastern end of the plain are the ruins of Hysiae. See ii. 24. 7 note.

We now return to the point at which the 'ladder of the Bey' diverged from the *Gyros* road and follow the latter in its long circuit round the hill of *Palaeo-Mouchli*. Just at the point where the road, after ascending the hills in a north-easterly direction, bends round to the south-east, a torrent descends from the mountains on the north and passes under the bridge across which the road is carried. On the left bank of this torrent, two minutes to the left (north) of the road are the remains of an ancient sanctuary of Artemis, discovered by Mr. V. Bérard in 1889. There are traces of a small enclosure built of large limestone blocks. Statuettes of Artemis with dedicatory inscriptions prove that the sanctuary belonged to that goddess. On the other side of the road rises to the south the high rocky cone, of which the summit, inaccessible on three sides, is crowned with the ruins called *Palaeo-Mouchli*. The place is capable of containing 20,000 inhabitants. The ruined Frankish castle is built partly on foundations of Cyclopean masonry, which probably

belonged to an ancient fortress on the frontier between Arcadia and Argolis. Among the ruins are the remains of a Byzantine church. In the bed of the torrent at the southern foot of this rocky hill, L. Ross saw some fragments of an entablature of white marble, possibly remains of the precinct of Telephus or of the sanctuary of Pan (§ 6). The site of the latter sanctuary is perhaps fixed by an inscription on bronze, found by Mr. Bérard at the foot of the *Palaeo-Mouchli* hill, near the first support of the great viaduct over which the railway is to pass. Although the sanctuary of Pan appears hence to have stood on the circuitous *Gyros* road, it is probable that the famous meeting between Pan and the Athenian runner Phidippides (Herodotus, vi. 105 *sq.*) was alleged to have taken place on the other and shorter road, now called the 'ladder of the Bey'; for the runner, pressing in hot haste to Sparta with tidings of the Persian invasion, would certainly take the most direct route. He is said to have covered the distance between Athens and Sparta in two days. Moreover from Pausanias's description we infer that the sanctuary of Pan was on the eastern side of the ridge, whereas the inscription was found on the western side.

After passing the ruined castle of *Palaeo-Mouchli* the road descends to the south-east through a winding gorge into the plain or valley of *Achladokampos*, where it is rejoined by the direct path called the 'ladder of the Bey.'

Intermediate between the two passes just described there is a third known as the *Kake Skala* or Evil Staircase, which goes through the gap that separates Mt. *Rhoïno* (Parthenius) proper from *Palaeo-Mouchli*. It is an even worse path than the 'ladder of the Bey,' and ascends the declivity in zigzags, which are supported on the lower side by embankments.

See Leake, *Morea*, 2. p. 326 *sqq.*; Gell, *Itinerary of the Morea*, p. 173; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 145 *sq.*; L. Ross, *Reisen*, p. 148; Mure, *Journal*, 2. p. 200 *sq.*; Welcker, *Tagebuch*, 1. p. 196 *sq.*; Curtius, *Pelop.* 1. p. 260 *sq.*; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 335, 341; Baedeker,[3] p. 276; *Guide-Joanne*, 2. p. 235 *sqq.*; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 84 *sq.*; W. Loring, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 15 (1895), pp. 78-80. The chief *katavothra* of the *Saranta Potamos* near *Vertsova* was examined by Mr. Siderides, a Greek engineer, at the end of 1891. See *Revue de Géographie*, May 1892, p. 343 *sqq.*

54. 7. **the tortoises are sacred to Pan** etc. At Troezen it was forbidden to catch the sea tortoise (Clearchus, cited by Athenaeus, vii. p. 317 b). Land tortoises are still common in Greece; they may often be seen crawling across or beside the path.

54. 7. **Hysiae.** See ii. 24. 7 note.

END OF VOL. IV

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